THE MIDDLE AGES

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August, 1928.

The Century Historical Series

THE MIDDLE AGES

395-1500

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Revised Edition

THE CENTURY CO.

NEW YORK LONDON

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BIND. No 16 '38

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

PREFACE

This volume is planned to follow one on Roman history which will carry the story of Rome through the career of Justinian, whose ambition it was to have one state, one church, one law. It is to be followed by a volume on the period of the renaissance and reformation. Its position in the series has determined its scope and the inclusion or exclusion of topics which more logically will find a place in the volume which precedes or the one which follows.

The bibliographies for the separate chapters have been made as short as possible. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* is so excellent that it seems a work of supererogation to attempt to make complete bibliographies again. Consequently, only a few books have been selected, and each one, because it contains some matter necessary to supplement the discussion in this volume.

I am indebted to Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, the general editor of the series, for reading all the manuscript and making many suggestions for improvements. Several of my former students have helped me; in particular, Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota, who prepared the maps, bibliographies, and index; Willy Jahr, Ph.D., who read some of the earlier chapters; Professor Frederick Duncalf of the University of Texas, who has helped me in reading proof; these and others I wish to thank. Any mistakes in the book I am responsible for; the number would have been greater except for the generous assistance which I have received. Lastly, I am much indebted to my wife and three daughters for frequent criticism and aid.

WAQUOIT, MASS.
Aug. 13–1921.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

The generous reception and wide use accorded the original edition of this book have prompted the preparation of a corrected and revised version. The author wishes to express his gratitude for the criticism which has aided materially in the improvement of the new edition. Seven chapters on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been added by Professor Sontag. These chapters have profited much from the criticisms and suggestions made by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Agar, Professor E. A. Beller, Mr. E. M. Nicholas, Mr. W. D. Staples, and, especially, Mrs. Raymond Sontag, whose wide knowledge of Italian life and thought was of great assistance in the preparation of the last chapter.

D. C. M.
R. J. S.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.
June 12, 1928.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	The Roman World at the Beginning of the Germanic Migrations	3
II	The Church in the Period of the Germanic Migrations	15
III	The Early Germans	27
IV	The Migrations	36
V	The Migrations (Continued)	48
VI	The Papacy and the Monks	60
VII	The Franks, C. 481-751 A. D.	69
VIII	Fusion of German and Roman in Gaul	80
IX	Islam (to 750 A. D.)	92
X	Pippin and Charles the Great	101
XI	The Later Carolingians and the Empire	112
XII	Feudalism	126
XIII	The Church to 954 A. D.	138
XIV	Germany, 843-1002	150
XV	The Empire and the Papacy	161
XVI	France, 887-1108	175
XVII	England Before the Norman Conquest	193
XVIII	The Norman Conquest	204
XIX	Saracen Civilization	214
XX	Byzantine Empire to 1095	227
XXI	Crusades to 1187	241
XXII	England, 1087-1272	256
XXIII	France, 1108-1270	272
XXIV	Holy Roman Empire	284
XXV	The Later Crusades	300
XXVI	The Nobles	311

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXVII	Monasticism	319
XXVIII	The Peasants	331
XXIX	Towns and Trade	341
XXX	Heresy and the Friars	354
XXXI	The Universities	366
XXXII	Innocent III and the Church	377
XXXIII	The Expansion of Christian Europe	387
XXXIV	The Papacy and the National Monarchs	402
XXXV	England and France in the Fourteenth Century	414
XXXVI	England and France in the Fifteenth Century	428
XXXVII	The Empire, the Hapsburgs, and the East	442
XXXVIII	The Church	455
XXXIX	Economic Change	472
XL	Intellectual Movements	487
	Library of Twenty-five Works	519
	General Bibliography	521
	Index	547

MAPS

	FACING PAGE
Europe—600 A. D.	80
Europe—800 A. D.	112
Byzantine Empire	240
Christianity and Islam on the Eve of the Crusades	256
Europe—1200 A. D.	272
States of Syria, Crusading States	288
Economic Map of Europe in the Middle Ages, 1300 A. D.	352
Ecclesiastical Map of Europe, C. 1300 A. D.	360
Europe—1500 A. D.	454

THE MIDDLE AGES

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CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN WORLD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GERMANIC MIGRATIONS

CHAP. I

WHEN the emperor Theodosius died, in A.D. 395, the Roman Empire extended from the Euphrates and the Arabian desert on the east to the Atlantic Ocean on the west, from the Rhine and the Danube on the north to the Sahara on the south. Egypt and Britain, too, were Roman territory. Expressed in modern geographical terms, the Empire included about half of what is now Asiatic Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the whole northern coast of Africa, Spain and Portugal, France, Belgium, all of Germany and of the Netherlands which lies south and west of the Rhine, England, Wales, Switzerland, Italy, part of southern Germany, most of German Austria, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey in Europe, Greece, Albania, and the islands of the Mediterranean. This summary is not exact, but it may serve to make more definite to us the extent of the Empire on the eve of the barbarian invasions.

Extent of Empire

The Romans ruled all the fertile lands about the Mediterranean. In fact, only a comparatively small part of the Roman Empire lay outside of the Mediterranean basin. Consequently, a description of this basin brings out some of the most important characteristics of the Roman territory: "Its shores include about three million square miles of the richest country on the earth's surface, enjoying a climate where the extremes of temperature are unknown, and with every variety of scenery, but chiefly consisting of mountains and elevated plateaus. It is a well-defined region of many parts, all intimately connected with each other by their geographical character, their geological formation, their flora, fauna, and the physiognomy of the people who inhabit them." These facts had undoubtedly made it more easy for Rome to establish and maintain its dominion.

Mediterranean Basin

The Romans considered themselves the only civilized people and thought of all outside the Empire as barbarians. As a matter of

CHAP. I

Other Civilizations

fact, civilization flourished in Persia under the Sassanids (c. 226–641 A.D.), in China and in India. In each of these countries literature, arts, and knowledge in general had reached a relatively high stage, and from Persia, and India later, the Arabs were to derive much of their remarkable culture. But with these exceptions the Roman conception was true; civilization was confined to the Roman Empire.

One Empire

Throughout this whole territory the emperor's authority was absolute. When there were two emperors they ruled conjointly and the Empire remained intact. The terms Eastern and Western Empires are misleading; there was but one Roman Empire; this is true both in theory and in fact, at least until the year 800. Consequently men unconsciously thought of themselves as citizens of the Roman Empire, which embraced practically all Christian peoples. This idea of the Roman unity was one of the strongest cohesive forces during the troubled centuries of German invasion.

Position of Emperor

The power of the emperor extended to every department of the government. As commander-in-chief, he made war or peace on his own initiative, raised as many soldiers as he chose, and appointed officers. Through his tribunician power he had the right to initiate legislation or to veto any proposal, and his person was sacred and inviolable. Through his proconsular authority he governed all the provinces. As censor he nominated senators or other dignitaries and degraded them at will. He levied the taxes and fixed their amount; he had the uncontrolled management of all finances. He possessed the right of eminent domain in condemning land for public uses. He was the supreme judge and the court of last appeal and had the power of life and death over every citizen. It was an accepted maxim that "the will of the emperor has the force and effect of law, since the Roman people by law have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty."

Administrative Divisions

For administrative purposes the Empire was divided into four great sections, known respectively as the prefecture of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of the Gauls. Each one was ruled by an official, called the prefect, who was directly responsible to the emperor. The only portions of the Empire not included in the four prefectures were the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, each of which was administered by a prefect of its own. The four prefectures were subdivided into dioceses; e. g., the prefecture of the Gauls included the diocese of the Spains, of the Seven Provinces (i. e., Gaul proper), and of the Britains. At the head of each diocese was a vicar, who was under the control of the prefect. Each diocese was subdivided into provinces; e. g., there

were five provinces in the diocese of the Britains. The administration of each province was intrusted to an official who was usually styled either the consular or the president, and was responsible to the vicar. Thus the whole administration was centralized.

Roads were well built and carefully maintained, making travel easy throughout the Empire. Uniform coinage and uniform weights and measures facilitated trade. The ablest and wealthiest men from every section were drawn into the imperial service and eagerly sought office. This was in decided contrast to their unwillingness to hold the local offices, which will be described later. All took pride in being Romans; former differences in laws, customs, and dress had disappeared in Roman unity. This had not been due to any coercion by the central government, but to the desire of the people themselves; for Roman citizenship in the beginning had conferred great advantages.

Unity

Latin was the official language in the West, but Greek was commonly spoken in the part of the Empire east of the Adriatic, and even governmental inscriptions were in Greek. Rome herself had in an intellectual and artistic sense been conquered by this Greek civilization of her subjects and had transmitted it to the less cultured peoples of the West as she forced them under the domination of the Roman peace. Accordingly, in the West the Roman civilization had been adopted eagerly and the Latin tongue, the vehicle of this culture, had displaced all the native idioms; but in the East Greek maintained its sway even in administrative matters. Thus there was a difference between the two sections of the Empire which made an eventual separation more easy.

The Two Languages

The higher administrative divisions which have been described were wholly artificial, erected merely for the convenience of the central government. The real natural unit throughout most of the Empire was the *civitas* — a term which is sometimes very inadequately translated as city-state. The *civitas* was an urban center of government with the territory subject to its authority. In the eastern countries the *civitas* or city-state existed before these lands were conquered by Rome, and usually retained its identity under the Roman rule. The Romans found this form of organization convenient and useful, and consequently made use of it. After the conquest of Gaul, that province was organized along the same general lines. Thus a Gallic tribe with its territory became a *civitas,* and the home of the chieftain the urban center whence the whole territory was governed. Some *civitates,* e. g., Poitiers, had a territory as large as two or three of the modern French *départements;* others, e. g., Boulogne, were smaller

Civitas

CHAP. I

than a single *département*. At the beginning of the fifth century there were one hundred and fourteen *civitates* in all Gaul.[1] For administrative purposes the whole country was parceled out among these *civitates* and consequently a *civitas* would usually include one or more towns, an indefinite number of rural estates with their villages, forests and waste lands. A *civitas* administered its own affairs to a very considerable extent, although from the second century onward there was a growing tendency for the central administration to interfere in the local government. Many duties, however, continued to devolve upon the officials of these small divisions.

Villa

The other local unit of importance in this connection was the *villa*, which was the country estate of a noble. There were probably many of these in each *civitas*. Often such an estate included an extensive tract of land, as in the fourth century one which comprised about fifteen hundred acres was described as rather small. They usually contained cultivated lands, meadows, vineyards, and woods. It was the ambition of the noble to produce on his own property all that was necessary for the life of its inhabitants. These included farm-laborers, shepherds, vine-dressers, bakers, millers, carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, tailors, and other workmen, as well as tenants of various grades of dependence. By the end of the fourth century there was usually a chapel with its priest on each *villa*. Justice was administered in many cases by the owner. Thus the estate formed an almost self-sufficing unit and did not need to have many connections with the outside world. Much of the life of the fifth century was shaped by the character of the *villa*.

Senators

The owners were usually senators. But this did not mean necessarily that they were members either of the senate that sat at Rome or of the newly-formed senate at Constantinople. The senatorial nobility at the beginning of the fifth century included many persons in all parts of the Empire who seldom, if ever, visited Rome or Constantinople. The rank of senator had become merely a title of nobility which might be conferred upon any wealthy person by the emperor. The dignity was eagerly coveted, as it conferred not merely prestige but also substantial immunities for which candidates were willing to pay; consequently almost all very wealthy men were senators. They possessed most of the land, and from their number were drawn many of the higher imperial officials. When not holding office the nobility preferred to live in the country on their estates during most, if not all, of the

[1] In modern France, with a territory much smaller than Ancient Gaul, there are 87 *départements*.

year. They disliked city life, partly because of a very rigid etiquette which compelled them when they were in the city to spend much of their time in social formalities. Their letters show that it was frequently the freedom of the country life which attracted them. Moreover, their estates demanded constant supervision.

The home of a noble was somewhat similar to a large country residence of the present day, especially to the house of an English noble. Frequently there were picture galleries, libraries, spacious dining-halls, and formal gardens adorned with statues. The habits of the Romans led them to furnish special apartments for summer and winter respectively, and to build elaborate baths. These sumptuous residences were very common in many parts of the Empire. The letters of Apollinaris Sidonius (430–487 A.D.) are full of details concerning the way in which these country gentlemen spent their days. In one letter he describes a week's visit with some friends. In the morning some played tennis or backgammon, while others read religious books or the Roman classics. The noonday meal was comparatively light and was enlivened by many stories. Next they took a siesta, followed by horseback riding and several hours spent in the bath, while they engaged in pleasant and witty talk. The day ended with a luxurious and protracted supper. Sidonius intimates that this was rather an unusual week for him and had left him without any appetite. On another occasion he describes setting out on a journey into the country. He traveled in the cool of the morning, composing verses as he rode or walked. After four or five hours, during which the party had gone about eighteen miles, they pitched a tent for the noonday rest. Other passages in his letters show the pleasure taken by the nobles in games, hunting, reading, and telling anecdotes. Yet it should not be forgotten that Sidonius and the friends whose life he describes held high offices in the church or in the state, and managed large properties, and therefore could not have spent all their time in this leisurely manner.

Life of Nobles

Aside from the master's family the population of the *villa* was divided into two great classes, slaves and laborers, usually *coloni*. The slaves included the household servants, who were very numerous, and those agricultural laborers who worked on that portion of the *villa* cultivated by the master in person. The position of the agricultural slaves had been greatly improved in the centuries immediately preceding. The masters had generally ceased to use the underground prisons in which the slaves had formerly been confined at night. A master no longer had a legal right to kill his slave at his own pleasure. In order to get more work out of the laborers the owner frequently assigned to certain of them

Slaves

Curiales

curiales. These, who were also called *decuriones*, ranked next below the senators and formed the governing body in the *civitas*. They, with the officials elected from their number, had control over all the local activities which were not carried on by the central government. They passed statutes, they kept up the streets and roads, they had charge of some of the police functions, they apportioned and collected the taxes. They formed a court of appeal for some classes of cases. They possessed immunity from torture and from certain kinds of legal penalties. They had places of honor at the festivals and games. They alone could hold municipal offices.

Burdens of Curiales

In the early days of the Empire the position of *curial* and election to office had been eagerly sought. But at the beginning of the fifth century both had become burdensome. Every citizen who possessed sufficient wealth was obliged to be a *curial*, unless he was able to be a senator, or had already escaped into the church, the army, or the imperial service. The son of a *decurion* became a *decurion* at eighteen years of age. The members of the *curia*, the governing body in each *civitas*, watched anxiously lest any one who was qualified might escape. This was because their duties were onerous and they had to bear such great expenses; in particular, if they were unable to collect the taxes levied by the emperors, they had to pay them out of their own fortunes. The offices in the *civitas* were without salary, entailed heavy expenses, and could not be declined. The law declared: "If a man designated for office has fled, he shall be sought. If he is not found, his property shall be confiscated and given to the one who serves in his place. If he is found his punishment shall consist in bearing the weight of the office for two years."

The *curiales* frequently tried to escape, but the Roman government made every possible effort to prevent this. They were not allowed to leave the cities and reside in the country, lest they should get away. Their sons were not allowed to enter the army, the church, or the imperial service. There appear to have been only two legal methods of escape from the position of *curial*. At the end of a long term of years, after a man had held all the offices, if he was sufficiently wealthy, he might buy admission into the ranks of the senatorial nobility; but even this was sometimes forbidden. The second mode of escape was granted by a law of the Emperor Julian (363 A.D.): "He who is the father of thirteen children not only shall not be summoned to the *curia*, but, even though he be a *decurion*, shall be left in an honored rest." But these exceptions had little effect, and, in spite of every effort to retain them, many of the sorely-burdened officials

CHAP. I

did finally escape. A law of 458 A.D. states: "We must consider the *curiae*, which the ancients rightly called 'little senates,' as the souls of the cities and the sinews of the republic. Nevertheless, they have been so oppressed by the injustice of the magistrates and by the venality of the tax-gatherers, that most of their members have resigned their offices, expatriated themselves, and sought an obscure asylum in some distant province." The testimony of Salvian (430 A.D.) is to the same effect—that Romans preferred to live in freedom among the barbarians, rather than as slaves among the Romans.

Plebs

The great mass of free citizens, the *plebs*, lived in the towns or cities and were engaged in industry or commerce. Manufacturing and trading had developed greatly in the first two centuries of the Empire. The "Roman peace," the ease and safety of traveling, and the fostering care of the emperors made these pursuits attractive and honorable. The merchants or the craftsmen in the same trade formed a "college," or gild, which was recognized and protected by laws. Each college had its banner, festival, and banquets. The members were exempt from military service and various other burdens; and the chief officials were sometimes ennobled after completing their terms of office. In the early years nobles had been proud to be elected as patrons of such organizations.

Burdens of Plebs

In the later days of the Empire the members of the colleges were bound hard and fast to their calling. The state found it necessary to compel each man to stick to his occupation. With the decline of general prosperity and the massing of wealth in a comparatively small number of hands, trade and industry had become much less profitable. This was due in part to the policy of the nobles in making their estates self-supporting, so that the latter furnished no markets to the workers in cities. The services of many of the colleges, especially of those which were engaged in preparing and transporting the food supplies, were absolutely essential to the welfare of the community. They would probably have continued their functions without great difficulty if the laws of supply and demand had been allowed free play, because they would have been able to make a living. But the state stepped in, from a mistaken idea of economic principles, and by law established prices for different commodities. Thus the trades were crippled, and at the same time escape was forbidden to the members of the colleges. They were not allowed to leave their calling unless they could supply a substitute in the person of a son. Moreover, the son was obliged by law to follow his father's trade. The workmen in the imperial factories were branded, so that they should not run away. There was little opportunity for even the

ablest of the citizens to improve their condition, and their ambition was crushed. They worked without enthusiasm and felt no interest in the general welfare. Society was decadent and all hope of advance had been crushed out of the minds of the citizens.

Taxes

The taxes bore heavily upon the people. Most of the local expenses were paid by the *civitates,* and the sources of outlay for the central government were comparatively few. But the cost of maintaining two imperial governments was great; payments of tribute to the barbarians on the frontier were frequent; and the populace in the two capitals had to be given their bread and shows, "*panem et circenses.*" On the other hand the number of salaried officials was small in comparison with those employed by a modern government and the army was also relatively small. Yet contemporaries regarded the taxation as an intolerable burden. This was due in part to the unjust apportionment and in part to the wasteful method of collection. In theory the apportionment was very just. Indirect taxes were relatively unimportant and great pains had been taken to equalize the units of direct taxation. The land throughout the Empire had been divided into portions of assumed value, which varied greatly in extent according to the character of the soil. Each one of these portions, no matter how it might come to be divided, retained its identity on the imperial tax list, so that it was theoretically easy to apportion the taxes, as there were so many units in each province. The direct personal tax was arranged in the same manner; an artificial unit, a *caput,* was created which might include one or several persons. The artisans and merchants, however, paid a special tax instead of the regular capitation tax. This difference was due to the fact that in the eyes of the state they were able to pay more than the average citizen. These three taxes (the land tax, the capitation tax, and the tax on artisans and merchants) formed the main source of revenue for the state. The people were also required to maintain the roads and bridges, to furnish horses for the post service, clothing and provisions for the army, to entertain all the imperial officials on their journeys, and to perform many other burdensome services.

Unjust Apportionment

In actual practice the nobles, who held most of the land, paid less than their fair share. They sometimes purchased, or had granted to them as a privilege, exemption from taxation. Sometimes they resisted by force, and drove the tax-gatherers from their estates. More frequently by their influence as members of the imperial governing class they evaded payment in whole or in part. As a result the taxes fell more heavily upon the men of moderate means and upon the poor, because the quota due had to

CHAP. I

be paid somehow by the inhabitants of each *civitas*. And yet, in spite of exemptions, privileges, and evasions, taxation was felt to be burdensome even by the nobles. Apollinaris Sidonius considered it worthy of note that at a social gathering "no one spoke of the incidence of taxation." Far more burdensome were the taxes upon the small land-owners. To escape payment many transferred their holdings to some noble and became *coloni*. Thus the great estates increased in size and the class of *coloni* in number. The laws in vain prohibited a free man from becoming a *colonus* or even a slave. Many chose the non-free status to escape the ruinous taxation. Because of the evasion of these men, those who remained subject to the burden suffered the more heavily.

Collection of Taxes

The method of collection led to extortion and tyranny. The whole amount of the tax to be paid was levied upon each *civitas* by the imperial officials. The *curiales* then had to collect the sum and were responsible for its payment to the imperial coffers; if they could not get it from others, they had to pay it from their own means. They endeavored to make each man contribute as much as possible, and each man tried to escape as easily as possible. The *curiales* were authorized to use torture on persons of non-noble rank in order to secure a truthful declaration of their wealth. Consequently the *curiales* were frequently looked upon as tyrants. From the pen of Lactantius, a contemporary, we have this account of their methods: "Slaves were dealt with to accuse their masters, and wives to accuse their husbands. When no sort of evidence could be found, men were forced by torture to accuse themselves.... After that all men were thus listed; then so much money was laid upon every man's head, as if it had been to pay so much for his life. Yet this matter was not trusted to the first tax-men, but new sets of them, one after another, were sent about, that new men might always find new matter to work upon; and though they could not really discover anything, yet they increased the numbers in the lists they made, that so it might not be said that they had been sent to no purpose. By means of these oppressions the stock of the cattle was much diminished and many men died; and yet the taxes continued still to be levied, even for those that were dead; to such misery were men reduced that even death did not put an end to it." Despite all their efforts the *curiales* frequently could not collect the whole sum and then they had to pay the balance. Their number gradually decreased. A few were able to secure admission into the senatorial nobility, but the great majority had to remain in office until they were ruined.

Decline in Population

Taxation was the more oppressive because the population was steadily declining in numbers. For several centuries free labor

had suffered from the competition of slave labor. Farms had been turned into pastures in many parts of the Empire and consequently supported a smaller population. The great estates had swallowed up many farms and the farmers had either gone to swell the proletariat in the capitals or had sunk into the non-free class. The Romans, from the time of Augustus onward, were inclined to be averse to marriage and especially to having large families. The emperors attempted to change this state of affairs by offering special privileges to fathers who had three or more children, but their efforts were almost fruitless. The leaders in the Christian church encouraged celibacy; economic conditions hindered many from marrying; by these and other causes the natural increase in numbers was checked. In the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.), and later, the plague swept repeatedly over the Empire, carrying off many thousands. Barbarians were imported to fill the gaps and to cultivate the land, but they did not multiply rapidly when they came under the influence of the Roman civilization. It has frequently and truthfully been said that Rome was perishing for lack of men.

Decadence

The decadence of society can be seen clearly in their literature, art, and system of education. In the first they imitated or commented upon their great predecessors. During the last centuries of Roman rule, the Christian writings form the only literature produced in the West which has virility. Omitting the writers on topics connected with Christianity, a list of Roman literary men of the fourth and fifth centuries contains scarcely a name which the average educated man knows. In art the Romans were not able to do as good work as had been done under the early Empire. Constantine had been obliged to adorn his arch with ornaments taken bodily from older constructions. The coins show very clearly the decline in artistic skill. If a coin of Nero or of Augustus is placed beside a coin of Diocletian or one of the later emperors, the contrast is very marked, and the later production seems almost barbaric in contrast with the artistic skill evident in the earlier. In their schools they copied servilely the methods which had been useful to former generations. Moreover, Greek was already being neglected in the West and the curriculum of instruction was restricted to compends and compilations from the earlier Latin authors. Vergil, especially, and Horace and Terence were eagerly studied. The Latin prose writers were comparatively neglected and there was no serious attention paid to science, to philosophy, or to history. Educated men were looking back to the past and not looking forward hopefully and confidently to future achievements. They who were the most fortunately placed

CHAP. I

were quite content to hold the usual offices and then retire to a life of elegant leisure. Things of little consequence were frequently invested with undue importance and trifles were magnified into affairs of state.

Few Romans had any conception whatever of the dangers which threatened their civilization. Even those who felt that the times were out of joint were inclined to attribute it, if they were pagans, to Christianity; and if Christians, to the still prevalent paganism. But, until the catastrophes of the fifth century, no one dreamed that barbarian kingdoms could be established within the Roman Empire, or that the Roman unity was actually destined to pass away.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN THE PERIOD OF THE GERMANIC MIGRATIONS

Roman Unity

ROMAN unity had facilitated the task of the apostles. This idea was well expressed by Prudentius, who lived in the second half of the fourth century: "God willed peoples of discordant tongues, kingdoms of conflicting laws, to be brought together under one empire, because concord alone knows God. Hence He taught all nations to bow their necks under the same laws and to become Romans. Common rights made all men equal, and bound the vanquished with the bonds of fraternity. The city is the fatherland of all humanity, our very blood is mingled, and one stock is woven out of many races. This is the fruit of the triumphs of Rome; they opened the door for Christ to enter." [1]

Favoring Conditions

Certain features of the Roman civilization were very important, both for the early spread of Christianity and for the later organization of the church. Excellent roads made travel and communication easy throughout the Empire. The fact that Latin was the official language and that only one other language, Greek, was used at all commonly, facilitated intercourse between the Christians. The tolerant polytheism of the Romans opposed but little resistance to new religions and many of the best educated were tending toward a monotheistic form of belief. The worship of Isis and Mithra had made some acquainted with beliefs and practices which were very similar to those of the Christian church. Finally, there was a genuine and deep interest in religion.

Effect of Persecutions

During the first three centuries Christianity had been prohibited by law. The persecutions were not continuous, but a new attack might be brought about at any time by the anger of the mob or the zeal of an official. Consequently the membership of the church in its early days, was composed of men and women who were profoundly in earnest, ready to risk their lives for their faith, and usually of high character and excellent morals. Under persecution comparatively few were found who denied Christ; the great mass of believers remained steadfast.

Number of Christians

The number of Christians increased rapidly, especially in the third century. But while various estimates have been made for

[1] From Prudentius, adapted by Bigg in Wayside Sketches, p. 24.

CHAP. II

the fourth century and no definite figures can be given, all agree that the Christians formed only a small minority of the total population. Yet in certain provinces, particularly Asia Minor, almost half of the inhabitants had probably accepted the new religion; moreover, "Christianity was a religion of towns and cities," and its members could make their influence felt [2] Consequently its adherents possessed a strength entirely disproportionate to their actual number, and their earnestness, zeal, and high moral character made their support desirable.

The State Religion

How far Constantine may have been actuated by this fact or by other motives of self-interest and how far he may have been sincere in his adherence to Christianity must always remain uncertain. Whatever his motives, he showed favor to the Christians, and finally made Christianity the state religion Just before the edicts of toleration, "the prisons and the mines were thronged with Christian confessors; the executioner's sword was red with Christian blood. In a few years Christianity was tolerated and favored. Its adherents held high places in the Empire; its churches rivaled in splendor the temples of the pagan gods. At the end of the century it was no longer merely tolerated but dominant; it was the religion of the state; and heresy was a political crime." The church edifice had even become an asylum, inviolable, save in exceptional circumstances, by the officers of the law. The results were in many respects deplorable, as those who sought the emperor's favor became members of the church, and the ambitious, the worthless, the indifferent, became nominally Christians. In place of a comparatively small body of believers, bound together by similar aspirations and a common sense of danger, the church now enrolled among its numbers countless thousands attracted by less worthy motives.[3] Many sincere pagans of high moral character refused to join the triumphant body, and looked with contempt upon the vast number who had been converted so quickly when the imperial favor had been bestowed upon Christianity. The great Christian writers, John Chrysostom and Jerome, agreed that the wealthier the church became, the less virtuous its members were (*divitiis major, virtutibus minor*). The process of deterioration was so rapid and seemingly so complete that the history of the fourth-century church is a melancholy study. As Archdeacon Farrar expresses it, "the apparent

[2] See A. Harnack, Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (New York, 1905), Vol. II, final chapter.

[3] The deterioration had already begun during the period of comparative prosperity about the middle of the third century. It had, however, been checked by later persecutions.

triumph of Christianity was in some sense, and for a time, its real defeat, the corruption of its simplicity, the defacement of its purest and loftiest beauty." "The Christian faith, planted in the dissolute cities of Asia Minor," says Lecky, "had produced many fanatical ascetics, and a few illustrious theologians, but it had no renovating effect upon the people at large. It introduced among them a principle of interminable and implacable dissension, but it scarcely tempered in any appreciable degree their luxury or their sensuality."

This seems to have been especially true of the East and of Constantinople. In the West, and particularly at Rome, Christianity seems to have made less rapid progress. The emperor was not so close at hand and his favor not so immediately felt. Many of the Roman nobles clung to the gods of their ancestors, under whose protecting care they believed Rome had achieved greatness. About 347 A.D. there were still the seven vestal virgins at Rome, and throngs of citizens still worshiped Jupiter and the great Mother of the Gods. In 353 the emperor Constantius prohibited sacrifice to the pagan divinities, under penalty of death, but this decree does not appear to have been enforced. A calendar of the following year gives all the pagan festivals without a hint that Christianity had in any way superseded the older faith. At the beginning of the fifth century paganism was still strong in many parts of the West; and at the time of the Visigothic and Vandal invasions many ascribed all the misfortunes from which the state was suffering to the anger of the gods whose altars had been deserted. The strength of paganism, the external enemy, must be kept in mind in studying the opposition to heresy, the enemy within the Christian fold.

Pagan Survivals

Gradually Christianity triumphed over paganism even in the West. Toward the end of the fourth century the property of the temples was confiscated by the state and the statue of Victory was removed from the senate chamber at Rome. Later, under a usurper, the statue was temporarily replaced, and one year the festival of Isis was celebrated with particular magnificence. But the usurper was soon put down, and early in the fifth century the temples were converted into churches and the shrines of the old Roman religion were soon thronged with the triumphant adherents of the new faith.

Triumph of Christianity

Because of the necessity for combating both external and internal enemies, the organization of the church gradually became very effective. In its main outlines it was similar to the imperial organization, and for its geographical divisions in the West it adopted the boundaries of the older political divisions. At the

Organization Hierarchy

CHAP. II

beginning of the fifth century almost every *civitas* had its bishop, who was head of the church in that district.[4] Priests, deacons, sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, and other church officials are mentioned in the edicts of the emperors. It is evident that the hierarchy was numerous and carefully subordinated to the bishops. Among the latter, certain ones were preëminent, and exercised great authority over their fellow-bishops. This was true of the heads of the churches founded by the apostles and especially of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, the old and the new capital of the Empire. In the East there were, therefore, the three patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople who possessed especial prestige. The last, although he did not claim apostolic origin, gradually came to be recognized as superior in authority to the other two. This was due mainly to the importance of his position as bishop of the imperial city.

Rise of Bishop of Rome

Rome was the only city in the West which in the early centuries claimed an apostolic foundation. Moreover, it was generally held that the authority delegated by Christ to Peter, "chief of the apostles," had been transmitted by the latter to the bishops of Rome, as Peter was believed to have been the first bishop of Rome. In addition, the prestige of Rome, the old capital of the Empire, to which the people were accustomed to look for laws and guidance, naturally gave greater authority to its bishop. A long line of these increased this power by using it wisely. They were "always to be found on the side of a staunch but liberal orthodoxy." By the beginning of the fifth century the bishop of Rome held a unique position, from which developed gradually the powers and attributes of the medieval papacy.

Influence of Emperors

In the fourth and fifth centuries the emperors still performed many of the functions which were later absorbed by the popes. Among the imperial edicts in the Theodosian code are included regulations forbidding rebaptism and concerning other matters which now seem strictly ecclesiastical. The emperors deemed themselves responsible for the guidance of the church as well as of the state, and felt it to be their duty to decide what was orthodox Christianity, to repress heresy, to summon general councils, and to enforce the canons. The clergy, and the bishops in particular, endeavored to make themselves entirely independent of all other officials; but, as Gieseler states "they still acknowledged the emperor to be their highest judge, so much so that the Roman

[4] In some parts of the Empire each town had its bishop. In Northern Africa four hundred and seventy episcopal towns are known by name. Here and in other parts of the East it was only gradually that the office of bishop became restricted to the larger places.

bishop (in 378) regarded it a distinction to be judged only by the emperor. None ventured to call in question the supreme authority of the emperor, so far as it did not violate the rights of conscience; and the imperial laws, even when they touched the church, were received by the bishops with implicit obedience. The great influence exercised by the emperors, partly in filling up the most important episcopal sees, partly even in deposing and appointing bishops without further ceremony, naturally secured to them the obedience of the clergy, and with it the direction of ecclesiastical affairs." CHAP. II

Questions of doctrine and discipline were often brought before councils for decision. Occasionally general ones were summoned by the emperor to discuss important points in doctrine; more frequently councils including only the clergy of a province were called by the bishops It had been ordered by general councils in 325 and 451 that provincial assemblies be held twice a year, and, while this rule was seldom observed, the meetings were frequent. A study of the canons enacted by these gatherings shows the church endeavoring to organize its hierarchy, to define its dogma, to regulate admission into its offices, to purify the morals of its members, to establish the jurisdiction of its courts, to settle methods of judicial procedure, and to decide a multitude of similar questions. Many of the subjects discussed would now be considered outside of the range of ecclesiastical interests; but at the time there was no clear line of demarcation between ecclesiastical and civil interests; any subject which concerned the welfare of its members might be discussed and legislated upon at a council of the church. **Councils**

Questions of heresy were frequently discussed. Arianism,[5] which had been the most prominent heresy in the fourth century, was becoming relatively less important in the Empire by the beginning of the following century. It was again to be a burning question when reintroduced by the conquering barbarians. But other differences of belief were arising, for the attitude and thought of the Christians had been profoundly influenced by the great mass of pagans who had flocked into the church. The Greeks had brought with them their ideas of philosophy, and wanted to reason out logically what had been previously mere matters of faith. The pagans as a whole naturally tried to reconcile their habits of thought with the new religion. Consequently the latter was sometimes profoundly modified, and the result **Heresies**

[5] Arianism was the belief of Arius and his followers, who held that Jesus was the son of God, but not of the same substance or co-eternal with Him.

CHAP. II

might be a new form of heresy; at other times the change was not so great and caused only a restatement of the existing doctrine. It is impossible here to describe all the various beliefs and shades of belief which were dividing the Christians; yet two were so important and exercised so much influence, not only upon the men of that time but also upon later generations, that they must be mentioned.

Manicheism

The Manicheans dated from the third century, when their founder Mani taught in Persia. Their beliefs and doctrines are not fully understood, but their religion was a composite of the old Babylonian nature-religion then practised in Persia, of Christianity, and of some other elements.[6] Their most fundamental belief was in the existence of two eternal principles, good and evil, light and darkness. They held that this material world was the creation of the evil principle, believed by them to be the god of the Old Testament which they rejected. As this statement indicates, their creed was not really a heresy, but a system rival to Christianity. It appealed very strongly to many, as it seemed to explain so easily some of the perplexities which beset mankind, especially the existence of evil in the world. The Manicheans cited the New Testament in confirmation of their teachings. Their leaders, "the elect," practised asceticism and led excellent lives. Augustine was for nine years an adherent of the Manichean doctrines[7] before accepting Christianity.

Pelagianism

The second great heresy of the age was Pelagianism, which takes its name from Pelagius, a British monk who flourished during the first quarter of the fifth century. Augustine described him as "a holy man who has made no small progress in the Christian life." His followers differed widely upon individual points of belief, but they all held that there was no original sin, that man could by his free will choose good as well as evil, and that it was possible for every one to attain to happiness, i. e., eternal life. The teachings and example of Christ and the operations of grace aided in the attainment of goodness, but it was necessary for a man freely to resolve to be good in order to profit by grace. Predestination is founded entirely on God's knowledge of how men will act. Augustine argued vigorously against this point of view, and, although it had remarkable success for a time, it was finally adjudged to be heretical. The mere statement of these two heresies

[6] Until recently we have had only the statements of their opponents. The discovery in Chinese Turkestan of part of the "long-lost Mani Bible" may throw additional light upon the subject.

[7] In the account of the Albigensians more of the Manichean beliefs will be described; see Chapter xxx

shows that the Christians of the fifth century were struggling with great problems which still divide the members of the Christian churches. In combating these and other heresies the energy of the councils and of the church fathers was mainly absorbed, and the writings of the latter are chiefly concerned with the refutation of heretics.

Functions of Clergy

The functions and powers of the clergy also had to be defined, as these were changing with considerable rapidity. In many cases the bishops held a relatively humble position, and they, as well as their assistant priests, frequently earned their living by their own handiwork. The apostolical injunction was accepted literally, "If any would not work, neither should he eat." There was no feeling that honest labor of any kind was in any way unsuitable for a member of the clergy, bishops were free to farm, to trade, or to practise a profession. The local councils merely insisted that the bishops should, in whatever they did, be examples to all other Christians and should never take advantage of their position in order to make excessive gains.

Wealth of Bishops

The power of the bishops was increased and the necessity of earning their living was done away with by the wealth which the church acquired. In the fourth century the custom of making gifts and of bequeathing property to the church became common. Some of the members of the clergy seem to have spent much of their energy and time in securing gifts from women. In 370 the emperors felt it necessary to publish a decree forbidding ecclesiastics to visit the houses of widows and wards. Jerome wrote sorrowfully, "I do not complain of the law but of the causes which have rendered the law necessary." In addition to the voluntary or involuntary gifts from the faithful, the emperor gave salaries to the clergy and transferred to the church some of the revenues of the pagan temples, as well as the buildings themselves. As a result the clergy often became wealthy, and in the canons of the councils the clergy were frequently forbidden to take interest on the money which they lent. The possession of a sufficient income made a great change in the position of the clergy. The bishops began to gather together their priests and other assistants in their dwellings. This isolated the officials to some extent from the people and encouraged them to live a life apart, so that a bishop's household sometimes became very similar to a monastic community.

Wealth and power were by no means equal among the bishops. Those in the most important places naturally came to possess greater riches and authority than those in the smaller towns. There were exceptions due to the ability of individuals like Augus-

CHAP. II

tine, bishop of Hippo, but in the course of time the ablest men were generally attracted to the great centers. The bishop of the chief city of a province came to be known as a metropolitan, and to have authority over the other bishops within the province. The bishop of the chief city of a diocese was supposed to have a similar authority over the metropolitans within his diocese. But the development was not consistent nor uniform throughout the Empire. The trouble caused by the barbarian invasions interfered with the logical course of events and the ecclesiastical hierarchy was only gradually developed.

Metropolitans

As the church became secularized many Christians fled from its worldliness, but without any intention of withdrawing from the Christian fold. They renounced family life, riches, and all the joys of this world, in order to prepare themselves for the next. This was consistent with the belief of the time, which taught that the Christian ideal should be absorption in the preparation for the life after death. The more earnest believers felt that it was absolutely necessary to escape from the snares of the worldly life which was more and more absorbing the interests of the Christians. Because of this doctrine, monasticism took its rise.

Monachism

This withdrawal from the world commenced in lower Egypt. Its beginnings are enshrined in the legends of the hermits, from which some facts may be gleaned. Anthony is the most renowned of the early ascetics. When he was twenty years old, he sold all his property and retired to the desert. At first he lived in solitude, combating the temptations which tormented him for fifteen years. Later, pilgrims gathered about him and he became the head of a community which he guided by his precepts. He taught his associates to engage in manual labor and to be charitable. Twice he went to Alexandria, once to seek martyrdom during a persecution, and a second time, at the head of an army of monks, to fight Arianism. He won great popular veneration, but was eager to return to the desert. "The fish die," he said, "when they are drawn to land, and the monks lose their strength in towns." He was noted for his humility, kindly disposition, good sense, and wonderful health, which prolonged his life to the age of over one hundred years.

Anthony

By the year 340 there were thousands of hermits in various parts of the East. As says Harnack, "Some had gone out in order really to make atonement and to become saints; others to pose as such. Some fled society and its vices; others their calling and its toils. Some were simple-hearted and of indomitable will; others were sick of the whirl of life. In the one case the hermit desired to become poor both in mind and body, despising reason

Spread of Movement

and learning." Among these men there were the greatest possible divergences in manner of life. Some loved nature and were happy in a simple round of toil and prayer; others went to the greatest extremes in asceticism which they could imagine; still others used their profession merely as a cloak for idleness and sin. The West became interested in this movement when Athanasius visited Rome and took with him two monks. The latter attracted much attention, and by their conduct and character made monasticism known in its most favorable light. When Anthony died Athanasius wrote his biography, which was widely read in Rome and influenced many to follow his example. Some ascetic communities were formed, especially in the palaces of women of noble birth. Jerome was an enthusiastic advocate of monasticism and became the spiritual guide of these communities. Later some Roman ladies followed him to Palestine and established monasteries there.

Opposition in the West

But the movement found many opponents, particularly in the West. In the East the church, especially the orthodox Athanasian bishops, had welcomed the monks as allies. They had been venerated by the people and the emperor; Constantine had shown his favor by writing to Anthony. While the eastern populace in general looked upon the monks as the ideal Christians, the point of view in the West was very different. There monachism began as an aristocratic movement and met with little popular favor. In Rome the funeral of a young woman who was thought to have starved herself to death aroused the mob to anger and they clamored for the expulsion of the monks. "When will this detestable race of monks be chased from the city?" they cried. "Why do not the people stone them? Why are they not thrown into the river?" At first the western bishops were not at all well disposed toward this new movement, and it was only about the end of the fourth century that it took firm root. Even then its usages were almost entirely borrowed from the East; but the western monks usually avoided the extremes which had brought discredit upon some phases of monasticism. Only in the sixth century, when Benedict had organized western monachism, did it become the Christian ideal in the West. Then "religion" came to mean monastic life; "secular" was used to designate the members of the clergy who were not living under monastic rule; and "conversion" was the act of taking the monastic habit.

Augustine

The leaders of thought in the fifth century had already given their adherence to the monastic ideal. Of these, Augustine was the most influential, and his life shows many of the currents which were affecting the times. He was born in 354, in northern Africa. Although his mother, Monica, was a Christian, he was not bap-

CHAP. II

tized until he had reached manhood. He grew up among the temptations of the African cities, and took to himself a mistress by whom he had a son. When a young man, he became a Manichean; but he began to question the Manichean point of view, especially after he became interested in neo-platonic philosophy. After two years of study at Milan he finally accepted the Christian faith, and in 387 he and his son were baptized by Ambrose. For forty-three years Augustine served the church, particularly by his writings against the various heresies. He was a very prolific author, and in the Middle Ages his works were popular, especially his *City of God*. At the present time the *Confessions*, a kind of autobiography, is his best known work and our chief source for his life. In his writings, which were so numerous that Isidore later said no one could hope ever to read them all, he discussed all of the burning questions of the day; through them he became the spiritual guide of western Christendom. In his house at Hippo, where he was the bishop, Augustine gathered his priests and associates; for them he established a community government very similar to monastic life.

This gathering together of the clergy in the bishop's house, and the life which they led apart, is characteristic of the position which they held. The emperors had given them special privileges as a class. They were not required to hold the municipal offices which entailed such onerous duties. They were granted partial exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, so that, if they preferred, all cases in which members of the clergy were concerned might be tried by the ecclesiastical courts. In certain cases, such as offenses against religion, even the lay members were tried in the courts of the church. Not only was its jurisdiction recognized by law: its means of coercing its own members in case of need were strengthened by the action of the state in recognizing that excommunication from the church in one place excluded the excommunicated from all orthodox churches. This made excommunication a terrible weapon. One who fell under this ban was not merely shut out from participation in any act of worship, but could not even have social intercourse with any Christian. This weapon gave the bishops great power.

Privileges of Clergy

Unworthy Members

Many unworthy men entered the ranks of the clergy in order to profit by this power and the special civil status which they would possess as officials of the church. The letters of Jerome draw a scathing picture of the conduct of some of these men. He depicts them as covetous of wealth, given to gossip and to frequenting the homes of wealthy ladies. A typical description reads: "One of these men, who is the prince of this art, I will briefly

and concisely describe, in order that when you know the master you may the more readily recognize his disciples. He hastes to rise with the sun, he arranges the order of his visits, he seeks short-cuts, and the troublesome old man almost pushes his way into the bed-chamber of people before they are awake. If he happens to see a cushion, a pretty napkin, or piece of furniture, he praises it, he handles it, he admires it, he complains that he lacks such things; and he not so much begs it as extorts it; for every one fears to offend the city newsman. Chastity he hates, fasting he hates; what he likes is the smell of dinner, and his weakness is sucking-pig. He has a barbarous and froward tongue, always ready for bad language. Wherever you go, there he is; whatever news you hear, he is either the author or exaggerator of the report. He is constantly changing his horses, and from their sleekness and fire you would think that he was the son-in-law of the Thracian king." Jerome is no less outspoken about the evil character of many of the Christian laity. His criticisms can easily be corroborated from the sermons of John Chrysostom and of Augustine, or from the pages of the pagan Ammianus Marcellinus. Whatever allowances may be made for exaggeration, it is evident that the church was no longer composed exclusively of men and women of high moral character.

Pagan Influences

Beliefs and customs had altered sadly. The influx of thousands who were essentially pagan in their point of view had not merely lowered the general standard of morality, but had also introduced beliefs and customs from the older religions. Baptism had come to be considered popularly as a mystic rite by which all sin was washed away, and consequently baptism was frequently postponed until a man had sowed his wild oats. Some Christians even believed that all who had been baptized would be saved, no matter how sinful their lives had been. As the temples were converted into churches, pagan customs were copied or continued, so that many festivals with their accompanying ceremonies became identified with the Christian worship. "Christian churches of the fifth century even copied the pagan custom of having baths attached for the convenience of the worshipers. People hung up their crutches and ex-votos to the saints as they had done to Juno and Aesculapius. They had the music, the incense, and the flowers, and candles, and vestment, and holy-water, just as in the good old times." Sacred banquets, similar to the old pagan feasts, were held in the churches in the fourth century; on such occasions feasting, drinking, and dancing through the whole day polluted the building.

Laymen took a very active interest in doctrines and external

CHAP. II

Activity of Laymen

observances. Much of the activity which in a free state would have been directed into politics was, in the Roman Empire, devoted to religious partizanship. The factions at the races in the Hippodrome divided not only according to their favorite charioteers, but according to their views on religious matters. Elections to the office of bishop or priest were to a great extent in the hands of laymen. "In those times of universal misery and disorganization it not uncommonly happened that the people laid hold of any religious and powerful layman, in whom they saw an efficient champion against the oppression of tax-collectors or cruelty of barbarian invaders, and compelled him to accept ordination by pressure little, or not at all, short of physical force." Thus Augustine was chosen at Hippo. In the churches the congregations criticized the sermons freely, applauding loudly when pleased, or interrupting when they disapproved. When John Chrysostom at Constantinople thundered against the fashions of the day, his hearers would loudly resent his censures.

Dangerous Position

Because of the influx of the unworthy, the opportunities for the ambitious, the power exercised by the emperors in matters of faith and discipline, and the excessive interference of the laity, the church was in a perilous position, especially in the East. In the West its development and power were different, because the migrations brought new conditions which were favorable to the growth of the power of the bishops in general, and especially of the bishop of Rome.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY GERMANS

CHAP. III

Knowledge of Germans

AS the Germans played such an important rôle during the Middle Ages, all that can be gleaned concerning their primitive institutions is of peculiar interest. In recent years our knowledge of their early history and customs has been greatly increased by careful archæological studies, by the comparison and criticism of the various passages in the classical authors, and by an examination of their early laws. But the most important single source is still Tacitus' *Germania,* from which much of this chapter is either quoted or paraphrased. The racial customs which Tacitus described were long maintained by the Germans and played a large part in shaping the destinies of western Europe.

Their Home

The German tribes had their settlements in the central and northern parts of Europe, and the territory which they occupied extended southward from the Scandinavian peninsula to the Danube. The Rhine was their western boundary and the Vistula River marked approximately their farthest extent to the east. This land which the Germans held was neither especially fertile nor attractive. According to Pomponius Mela, "it was traversed by many rivers, and was rough with mountains, and was for the most part impassable on account of the forests and swamps." "Who, indeed," wrote Tacitus, "would leave Asia or Africa or Italy to seek Germany, with its desert scenery, its harsh climate, its sullen manners and aspect? In general the country, though varying here and there in appearance, is covered over with wild forests and filthy swamps."

Occupations

The German was the child of these forests and swamps. In them he learned to endure hunger and cold. He was usually a nomad and made his living by hunting or by tending his herds of cattle, which were numerous, but of a very poor quality. Here and there in the forests were open, small-treed tracts suitable for agriculture, and a few of these were cultivated. In addition some German tribes had great herds of swine which roamed in the woods, and some kept poultry and bees. The only handicraft commonly practised by the men was that of the smith. They knew the use of iron, from which they wrought their weapons, and they could make ornaments out of gold. The women wove

CHAP. III

linen, made soap, tanned leather for shoes, and baked vessels of earthenware. Although their culture was thus limited, they proved afterwards to have a great capacity for advance.

Characteristics

They were a hardy, vigorous race; weak or deformed infants were exposed and left to die. The children who were to be raised were early inured to hardships, and those who survived grew to a stature which seemed gigantic to the smaller Romans. They were blonds with "fierce blue eyes" and reddish or golden hair, which they allowed to grow long, as the visible mark of their freedom. They were fitful and passionate in temper and often of a gloomy nature. "Their song echoes to a homelier note of sorrow—to hunger and cold, howl of wolf, grinding of ice, exile and misery of friendless men, bitter toil on a wintry ocean; such is the shadow to which a fierceness of delight in battle and slaughter makes the only contrast."[1] In fact, courage was the special virtue, and cowardice the unpardonable sin. Weaklings and cowards were cast into the miry swamps and a hurdle placed over their heads, so that their infamy might be blotted out from human sight. The virtue which next to valor seems to be especially noteworthy was the hospitality practised by the Germans. No other race indulged more freely in entertainments and ungrudging hospitality. It was considered a crime for a German to turn any man away from his door.

Vices

Drunkenness and gambling were the most prominent vices. It was held to be no disgrace to spend the whole day and night in drinking. Tacitus, a sagacious Roman, suggested: "If you should indulge their love of drinking by furnishing them as much as they wanted, they might be conquered more easily by their vices than by arms." They gambled with such great recklessness in their gains and losses that when everything else was gone they staked their liberty and their own persons on the last decisive throw. The loser went into voluntary slavery. Though he might be the younger and stronger of the two, he suffered himself to be bound and led away. Because of these vices and some other points of resemblance it has sometimes been customary to compare the early Germans with the American Indians of colonial days; but the former were already more advanced than the latter and had a greater capacity for making further progress.

Houses

The Germans had no cities, as they preferred to live in villages made up of separate houses surrounded by open spaces. These houses, or huts, were built of wood and were intended mainly for

[1] Gummere: Germanic Origins, p. 36. Throughout the chapter I am much indebted to Gummere. Other quotations, when no source is given, are from Tacitus: Germania.

summer use; in winter the people took refuge in holes underground, covered with great heaps of manure for the sake of warmth. Their summer dwellings were small and sometimes very light so that they could be moved easily from place to place. The fire was made in the center of the hut; there was no chimney, and the smoke escaped as best it could. As the roof was constructed of reeds or straw it was very inflammable and the houses often caught fire and burned to the ground. Fortunately they could be rebuilt with little exertion.

Clothing and Food

All the clothing was made by the women. Among the more barbarous tribes furs were usually worn, but most of the German men and women had woolen or linen garments; the children of all classes grew up naked. For ornaments the wealthy wore golden rings upon the arms or neck or fingers. They were very fond of bathing and usually preferred warm water. Their favorite food appears to have been horse-flesh; they also ate game, beef, mutton, fish, geese, ducks, and chickens; in addition they had oats, barley, wheat, and some vegetables. Honey was much used, both for sweetening and in the preparation of their national drink, mead. They knew how to obtain salt from the salt springs.

Religion

Their religion was a mixture of the worship of their ancestors and of the powers of nature. Their mythology included the belief in many gods, spirits of the air, of the water, and of the woods; they had faith also in witches and divination. They worshiped usually in groves and sometimes upon islands. To the shades of their ancestors they made offerings of food; to the gods they sacrificed animals and occasionally human beings. After an animal had been duly offered to the god, the worshipers feasted upon the flesh; possibly this was also done in the case of human sacrifices. In much later times Charlemagne found it necessary to order the infliction of the death penalty upon any among the Saxons who should burn a witch and feast upon his or her flesh. Horses were the animals most commonly used for sacrifice, and the eating of horse-flesh was condemned later by the Christians on account of its associations with the pagan worship. The priests had great authority among the Germans and they alone were allowed to inflict blows upon a free man.

Position of Women

The Germans believed that women had "a certain sanctity and prophetic gift." Their "wise women" were supposed to be able to interpret or to express the will of the gods; and after death some of them became local deities and later still they were metamorphosed into Christian saints. Women performed the bulk of the labor among the Germans; they not only carried on the household crafts, but also cultivated the fields, while the men.

CHAP. III

when they were not engaged in hunting or fighting, usually spent their time in idleness, sleeping, drinking, or gambling. The German usually had only one wife; but a chieftain might marry several women, in order to form alliances with other tribes. The wife was usually purchased from her father, by the gift of horses, oxen, or weapons, and in case of need could be sold again by her husband. The women were extolled by Tacitus for their chastity and fertility; in his extreme praise, however, he is probably contrasting them with Roman women. Adulteresses existed and were sternly dealt with. The punishment was immediate and was inflicted by the injured husband, who cut off the woman's hair in the presence of her kinsfolk, drove her naked from his house, and flogged her through the whole village.

Chiefs

The Germans chose their chieftains from the families which were considered to be the noblest. Distinguished rank or great services on the part of their parents sometimes won even for mere striplings the claim to be ranked as chiefs. But the latter did not have much power in times of peace and were not necessarily the leaders in battle, for the commanders in war were chosen on account of their valor, and when chosen led by example rather than authority, winning admiration and obedience only when they were energetic and fought well. During the later migrations a successful leader won for himself much greater authority than the early chiefs had possessed and frequently became the king of his people.

Public Assemblies

Public business was transacted in the assemblies; and there, too, important judicial matters were decided. The people met "either at the new moon or at the full moon," in some open place; all free men had a right to be present, except those who were in disgrace because they had fled from the field of battle and left their shields behind. When a sufficient number had come together, the priests proclaimed silence and kept order. The latter duty was sometimes no sinecure, as the men came fully armed. Concerning minor matters the chiefs deliberated; but in important affairs all the people were consulted, although the subjects referred to the common people for judgment had been discussed beforehand by the chiefs. A chieftain or some leader addressed them, each being heard according to his age, his noble blood, his reputation in warfare, or his eloquence, though more because he had the power to persuade than because he had the right to command. If an opinion was displeasing they rejected it by shouting; if they agreed to it they clashed with their spears. The most complimentary form of assent was that expressed by means of their weapons. No one was allowed to assume arms until the tribe had

recognized his competence to use them. Then in the full assembly some one of the chiefs, or the father or relations of the youth, invested him with the shield and spear. This was the sign that the lad had reached the age of manhood; this was his first honor. Before this he had been only a member of a household; hereafter he was a member of the tribe. Lawsuits and accusations of serious crime were brought before the assembly. Questions of guilt were determined by ordeals of various kinds.[2] For the convicted, unless he was sentenced to death as a traitor or deserter, the penalty was usually a fine Even murder entailed only the payment of a sum of money, comparatively large, but established in amount by law, provided the kinsmen were willing to accept compensation. If the latter preferred they had a right to attempt revenge, and others could interfere only by their influence, not by punishment of the avengers. CHAP. III

Frequently it was impossible to persuade the kinsmen to accept a payment, because the Germans dearly loved fighting. If the tribe to which they belonged was at peace for any length of time, many of the noble youths voluntarily sought other tribes that were at war, because a quiet life was irksome and they gained renown more readily in the midst of perils. Consequently the young men enrolled themselves under the leadership of some chief renowned in war, who furnished them food and shelter, their war-horse and weapons, securing the means for this bounty by war and plunder, or through the gifts which poured in to him on account of his reputation. When they went into battle it was a disgrace for the chief to be outdone in deeds of valor and for his band of followers — the *comitatus* — not to match the courage of their chief; furthermore for any one of the followers to have survived his chief and come unharmed out of a battle was lifelong infamy. It was in accordance with their most sacred oath of allegiance to defend and protect their leader and to contribute their bravest deeds to his renown. The chief fought for victory; the men of his following, for the chief. Ammianus Marcellinus tells of a German king who surrendered after the emperor Julian had defeated the Alamanni at Strassburg; and his "companions, two hundred in number, and his three most intimate friends, thinking it would be a crime in them to survive their king, or not to die for him if occasion required, gave themselves up also as prisoners." Comitatus

The knowledge concerning the Germans which has been summarized above was gained by the Romans only very gradually, from their contact with them. Except for the accounts of isolated

[2] See Chapter VIII.

CHAP. III

Early Contact with Romans

travelers and traders, their first acquaintance with the Germans came through warfare. This began when the northern tribes made their invasion of southern and western lands in 113 B.C. Then the Cimbri and Teutons came down from the north with their women and children and all their property, and defeated a Roman consul at Noreia near the river Drave, in what is now German Austria. They did not follow up their victory nor enter Roman territory for some years, but moved westward instead. Twelve years elapsed before Rome was strong enough to destroy these threatening barbarians; in the meantime the latter had won three great victories and many tribes along the border had been incited to revolt. The barbarians were finally defeated by Marius; the uprisings on the border were put down, and peace ensued for forty years. During the period of Cæsar's governorship in Gaul there was another great conflict. In 58 B.C. the whole Helvetian people, numbering 368,000, attempted to enter that province, seeking better and more extensive lands. Cæsar finally succeeded in driving them back. During the following years German tribes which had already settled in Gaul were expelled and the frontier of the Roman Empire was pushed forward to the Rhine. Though Cæsar made two expeditions across this river, he intended them merely as military demonstrations and apparently had no desire to extend the Roman frontier beyond the Rhine.

Fortifying the Frontier

For some time after Cæsar's campaigns the Germans remained comparatively quiet, although in 38 B.C. there was an invasion which the Roman general, Agrippa, repelled. The latter then began the policy of establishing tribes of Germans along the border within the Empire; for he hoped that jealousy of the natives on the one hand, and fear of depredations by their less fortunate countrymen across the border on the other hand, would keep the Germans faithful to their Roman allies. Later this policy was carried out very extensively. After other invasions, the Romans built fortresses along the left bank of the Rhine; some of these have grown into important modern towns, such as Basel, Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, and Cologne. Along the southern bank of the Danube, too, the Romans established stations; to this Regensburg (Ratisbon), Passau, and Vienna owe their origin. These fortresses and the excellent military roads which connected them made the frontiers fairly safe.

Under Drusus, in 12 B.C., the Romans attempted a forward movement into Germany. Three campaigns did not result in any particular conquests by the Romans, but did check German ag-

gressions. Later the Romans advanced to the Elbe and placed on its farther bank an altar to Augustus. Other expeditions followed, which impressed the Germans with the power and wealth of Rome. Young chieftains went to Rome to learn Roman ways, and for a while all the northern tribes appeared to be either subdued or won over by diplomacy. But this seeming security was rudely interrupted by the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. He had attempted to introduce Roman methods of taxation and government, whereas previously the tribes had been allowed to manage their own affairs. Arminius aroused the Germans to resistance. Varus was suddenly and treacherously attacked and his three legions were destroyed. In despair he himself committed suicide. This was a crushing blow to the Romans; when the news reached Augustus, it is said that he beat his head against the wall of his chamber, crying frantically, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions." The Empire was not in a position to send out fresh legions and conquer Germany thoroughly; consequently, Augustus, in his testament, advised his successors not to attempt any advance, and the Rhine from Coblenz downward was accepted again as the Roman boundary.

CHAP. III

Arminius

The Roman commanders realized, however, that energetic measures were required to avert the danger of an invasion by the Germans. Various emperors strengthened the fortifications along the Rhine-Danube frontier and included within the line of defense the *agri decumates,* or "tithed lands." The latter was the territory which lay between the upper Rhine, the Neckar, and the upper Danube. The fortified rampart which defended this, the *Limes,* which has been known popularly as the *Teufelsmauer,* was probably the work of Hadrian. Trajan conquered Dacia, the country which lay north of the lower Danube, and settled it with colonists, partly as a defense against the barbarians and partly for the sake of its rich mines. Trajan's conquest and Hadrian's fortifications checked the Germans, although there was intermittent fighting along the frontier and Marcus Aurelius had to conduct a long and disastrous war against the Marcomanni and Quadi, when Italy itself was invaded and the Germans defeated only with great difficulty. In the third century there were repeated incursions into the Empire by the Germans, and the province of Dacia was conquered by them. At the end of the century the Rhine-Danube frontier was still intact, but on the farther bank the enemies were numerous and threatening.

Germans More Dangerous

The Romans also found it advisable to admit some Germans into the Empire in various capacities. The captives made in the early wars had been sold as slaves, and, since they were bar-

Germans Among the Romans

CHAP. III

barians, had been employed usually in manual labor. Other Germans, as already noted, had been colonized along the frontiers or had been granted lands elsewhere in the Empire. In the second century one band of Germans was located even as far south as Ravenna in Italy. Later whole tribes were allowed to settle in Roman territory, were granted land, and were enrolled as Roman soldiers; so that in the fourth century the army had come to be composed mainly of Germans. Many of the soldiers had risen in rank and some had become high imperial officials, especially in the fourth century; so that they gained great distinction and married Roman women. The German type of beauty, both in men and women, was much admired by the Roman ladies, and it became fashionable to dye the hair in order to make it resemble that of the Germans, or to wear wigs made of real German hair. In addition, many hostages, usually the sons of chieftains, had been carried to Rome or to Constantinople, where they acquired a knowledge of Roman military methods which later they made use of against the Romans. In all of these ways the Germans had entered into the Roman Empire; and, although it is impossible to make any estimate of their numbers on the eve of their migrations, they formed the main part of the Roman army and held many of the offices in the state.

Romans Among the Germans

Romans, too, had gone among the Germans; of these the traders had been the most important. The chief articles of export supplied by the Germans were slaves, amber, furs, linen, soap, and goose feathers. In return they desired trinkets, such as barbarians have always coveted. Consequently the trade was very profitable to the Romans, especially as the traders probably enjoyed the advantages of the traditional German hospitality. From these men the Germans acquired not only their ornaments, but also some ideas of Roman civilization. After Rome had become Christian, missionaries visited and worked among the Germans, but it was only at a comparatively late date that their labors met with any great reward.[3] From contact with the Roman armies, from the traders and travelers, from their countrymen who returned after living in Rome, the Germans gradually became acquainted with some features of the Roman civilization and had their minds filled with the wonders of the southland, the home and source of so many things which they greatly desired. Consequently, as their knowledge increased, the impetus to invasion and acquisition constantly became stronger.

Prestige of Rome

The Romans had checked the Germans, partly by fighting and partly by paying tribute. Since the days of Marcus Aurelius, if

[3] See work of Ulfilas, in Chapter IV.

not before, the Romans had paid the Germans to refrain from attack. Many tribes received from the imperial government regular subventions conditional upon their good behavior. But the Romans had relied still more upon the prestige of the Roman name. It is impossible at the present day to conceive of the impression made upon the barbarians by the might and grandeur of Rome. The words ascribed to the aged German chief, when admitted to Tiberius' camp on the Elbe, are probably fictitious, but represent, although in an exaggerated form, the feeling of many a German who had seen the marvels of Rome: "What madness is this of ours, to contend against the unseen divinities, and not humbly seek their presence and make submission to their benign authority!"

Roman Policy

Lastly, the traditional policy of the Romans had been very effective. For several hundred years they had used with great effect their policy of "divide and rule," *divide et impera.* From the time of Cæsar they had employed agents to foment trouble and to prevent union among the Germans. Their desires were well expressed by Tacitus: "This was a special favor and kindness of the gods towards us. They did not even grudge us the sight of the battle. Above sixty thousand men fell, not beneath the arms of Roman soldiers, but, what is grander, for their delight and pleasure. I pray there may continue to exist among these tribes, if not a love of us, at least a hatred of one another, since, while the destinies of the Empire drive us on, fortune can offer us nothing better than the discord of our enemies." It was partly in the pursuance of this policy that German tribes had been settled within the Empire and enrolled in the army. Many a chieftain, like the young Theodoric the Ostrogoth,[4] was employed to fight against his own countrymen. Sometimes whole tribes were thus used. Ammianus Marcellinus says that when Julian felt anxious about possible attacks from the Alamanni, "after considering various plans, it seemed best to the Emperor to weaken them by stirring up against them the Burgundians, a warlike people, whose flourishing condition was due to the immense number of their young men, and who were therefore to be feared by all their neighbors." Such policy as this had held the Germans in check for many generations; but new conditions arose in the fourth century and caused the great migrations into the Roman territory.

[4] See Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRATIONS

CHAP. IV

FOR many generations the German tribes had been moving slowly but steadily southward, toward the Roman Empire.

Causes

But the advance was never continuous; it was frequently necessary to halt in order to obtain food; when an attractive place was found, a tribe would remain a generation or longer, for they had no definite goal. Eventually the increase in their numbers, due to the proverbial fertility of the German mothers, would force all, or a portion of the tribe, to continue the migration. Even if the population had remained stationary, it would have needed frequently to change its home, because its life demanded a large extent of territory. Unless the forests were ample, game would soon become scarce and wary. As the cattle were pastured on the natural meadows, they needed a wide range. Agriculture was in a primitive stage and the soil was soon exhausted, so that fresh fields were constantly needed. Cæsar had learned, to his astonishment, that the Helvetians had planned their invasion of Gaul because they thought their lands too small—which seemed to him a strange idea. But other Germans in the succeeding centuries felt the same economic pressure and were compelled to seek new homes. They were attracted especially by the more fertile lands within the Empire; many gladly entered the Roman territory as *laeti,* and thus became bound to the soil and were obliged to serve as soldiers when summoned. But there were also other causes which contributed to bring about this migration: the German love of adventure, which is so well illustrated by the institution of the *comitatus;* their desire to participate in the advantages of the Roman civilization and wealth; and the legends which were current concerning the wonderful sunny southern lands; furthermore, whenever one tribe moved, it influenced all of its neighbors, and those who were less favorably situated hastened to occupy the lands left vacant.

In the latter half of the fourth century a new impulse was added, which precipitated the German entrance into the Roman Empire. But, before describing this final impulse, it is well to

Location of Tribes

pause and see what tribes and confederations were menacing the Rhine-Danube frontier. A glance at a map representing the po-

sition of the Germans in the middle of the fourth century will show certain tribes massed along the boundary. To the northeast of the Danube, in the valleys of the Dniester, Bug, and Dnieper, were the Ostrogoths or East Goths. North of the Danube and west of the river Pruth were the Visigoths or West Goths. Extending northward from the Danube, in the country between the present sites of Vienna and Budapest, was the territory occupied by the Vandals. The Alamanni inhabited what had formerly been the "tithed lands," between the upper waters of the Rhine and the Danube, and extended as far south as the lake of Constance. Along the Rhine, north of the river Main, were the Ripuarian Franks. The Salian Franks were living in northern Gaul, just south of the Rhine, where they had been given lands by the emperor Julian. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were living on the coast of the North Sea, and well to the east of them were the Lombards. Lastly, the Burgundians were situated in the region of the Main. There were many other confederations and tribes farther in the interior of Europe; but those named above were the more important of those who were destined to share in the partition of the Roman Empire.

For almost five centuries Rome had been obliged to fight or bargain with the land-greedy Germans. But the new element which entered into the situation rendered her former tactics of little avail. About 374 A.D. a horde of Huns invaded Europe, coming from the unknown lands of Central Asia. The Germans seem to have been panic-stricken by the advent of these savages, "small, foul, and skinny," whom Jordanes says they believed to be the offspring from the union of witches and unclean spirits. The Germans were terrified by their hideous countenances, and even more by the rapidity of their movement. The Huns almost lived on horseback, and appeared suddenly where they were least expected. Their appearance and their habits were equally repulsive. Their faces were seamed with gashes, made in earliest infancy; their noses were broad and flat. Their dress consisted of a coarse linen tunic, which was never changed until it rotted, and "a sort of helmet made of the skins of wild rats patched together." It was believed that they ate their food uncooked, but warmed the raw meat by carrying it between their thighs and their horses' backs. Their invasion and the terror which it caused precipitated the movement of the Germans which resulted in the establishment of barbarian kingdoms within the Empire.

Invasion of Huns

The Huns first fell upon the Ostrogoths and reduced them to subjection. The Visigoths, fearing the same fate, humbly begged of the emperor that they might be allowed to cross the Danube

CHAP. IV

and settle within the Roman territory. They had for a long time been in receipt of pay from the Romans, on the ground that they were to protect the frontier on their side of the river. They were probably the most civilized of the Germans who lived outside of the Empire. Some of them had apparently become Christians even before the Council of Nicæa, as a Gothic bishop is said to have attended the council. But the great missionary to the Goths was Ulfilas, who was born about 311 A.D. He had been sent to Constantinople in his youth, probably as a hostage, and had learned the Greek and the Latin languages. He became an Arian Christian and was consecrated as a missionary bishop in 341. Until his death, forty years later, Ulfilas labored to convert his countrymen. For their sake he translated most of the Bible into the Gothic language. Prudently, however, he refrained from translating the books of *Samuel* and *Kings*, which are so full of fighting, "because the nation was already very fond of war, and needed the bit rather than the spur, so far as fighting was concerned." In order to write out the translation in Gothic, Ulfilas found it necessary to invent an alphabet. He took the Greek letters as the basis, and added some forms from the older Gothic runes and some from the Roman alphabet. A large portion of his version has been preserved, especially in the so-called *Codex Argenteus* at Upsala, and it forms a priceless treasure for the study of the early Germanic language and institutions. Through his efforts Christianity was adopted by many of the Visigoths and from them it spread to other German tribes. He taught Arianism and this became the creed of most Germans when they were converted

Ulfilas

Entry of Visigoths

The suppliant Goths, accordingly, were neither wholly barbarous nor absolutely unfamiliar to the Romans. Some of those who had become Christians under Ulfilas' teaching seem to have been persecuted and were allowed by the Romans to cross the Danube and settle in Mœsia. The nation as a whole was now asking to be permitted to follow their Christian countrymen, but their request was granted only after hesitation on the part of the emperor. Before, it had been only a few thousands who had sought admittance; now it was a horde estimated at a million human beings, of whom about two hundred thousand were warriors. Finally, in the year 376, the emperor Valens gave his consent, but ordered that they must surrender all their weapons. Roman troops were sent to guard the Goths as they came in and to see that their arms were surrendered. As the Germans crossed the Danube, in ships, on rafts, in canoes, or even swimming, in their eagerness to escape from the Huns, the Romans plundered

them. Many a comely maiden was seized upon; many a boy was led away into slavery; wagons were pillaged; but the warriors were carelessly allowed to retain their swords and shields. After they had all crossed, the officials continued to exploit them, and sold them loathsome food at starvation prices. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Romans, "having collected dogs from all quarters, with the most insatiable rapacity exchanged them for an equal number of slaves, among whom were several sons of men of noble birth."

Finally, maddened by their wrongs, the Visigoths revolted and began to ravage the country. The emperor Valens, after some indecisive fighting, attempted to crush them. In a pitched battle near Hadrianople, August 9, 378, "the lines dashed against each other, like the beaks of ships." As the sun rose high in the heavens, the Romans, "who were worn with toil and scarcely able to support even the weight of their armor," were routed. The emperor was slain, and "many illustrious men fell in the disastrous defeat; scarcely one-third of the whole army escaped; except the battle of Cannæ no such destructive slaughter is recorded in our annals."

Hadrianople

Theodosius, who was elected emperor, managed to check the barbarians and to make peace with them. During his reign he favored them, and they, in return, fought loyally for him. At his death, in 395, they mourned their loss in him, "the friend of the Goths." The two sons of Theodosius became co-emperors: Arcadius, aged eighteen, having his capital at Constantinople, and Honorius, aged eleven, having his residence at Ravenna. But the real power was in the hands of two ministers, Rufinus of Gallic birth, and Stilicho the Vandal, who were jealous of each other. At the moment when the Empire was so weak, the Visigoths found a leader in Alaric, who had been an officer under Theodosius and had done good service. Having asked an important command from Arcadius and having been refused, he persuaded his people to revolt.

Death of Theodosius

Accordingly, in the same year that Theodosius died the Visigoths began their migration, which was to last for more than a generation and to extend over a large portion of the Empire. First they invaded Macedonia and Thessaly, passed Thermopylæ, exacted tribute from Athens, pillaged the temple of Eleusis, and destroyed Corinth. Since the commencement of their march Rufinus had been murdered by the friends of Stilicho and the latter was all-powerful. He pursued the Goths and managed to pen them up in the mountains of Arcadia, where they could obtain no supplies. Their plight was terrible, as they were encumbered

Alaric in Greece

CHAP. IV

with their wives and children and all their possessions. But, either by Stilicho's carelessness or by his connivance, they were permitted to escape. Arcadius was eager to be freed from the menace of their presence, and consequently appointed Alaric governor of Illyricum. There the Visigoths made their home for four years.

In 401 Alaric invaded Italy and defeated Stilicho at Aquileia; later he fought two indecisive battles with the same general, at Pollentia in 402 and at Verona in 403. In spite of this invasion Stilicho again enrolled Alaric and his followers in the imperial service In 408 the emperor Honorius became distrustful of Stilicho and had him put to death, on a suspicion of treason and of collusion with the barbarians. It is not possible now to ascertain the truth, but two facts stand out conspicuously: when his own life was threatened, Stilicho refused to arm his followers against the emperor; and he alone was strong enough to hold the barbarians in check.

Death of Stilicho

Immediately upon the news of Stilicho's death Alaric began his final invasion, "to penetrate to the City." He advanced practically without opposition, while Honorius ingloriously remained in the impregnable city of Ravenna; all supplies were cut off from Rome and the citizens died by thousands. As no aid came, the Romans sought terms of surrender. Their messengers at first took a haughty tone and threatened that unless easy conditions were offered them the whole people in their desperation would throw themselves upon the Goths. Alaric is said to have answered: "The thicker the hay, the easier to mow." He finally consented to accept a ransom of five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand robes of silk, three thousand hides dyed scarlet, and three thousand pounds of pepper. After a partial payment had been made, Alaric withdrew to Etruria and began to negotiate with Honorius. Apparently he desired to obtain a high military command in the Empire, to receive an annual subsidy of grain and money, and to be recognized as the ruler of the country around the head of the Adriatic. As Honorius refused, Alaric again moved on Rome and seized Ostia. Rome was dependent upon this port for its food supply from Africa, and the senate was soon willing to agree to revolt against the powerless Honorius and to accept a new emperor, nominated by Alaric. The count of Africa, however, remained faithful to Honorius and would send no corn to Rome. His action soon caused a famine in the city, and the citizens began to grumble against the new emperor. As Honorius showed a willingness to treat with Alaric, the latter publicly degraded his puppet-emperor,

who had shown himself entirely inefficient. But Honorius failed to meet his terms, so Alaric again set out for Rome, and captured the city in August, 410 A.D. For a few days the conquerors pillaged; many Romans were killed and many houses burnt; but the Visigoths respected the principal churches, which served as places of refuge, and they frequently showed mercy to captives.

CHAP. IV

Capture of Rome

The capture of Rome does not appear to have deeply disturbed Honorius, who seems to have been incapable of any deeper emotions than fear and jealousy; but it made a profound impression upon other Romans. St. Jerome from his hermit cell wrote despairingly to his friends, and seized upon the occasion to emphasize his favorite ideas concerning the necessity of asceticism. Many pagans had attributed the fate of Rome to the anger of the gods whose altars had been deserted for the Christian temples. To answer these critics St. Augustine, as he himself said, "inflamed with zeal for the Lord's house, determined to write a treatise on *The City of God,* in order to refute the mistakes of some and the blasphemies of others." His central idea was: "The City of God abideth forever, though the greatest city of the world has fallen in ruin." This book and this idea were destined to have a mighty influence on medieval thought.

Augustine's City of God

After the sack of Rome the Visigoths moved southward to the extreme end of the peninsula. Possibly Alaric intended to conquer Africa, realizing that its grain supplies were the chief source of Honorius' strength. But his fleet was destroyed in a storm, and shortly after he fell ill and died.[1] His brother, Ataulf, was raised upon a shield and proclaimed king. He led the Goths northward, and two years later they left Italy and passed into Gaul. Here, as so often in the history of the migrations, it is wasted effort to attempt to ascertain the reasons for their movements. They passed through southern Gaul into Spain; fought there, nominally as soldiers of the Empire, against German invaders who had entered Spain while the Goths were dwelling in Illyricum. Then they recrossed the Pyrenees and established a kingdom having its capital at Toulouse and extending as far north as the river Loire. From this time, Spain and southern Gaul were held by barbarians independent of the emperor, although they sometimes professed to be his soldiers.

Later Migrations of Visigoths

One romance, which the historical novelist curiously enough seems to have overlooked, stands forth conspicuously from this dark background and illustrates some features of the age. Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, was captured in one of the sieges

Galla Placidia

[1] The oft-quoted account of his burial is from a later source and probably is wholly legendary.

CHAP. IV

of Rome and held as a hostage. She was well treated, but was obliged to accompany the Visigoths in their march southward. Alaric attempted to extort favorable terms from Honorius as a condition of her return. After Alaric's death, his brother Athaulf fell in love with Placidia, and they were eventually married. But a year later Placidia was left a widow by the murder of her husband. She was treated with great ignominy by his successor, who, fortunately for her, lived only a few days. By the next Gothic ruler she was restored to her brother, and then she married a former suitor, a Roman general. By him she became the mother of Valentinian III. Her husband died after four years of married life and after six months as co-emperor with Honorius. After the death of the latter and the brief reign of a usurper, Valentinian was declared emperor, and, as he was only seven years old, Galla Placidia became regent. For the next twenty-five years, from 425 to 450, she was the actual ruler in the West. This is her story in barest outline, as drawn from the contemporary annals and documents.[2]

When Alaric began the invasion of Italy, Stilicho summoned for its defense many of the troops stationed along the Rhine and the Danube. This left these frontiers comparatively undefended,

Vandals

so that the Vandals, who were occupying Pannonia and had already been excited by the success of Alaric, seized upon the opportunity. They crossed the Danube in 406 and marched to the northwest They were accompanied by a mixed host composed of Germans from other tribes and some non-Germans. They crossed the Rhine near Mainz and invaded Gaul. Thence they marched into Spain, and they were the Germans with whom the Visigoths fought there, as we have already seen. The Vandals, vanquished, had to yield much of Spain to their foes, but they regained the South and made it their home till 428 or 429. Then, under the leadership of Gaiseric, they invaded Africa. Before crossing the straits, Gaiseric ordered an enumeration to be made of all the males, from old men in their dotage to the new-born babes, and found that the total was eighty thousand.[3] Probably about half of these could be counted upon for fighting. The host was, as usual, accompanied by its women and children.

Conquest of Africa

Roman Africa was too weak to defend itself. The two chief

[2] The body of Placidia was embalmed and placed in a tomb in Ravenna, seated upright in her royal robes. For over a thousand years the empress could be seen there, through a hole in the tomb. Unfortunately some children with a torch accidentally set fire to the body, which was soon reduced to ashes. Hodgkin: Italy and Her Invaders, Vol. I, p 888.

[3] Possibly the 80,000 included all the people; all such numerical statements are very untrustworthy.

officials were jealous of each other, and one of them is said to have invited the Vandals. The Christians were divided into mutually hostile sects, and there had been much persecution by the dominant party. The inhabitants as a whole were peaceful, pleasure-loving, and corrupt. The Moors joined with the army of Vandals, and the latter gradually acquired possession of the various provinces. Hippo was besieged, and there the aged Augustine preached to and comforted his fellow-Christians during the siege, and continued his work on a refutation of the Pelagian heresy. After fourteen months the barbarians had to raise the siege on account of famine; but Augustine had died before seeing the deliverance of his city. In 439 the Vandals captured Carthage and were masters of all the old Roman province of Africa. They seized such lands as they wanted and imposed heavy taxes upon the wealthy. They were Arians and persecuted the Catholics, whose churches were frequently destroyed or else handed over to the Arian congregations. But, according to Salvian's statement, the Vandals purified the morals of the inhabitants, and it is evident that they did not oppress the poor any more severely than the Roman magistrates had done.

CHAP. IV

The Vandals soon took to seafaring and became noted pirates. Each year they went forth on their raids "against the people with whom God was wroth," as Gaiseric said. They devastated many portions of the neighboring shores, and in 455 they made a raid upon Rome. They had been invited by the empress Eudocia, who, after the murder of her husband, had been forced to marry his successor and was eager for revenge. Gaiseric found the city defenseless, but Pope Leo met him outside the gates and attemped to restrain his fury. He yielded somewhat to the pope's intercession, and promised that there should be no torture, no murder, and no arson. For fourteen days the Vandals ransacked the city, taking all the treasure they could find and many works of art. They were eager for booty, but did little wanton damage. At the end of the fortnight they set sail for Carthage with their plunder, with countless Roman captives destined to be sold into slavery, and with Eudocia and her two daughters. Later, the elder of the daughters was married to Gaiseric's son.

Capture of Rome

Gaiseric, who lived until 477, was an able although cruel ruler. Before his reign the Vandals had been regarded by the other Germans as a comparatively weak race, and after his death they appear to have degenerated rapidly. Probably their decline was due to the enervating climate and the vices which they had learned from their contact with the Roman population. Whether this is the true explanation or not, about sixty years after Gaiseric's

Later History of Vandals

CHAP. IV

death the Roman general Belisarius was able to conquer them in a single campaign and with comparatively little fighting. Roman Africa was restored to the Empire in 534, and the Vandals, amalgamated with the Roman population, passed away as a historic race. The words "vandal" and "vandalism" are current in our modern tongues, and represent the race in a somewhat unjust light. They were no greater pirates than the Saxons Their sack of Rome was probably accompanied by less barbarism than the preceding capture by the Visigoths. When Justinian re-introduced Roman methods of taxation into Africa, the inhabitants regretted the easy rule of the Vandals. The opprobrium connected with their name is mainly an aftermath of their persecution of the Catholics, whom Gaiseric hated bitterly.

Weakness of Empire

The invasions of the Visigoths and Vandals illustrate the weakness of the Roman Empire. The fact that their hosts, impeded by their women and old men and children, and by the possessions which they must transport, could wander about at pleasure for so many years without experiencing any effective opposition shows the military weakness of Rome. In their migrations one or both of these two nations had passed through almost all the European portions of the Empire except Britain. They had often settled for years in some district without expelling the natives. The fact that there was room for so many new-comers shows that the provinces were not thickly inhabited. Imperial officials were frequently accused of collusion with the barbarians; the invading chieftains and their successors were frequently given Roman offices. Some panegyrists even complimented the emperors on obtaining so many soldiers for the service of the Empire. Intermarriages were common. These facts show that there was little or no aversion to the Germans on the side of the Romans. The compliments of the panegyrists show that they, at least, did not realize that any fatal blow had been dealt to the imperial power, and probably their blindness was shared by most of their contemporaries.

The invasions of the other German tribes may be dealt with more summarily, as in the main their movements merely reinforce the inferences drawn from the migrations which have been described.

Burgundians

The Burgundians had become restive when they saw the march of the Visigoths and Vandals. In order to content them, the emperor Honorius early in the fifth century gave them lands west of the Rhine in the region whose center was the city of Worms. They gradually extended their possessions to the south and west, but in 437 were greatly reduced in numbers by a battle with the Romans. The remnant was allowed to settle about Lake

Geneva and in the valley of the Rhone, and the Burgundians held these lands until conquered by the Franks in 534. It was probably because of their comparatively short migration that they retained more of their old traditions than any other German tribes which entered the Empire. The old German songs of Walthari and of the Nibelungs had their origin among the Burgundians or were preserved by them.

Huns

The Huns, whose coming had set the Germans in motion, were of Asiatic stock. They made no permanent settlement within the Empire, but they repeatedly made incursions and were an important factor in the history of the times. They were pagans and nomads, and they fought wholly for plunder. Their greed was so great that a German proverb declared that if a piece of gold were placed on the grave of a Hun, a hand would rise out of the ground and seize the gold. At times some Huns fought in the service of Rome, but usually they were preying upon the Empire. Under the rule of Attila, "the scourge of God," 434–453, they became united into a strong force. Even before this emperors had paid tribute and conceded lands to other Hunnic rulers. Under Attila's rule the Huns were the terror of all Europe, and many Germans entered his service. About 441 he invaded the eastern provinces of the Empire, capturing and sacking many important cities. Peace was purchased by the Empire in 443 through the payment of a large sum of gold and a promise of annual tribute. The payment was continued as long as Theodosius II lived, but the next emperor, Marcian (450–457), refused to continue the tribute. Attila was then so busy in the West that he had no opportunity to enforce payment. Shortly before this time Honoria, the daughter of Galla Placidia, had offered her hand to Attila. The princess had been led to do this by her own unfortunate position. Years before she had entered into a dishonorable alliance with a man of inferior birth, and her family had never allowed her to forget her disgrace. Now, when they proposed to marry her against her will, she formed the wild plan of an appeal to the barbarian Attila, who already had several wives. He was willing, claimed Honoria as his bride, and demanded from Valentinian III one-half the Roman Empire as the share of his sister.

Attila's Attack Upon West

Attila had two other reasons which led him to invade the West. First, he was in alliance with Gaiseric, who had just provoked the enmity of the Visigoths. Their king's daughter, who had recently married one of Gaiseric's sons, was suspected of treachery. Gaiseric had her ears cut off and her nostrils slit, and sent her back to her father. In order to avert the vengeance of the Goths,

CHAP. IV

Gaiseric asked Attila to make war upon them. In addition, two Frankish chieftains had been struggling over the succession, and one was aided by Attila, while the other appealed to Aëtius, the Roman general. Consequently, in the great battle which was to follow, Romans and Germans were to be arrayed against Huns and Germans.

The Huns advanced with a mighty host and invaded Gaul. Many towns, including Metz, were captured, and Attila met with no hindrance until he besieged Orleans. He was forced to raise the siege by the approach of Aetius with an army of Romans and Germans. In the battle of Maurica,[4] which followed, the small army under Aetius withstood the enormous horde of Huns, and Attila retreated. This battle, which is commonly called the battle of Chalons, is often regarded as one of the most momentous in all history. "If Attila had not been repelled, western Europe might have been converted into a spiritual waste, unspeakably more lost and degraded than Turkey at the present day."[5] History, however, is concerned with what actually happened, not with what might have happened if events had been different.

Battle of Maurica

Invasion of Italy

In the following year Attila invaded Italy. Aquileia was razed to the ground; other cities were plundered or forced to pay heavy sums. Venice is said to owe its origin to the fugitives who fled to its mud-banks in terror at the approach of the Huns. Rome was saved, according to the generally accepted account, by the intervention of Pope Leo. Tradition tells how St. Peter and St. Paul appeared to Attila, and how he retreated, stricken with supernatural terror; and, as says Gibbon, "some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi." But a contemporary author also relates that the Huns were stricken with disease and famine and were harassed by troops, so that they made peace. At all events, Pope Leo stands out as the protector of Rome and the mediator with the barbarians. Attila died the next year, and with his death the Hunnic Empire crumbled to pieces.

German Invasion of Britain

In the meantime the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had been invading Britain. The Saxons had long been infesting the coast, especially in their hunt for slaves. They were known as especially cruel and ferocious pirates who offered human sacrifices to their gods. After 407, when the Roman legions had been withdrawn from Britain, there ensued a period of confusion during which the Britons had to defend themselves against Picts and

[4] The exact date is unknown, but it was probably June or July, 451. The place is also unknown, but it was probably near Troyes.

[5] Bury: Later Roman Empire, Vol. I, p. 176.

Scots. The Germans took advantage of the opportunity and gradually made settlements along the coast from which they extended their conquests inland. The West Saxons proved in the end the most powerful of the colonizing groups. The whole period is obscure, as no contemporary accounts have been preserved.[6] The first invasion is said to have been in 449 or earlier; by 600 half of the islands was conquered, and it was held by a number of petty kings. As a result, the cities were practically abandoned, and the roads fell into disrepair; civilization and Christianity almost disappeared.

[6] See Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER V

THE MIGRATIONS (CONTINUED)

CHAP. V

Conditions in the West

IN the western portions of the Empire the weak Honorius was succeeded by the child Valentinian III under the regency of his mother, Galla Placidia. During her rule Italy was not invaded, but, as stated in the preceding chapter, the power was largely in the hands of barbarian military leaders. In Gaul and Spain the Visigoths were acting nominally as soldiers of the Empire. In Africa Count Boniface, who had been true to Placidia, was in command of the province and had great influence with the Empress. His rival was Aëtius, a military commander of barbarian descent, who was able but unscrupulous. He had formerly been opposed to Placidia, and after the death of Honorius he had raised an army of Huns for the service of a rival candidate for the Empire. He was pardoned but apparently never fully trusted, and a few years later the emperor attempted to depose him from his generalship, but was unsuccessful. Boniface defeated him in one battle, but Aëtius finally conquered Boniface, and, when the latter died, married his wife and obtained his property.

Aëtius

Aëtius was again pardoned and soon became the chief man in the West. As a child he had been given as a hostage to Alaric, and later to the Huns, with whom he remained on terms of friendship for many years. It was because of his influence with them and because of their military support that he had extorted a pardon from Placidia after his defeat of Boniface. In 435 he had made a compact with the Vandals by which they received large territories within the Empire on condition that they should pay tribute. He had defeated the Burgundians in 437, had driven back the Franks, and had restrained the Visigoths. In his wars against the Germans he had employed Huns in his army. His greatest service to Rome was the defeat of Attila in the battle of Maurica, and this was accomplished by his use of Germans as allies against the Huns. He had mastered the Roman policy of *divide et impera*. Because of his success he might aspire to almost any honor, even to the marriage of his son with Valentinian's daughter.

The emperor feared and disliked his great general, and he was easily persuaded that Aëtius was likely to plot against him. Con-

sequently in his own palace he and an attendant attacked Aëtius when the latter was unarmed, and murdered him. The murder did not long remain unavenged. Two Huns who had served under Aëtius seized a favorable opportunity and murdered Valentinian. The latter's widow was compelled to marry Maximus, who had probably instigated the plots which led to the murders of Aëtius and Valentinian, and now obtained the title of emperor. His unwilling bride is said to have invited Gaiseric to avenge her, but her husband was killed in a riot before the Vandal came.

Death of Valentinian

After the death of Maximus several emperors were chosen in succession, but the real power was in the hands of the patrician Ricimer, who, like Stilicho and Aëtius, was of barbarian descent. Until his death in 472 he protected Italy and made or deposed emperors at his own pleasure. After a short interval, Orestes secured the power. He had formerly been a secretary of Attila and had married a daughter of a Roman noble named Romulus. He was not content to be the all-powerful patrician over a puppet-emperor, as Ricimer had been, and decided to make his own son emperor. Accordingly he drove out the nominal ruler, and in 475 bestowed the imperial insignia on his young son.

Ricimer and Orestes

Romulus, the "little emperor," as he was styled somewhat contemptuously, had been in office less than a year when the barbarian soldiers of Orestes revolted. They had demanded a third of the land in Italy and Orestes had refused. His shield-bearer, Odovacar, placed himself at the head of the discontented and slew Orestes. "Entering Ravenna, Odovacar deposed Augustulus, the little emperor, but granted him his life, pitying his infancy, and because he was comely; and he gave him an income of six thousand *solidi*, and sent him to live in Campania with his relations." Odovacar did not set up a new emperor in the West. At his bidding the Roman senate accepted the abdication of the little Emperor and sent an embassy to Constantinople. Their message was that a separate emperor in the West was unnecessary; one emperor was sufficient for the whole Empire; Odovacar was an able warrior whom they had chosen, and they begged that their choice might be ratified and Odovacar appointed patrician to rule the diocese of Italy.

Odovacar

This was what happened in the year 476, and it has frequently been called the "fall of the Roman Empire." This is an exaggeration, for the power had long been in the hands of barbarian generals; Odovacar was the successor of Aetius and Ricimer and Orestes. Ricimer had ruled Italy during more than one interregnum and had held about the same relation to the emperor at Constantinople that Odovacar now desired to hold. There was

No "Fall of the Roman Empire"

CHAP. V

no "fall of Rome"; no "western Empire" came to an end. There was only one Roman Empire, as there always had been, even when there were two or four or six emperors

Position of the Empire

But the Empire was in a desperate position; Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain were all under the control of barbarian kings. Some were proud to hold titles from the Roman emperor, Odovacar as patrician, later Clovis as consul, but all were independent in their own kingdoms. The emperor desired to bring the German kings into subjection and to regain effective control over the whole Empire. He was not strong enough to do this himself, but he attempted to recover Italy by sending Theodoric to conquer Odovacar.

The new champion was king of the Ostrogoths and had spent ten years of his youth as a hostage at Constantinople. He never learned to read or write, but did become imbued with an admiration for the Roman civilization. For a time he served the emperor, and was rewarded with the titles of senator, patrician, master of the militia, and consul. His people had, after the death of Attila, escaped from the yoke of the Huns and had received lands

Theodoric

from the Empire, but they revolted and Theodoric became their leader. After the Goths had marched to the gates of Constantinople, destroying everything in their way, Theodoric and the emperor came to terms, agreeing that the former was to lead his people to Italy and dispossess Odovacar. Thus the emperor would be freed from dangerous neighbors.

The whole nation of the Ostrogoths set out on their long march to Italy, carrying all their possessions. When they arrived, they found Odovacar with an army prepared to fight; but he was defeated and obliged to retreat to Verona. There, on the thirtieth of September, 489, Theodoric won his greatest victory. In later centuries he became known in the sagas as Dietrich of Bern (Theodoric of Verona), a name which may have been due in part to the memory of this great triumph. Odovacar's army was almost annihilated, but he himself escaped to the impregnable Ravenna. Theodoric's success seemed complete and many of his opponent's followers joined him; then Odovacar raised another army and Theodoric had to take refuge for a time in the strong city of Pavia. In 490 the latter won a victory which gave to him

Conquest of Italy

the mastery of all Italy except Ravenna. This he besieged for three years until famine compelled Odovacar to yield. Soon after peace had been made, the latter was murdered treacherously by Theodoric, who was now recognized as the ruler of Italy; this was in 493.

"The life of Theodoric," says Gibbon, "represents the rare and

meritorious example of a barbarian who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigor of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government" His rule was so excellent that both Romans and Goths were quiescent. He was anxious to unify the two peoples as far as possible, but he realized the necessary limitations. Each had its own laws and customs, and these were interfered with only when it seemed inevitable. A Goth was tried by Gothic law; a Roman, by Roman law; a suit between a Roman and a Goth was tried by a mixed tribunal. The Goths received a third of the lands in Italy, but the distribution was made by Roman officials and apparently without violence. Possibly, also, the land which the Goths received was the share formerly held by the followers of Odovacar. The army was composed wholly of Germans, and eventually the Romans were forbidden to carry weapons; but in other respects Theodoric attempted to enforce equal rights and duties upon the two peoples.

Theodoric's Policy

To accomplish this he needed the services of Romans, and he found many willing to serve him. His secretary, to whom we are indebted for much of our information concerning the government, was Cassiodorus. He was of illustrious descent; his great-grandfather had fought successfully against Vandal invaders; his grandfather had served under Aëtius and had been sent as an ambassador to Attila; his father had served Odovacar faithfully, and, after the latter's death, had accepted office under Theodoric. The family had great wealth and influence. Cassiodorus was still a young man when it became his duty to draw up the letters containing Theodoric's commands. Looked at from the modern standpoint, his method of executing his task seems strange, for he was garrulous and delighted in exhibiting his varied and curious learning. But, as a consequence, his letters are valuable sources for the beliefs and ideas of his age. Theodoric, for instance, had to decide what should be done with a murderer who had taken refuge in a church, and Cassiodorus drew up the letter: "We decide that the capital punishment shall be remitted out of reverence for his place of refuge, but he shall be banished to the Vulcanian (Lipari) islands, there to live away from the paternal hearth, but ever in the midst of burning, like a salamander, which is a small and subtile beast, of kin to the slippery worm, clothed with a yellow color. The substance of volcanoes, which is perpetually destroyed, is by the inexplicable power of nature perpetually renewed. The Vulcanian islands are named for Vulcan, the god of fire, and burst into eruption on the day when Hannibal took poison at the court of Prusias. It is especially wonderful

Cassiodorus

CHAP. V

that a mountain kindling into such a multitude of flames, should be half-hidden by the waves of the sea."[1] It must have been a consolation to the murderer to receive such an interesting sentence. Other letters contain information about Venice, elephants, horse-racing, and many other subjects. For the style and language Cassiodorus was responsible, not Theodoric. This fact has sometimes been overlooked in forming an estimate of the latter.

Good Government

Theodoric strove to increase the prosperity of his subjects. He fostered agriculture, repaired the roads, drained marshes, improved harbors, and kept up the aqueducts; for the proletariat at Rome he furnished "bread and games." He gave careful attention to the preservation of the public buildings and monuments, and built new ones; he also patronized literature and the arts. As Gibbon says, "The reputation of Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the visible peace and prosperity of a reign of thirty-three years, the unanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wisdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians."

Attitude Towards Religion

His greatness was most conspicuous in his attitude towards religion. He was an Arian, but granted religious freedom to all his subjects. His point of view is illustrated by letters of which he dictated the substance: "We cannot order a religion, because no one is forced to believe against his will." "To pretend to rule over the spirits is to usurp the rights of the Divinity. The power of the greatest sovereigns is limited to exterior police. They have a right to punish only the disturbers of the public order, which is placed under their guard, and the most dangerous heresy is that of a prince who separates from him a part of his subjects simply because they do not believe what he does." Following these principles, Theodoric was indifferent when his friends became Catholics. He gave gifts to the Roman Church, and for many years left it independent, except when a contested papal election caused disorder and bloodshed; then he suppressed the disorder, but refused to interfere further. When Christians persecuted Jews, he forced the former to repair the synagogues which had been damaged.[2]

In his foreign relations Theodoric was successful for a long time. He made matrimonial alliances with the Burgundians,

[1] As translated by Hodgkin, in Letters of Cassiodorus.

[2] Yet in the letters in which Theodoric promised protection to the Jews, Cassiodorus put into his mouth such expressions as, "But, why, O Jew, dost thou petition for peace and quietness on earth when thou canst not find that rest which is eternal?"

Visigoths, Vandals, Thuringians, and Franks. He established the Alamanni in Rhætia after their defeat by the Franks. In many ways he exercised a strong influence over the German nations and tried to keep peace among them; he even received presents from tribes living on the Baltic. Jordanes says, with some exaggeration, "There was no people in the western part of the Empire who refused him homage." His position with regard to the Roman emperor was theoretically that of a subordinate: on his coins he placed the emperor's image; in his letters he acknowledged the emperor's supremacy; but in fact he was the independent ruler of Italy.

In his last years he sullied his fair reputation by persecution and murder. He suspected Roman nobles of plotting against him, and was incensed at the persecution of Arians in the eastern portion of the Empire. He threatened reprisals on the Catholics in Italy, and forced the pope to go to Constantinople to urge upon the emperor the principle of tolerance. But Boëthius and Symmachus were the special victims of his wrath. The former was born about 480, of the noble Anician family. He received an excellent education and used his learning in making translations or adaptations of Greek works. By his labors the logic of Aristotle with the commentary of Porphyry, the arithmetic of Nicomachus, the geometry of Euclid, the mechanics of Archimedes, the musical theory of Pythagoras, and the astronomy of Ptolemy, were preserved in part and transmitted to medieval students. He also, following the advice of Plato, entered into the public service, won the favor of Theodoric, and was made patrician and consul. He married the daughter of Symmachus, and his two sons, while still very young, were named as consuls in 522. In the same year he was made master of the offices. These honors marked the supreme moment in the life of Boëthius. Shortly after, he was involved in an accusation of treason, but it is impossible now to ascertain exactly what the accusation was, or whether Boëthius was guilty. When a senator was accused, Boëthius hastened to defend him. "If Albinus is guilty, the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." But when Theodoric questioned him concerning the matter, Boëthius' reply was ambiguous: "If I had known of it, you would not have known of it." This might well seem to Theodoric treasonable language when it came from the mouth of one of his highest officials. At all events, Boëthius was cast into prison, and to his imprisonment we are indebted for the last great work of Roman eloquence, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, "a golden vol-

CHAP. V

ume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully." In his misfortune Boëthius contrasts his former happiness with the present suffering and consoles himself by the precepts of philosophy. This book enjoyed a great popularity for more than a thousand years, and it was translated by both Alfred the Great and Chaucer. But Boëthius was condemned by the senate at the behest of Theodoric, and was executed in 524.

Last Days of Theodoric

It is a melancholy task to review the last days of Theodoric. Grieved at the death of relatives, incensed at the supposed treason of those whom he had favored, irritated by the persecution of the Arians, he forgot the tolerance which he had practised and preached. Symmachus showed deep sorrow for the death of his son-in-law and possibly was in the same position with regard to the alleged treason; at all events, he was executed by Theodoric's command; but the king died (526), suffering, as we are told, deep remorse for this execution.

Theodoric's Reputation

In spite of his deeds of violence Theodoric was a great man and very much in advance of his age. The best proof of this is the manner in which these deeds are judged. His barbarian and Roman contemporaries perpetrated murders and their acts occasion little comment, because they seem in accord with their nature and the civilization of this time; but Theodoric is expected to conform to a higher standard than Odovacar, Clovis, Gaiseric, or even Justinian. He was so far their superior in many respects that all his misdeeds are judged more harshly. But, the best testimony to his greatness is the happiness of Italy under his rule.

After Theodoric's death the opposition of the Romans to Gothic rule became more marked, and the Goths themselves were weakened by factional strife. Belisarius, the general of Justinian, after conquering the Vandals in Africa, began the reconquest of Italy. He met with an obstinate resistance, and it was only after nineteen campaigns that the Goths were overcome. In the meantime Belisarius had fallen into disgrace and the victory was completed by his successor, the eunuch Narses. The last Gothic king was killed and his army destroyed in 554. By the end of the following year Narses had overcome all resistance. In addition to the conquest of Africa and Italy, Justinian had been enabled, by civil strife among the Visigoths, to secure the southeastern portion of Spain. During the last ten years of his reign, from 555 to 565, the Roman Empire included once more all of the islands of the Mediterranean and almost all of its shores. It was a pardonable exaggeration when Justinian spoke of *mare nostrum*.

Reconquest of Italy

Narses was made ruler of Italy with practically absolute power. The country had been greatly impoverished by the extortions of

the imperial tax-gatherers, and yet Narses is said to have accumulated an enormous private fortune. The inhabitants sighed for the mild and just rule of Theodoric. There were frequent complaints, and after the death of Justinian the enemies of Narses succeeded in bringing about his disgrace. In revenge he is said to have invited the Langobards, or Lombards, to invade Italy. The latter needed no special invitation. Twenty-five hundred had served under Narses in his war against the Goths and had been sent home after one or two campaigns, so that they were well acquainted with what Italy had to offer. Just before their invasion they had been living in Pannonia and had been allies of the Empire. They are said to have been the most barbarous of all the Germanic invaders, but of this there is no adequate proof. The oft-repeated statement may be due to the fact that many tales of their early history have been preserved. These tales are valuable for the light which they throw upon Germanic customs, but they do not prove that barbarism was the peculiar attribute of the Lombards. Their ruler in 568 was Alboin, who had slain Cunimund, king of the Gepidæ, with his own hand and by force had taken Cunimund's daughter Rosamund to be his wife. From his father-in-laws's skull he had fashioned a drinking-cup.[3] After conquering the Gepidæ with the aid of the Avars, Alboin decided to invade Italy. He made over his territory to his Avar allies, on condition that they should return it if his enterprise should prove a failure. Then, leading his whole nation and about thirty thousand Saxons, he entered Italy, in 568.

Lombard Invasion

Much of the land had been depopulated by war, pestilence, and famine. "You might see the world brought back to its ancient silence: no voice in the field; no whistling of shepherds; no lying in wait of wild beasts among the cattle; no harm to domestic fowls. The crops, outliving the time of the harvest, awaited the reaper untouched; the vineyard with its fallen leaves and its shining grapes remained undisturbed while winter came on."[4] The inhabitants were living in the cities or else fled to them. The Lombards overran the open country without difficulty and captured all the cities in the north except those which were protected either by imperial garrisons or by natural advantages. "The city of Pavia at this time held out bravely, withstanding a siege of more than three years, while the army of the Langobards remained close

Lombard Conquest

[3] Paul the Deacon, who two hundred years later wrote the history of the Langobards, said he had seen this drinking cup in the hands of the Lombard king.

[4] This and the following quotations are from Paul the Deacon, as translated by Foulke, in Translations and Reprints.

CHAP. V

at hand on the western side. Meanwhile Alboin, after driving out the soldiers, took possession of everything as far as Tuscany except Rome and Ravenna and some other fortified places which were situated on the shore of the sea." Finally Pavia succumbed; Alboin spared its people and the city became the Lombard stronghold.

Death of Alboin

Shortly after this victory Alboin was murdered, and the famous drinking-cup is said to have been the cause of his death. At a banquet, when flushed with wine, Alboin had ordered the skull to be filled and given to Rosamund to drink that she might rejoice with her lord. The queen had to comply, but plotted vengeance for the insult. She is said to have sacrificed her honor to her revenge and then to have compelled her paramour to murder her husband. "Then Rosamund, while Alboin had given himself up to a noonday sleep, ordered that there should be a great silence in the palace, and, taking away all other arms, she bound his sword tightly to the head of the bed so it could not be taken away or unsheathed, and . . . let in Helmechis the murderer. Alboin suddenly aroused from sleep perceived the evil which threatened and reached his hand quickly for his sword, which, being tightly tied, he could not draw, yet he seized a foot-stool and defended himself with it for some time. But unfortunately, alas! this most warlike and very brave man being helpless against his enemy, was slain as if he were one of no account, and he who was most famous in war through the overthrow of so many enemies, perished by the scheme of one little woman. His body was buried with the great grief and lamentations of the Langobards under the steps of a certain flight of stairs which was next to the palace. He was tall in stature and well fitted in his whole body for waging wars."

In addition to the Lombards and Saxons Alboin had brought with him to Italy many men from various peoples which other kings or he himself had conquered. Whence, "even until to-day," Paul the Deacon writes two hundred years later, "we call the villages in which they dwell Gepidan, Bulgarian, Sarmatian, Pannonian, Swabian, Norican or by other names of this kind." After the death of Alboin no one was strong enough to hold these forces together, and they became divided under the leadership of

Lombard Dukes

thirty-five or more dukes. "and each duke held possession of his own city." "In these days many of the noble Romans were killed from love of gain, and the remainder were divided among their 'guests' and made tributaries, that they should pay the third part of their products to the Langobards. By these dukes of the Lombards . . . the churches were despoiled, the priests killed, the cities overthrown, the people who had grown up like crops an-

nihilated, and, besides those regions which Alboin had taken, the greater part of Italy was seized and subjugated by the Langobards."

The result was that the possessions of the Empire, about 600 A.D., were confined in Italy to eight widely separated but important territories. On the western coast these included Genoa with part of Liguria, the duchy of Rome, and the duchy of Naples. On the eastern side, the Venetian lagoons with the back country as far as Mantua, the exarchate of Ravenna, the so-called Pentapolis and Decapolis around Ancona, still were nominally, or really, under imperial control. In Umbria there was an important section including Perugia which the Langobards had not seized. Lastly, the whole heel and toe of Italy was still Roman territory.

Roman Territory in Italy

The political and social development of Italy was greatly influenced by the geographical results of the Lombard invasion. The emperor's representative, the exarch of Ravenna, found that it was impossible to govern and protect such widely separated lands. The growth of the political power of the papacy and the genesis of the Papal State were in part the result of these conditions. In what is now known as Lombardy the Lombards formed a large part of the population and introduced their own customs and laws. In southern Italy the population was predominantly Roman and remained under Roman organization. The result was a severance between northern and southern Italy — a difference which has not been effaced, even at the present day.

Divisions in Italy

The Roman Empire never recovered the lands held by the Lombards, and gradually lost even a nominal connection with most of the West. Consequently the end of the sixth century forms a convenient point to discuss some of the causes of the disintegration of the Roman Empire. The problem is a very difficult one. Some causes had exerted a continuous and constantly increasing influence since the days of the Republic. The cumulative effects sapped the strength of the Empire, so that it was compelled to restrict its energies to the maintenance of its rule in the lands which were economically most valuable. Of the causes which necessitated this, four, with their various ramifications, were singled out by historians in the past as possibly the most important: Christianity, slavery, taxation, and the excessive immigration of barbarians.[5]

Causes of the Disintegration of the Empire

[5] Many other causes have been given. To mention only a few, some writers have stressed economic causes, others, "the state socialism," or malaria, or the loss of man-power, or the loss of virtue. The Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol I, p. 54, says: "The two greatest problems in history, how to account for the rise of Rome and how to account for her fall, never have been, perhaps never will be, thoroughly solved."

CHAP. V

Christianity

Of these four Christianity probably had the least effect, and was actually helpful to the state in some ways after the union of church and state; but in other respects it was detrimental to the strength of the Empire. By the teachings of the church fathers, retirement from active life was honored; participation in the duties of citizenship was considered less meritorious than a life wholly given up to contemplation and prayer. Monasticism was esteemed the highest "philosophy." The woman who remained a virgin was considered to have attained a higher degree of perfection than a wife and mother. Monachism and virginity led to race-suicide among the earnest and devoted Christians, as men and women of strong piety and deep convictions too frequently failed to have children; so that what was in some respects the best element in society was sterile. Moreover, intense interest in theological doctrine caused many keen-minded men to devote their energies to refutation of heresy, instead of endeavoring to discover or proclaim truths in other lines of thought. Much of the barrenness in all branches of learning was due to this exclusive development of theology. What Roman scholarship could still accomplish in other lines is proved by the magnificent legal work under Justinian. But the logic of Jerome, the subtlety of Augustine, the energy of many a noble and learned Christian, were spent in crushing heresy or dissent.

Slavery

Slavery had been recognized as an evil by many a thoughtful Roman. It corrupted the morals; it brought in Oriental vices, which were eagerly adopted; it accustomed Romans to irresponsible cruelty; it increased luxury; it impoverished the citizens, and especially the farmers; it diminished marriages and the bearing of children. These evils are so clearly recognized that there is a danger lest they be overemphasized. Rome was not exceptionally corrupt, cruel, nor luxurious. Modern society in our large cities is guilty of as great waste and as outrageous folly in the pursuit of pleasure as the ancient Romans ever were; but to compare the moral corruption in ancient and in modern society is a task from which the historian may well turn with loathing. It seems probable that the anti-slavery feeling in the nineteenth century exaggerated the effects of slavery in the ancient world by attributing to it evils which were due, in part at least, to other causes. The most serious effects of slavery for the imperial organization were the economic, in limiting production and in encouraging idleness and waste.

Decrease in Population

The Roman population had long been decreasing. Julius Cæsar had noted "an alarming thinness of population." Augustus felt it his duty to remind the senators that "marriage was a duty

which, however painful, every Roman citizen ought manfully to perform." Marriages were too frequently childless, and the population was steadily declining. Then came the plague, in the time of Marcus Aurelius; and its ravages, as described by Roman writers, were almost incredible and were frequently renewed.

Taxation

On this smaller and impoverished population the taxes fell with crushing severity. The state needed ever-increasing sums for its expenditures on the army, for tribute to its barbarian allies and foes, for the support of the imperial courts and the hierarchy of officials. The incidence of the taxation was bad, as the wealthy and privileged secured exemption to a great extent, and the burden fell upon the middle class, "the nerves of the commonwealth," and the poor freemen. The methods of collection were wasteful. Lactantius' statement that there were "more who received than paid" is an exaggeration, but it points to an intolerable situation, because of which many citizens came to prefer barbarian rule. On the whole, the system of taxation tended to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few and to reduce the masses to misery.

Incoming Barbarians

To fill the gaps in the population, to secure laborers, to recruit the armies, barbarians were brought in, or allowed to enter. Rome continued this policy for centuries, and at first it strengthened the state, as is the case with modern immigration. But a time came when the immigrants were too numerous to be readily absorbed by the Roman organization and civilization. The army became wholly barbarian and could not be depended upon to defend the Empire. As noted above, Odovacar secured his position through the imperial army, and the Ostrogoths first came to Italy as servants of the emperor. The Roman stock had been crossed with so many barbarian strains that it had gradually become an alien race in its customs and civilization, if compared with the Romans of the Republic.

These causes may have contributed, probably did contribute, to the disintegration of the Empire, but they do not explain it. Historians now recognize that the problem cannot be solved so easily, and are trying to find a more adequate solution.

The wonderful fact is, not that the Roman state lost its western possessions, but that it so long retained its strength and showed such recuperative ability. There was no "fall," but only a gradual evolution into a new form; no contemporary ever doubted the continued existence of the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER VI

THE PAPACY AND THE MONKS

CHAP. VI

Ostrogothic Control of Church

THE Lombard conquest of Italy furnished to the papacy its opportunity for achieving independence. The Ostrogoths, although Arians, had exercised some control over the popes and papal elections. Theodoric had interfered in the case of a disputed election; he had sent a pope to Constantinople to demand that the emperor should cease to persecute Arians; later he had nominated a pope who was duly accepted. His successor wrote to the senate that "the Church is bound to obey the sovereign, even though he be of another religion, in his choice of a pontiff." Some protests were made, but were not pressed, as the sovereign added materially to the papal power in the city of Rome. In a letter, written about 527, he "ordered that all disputes between clergy and laity should be submitted to the decision of the pope. In case of wrong, a layman must appeal first to the pope, and only if he would not hear him might apply to the secular tribunals."

Evolution of Temporal Authority of Popes

After his conquest of the Goths, Justinian exercised control over the papacy and the Roman Church. "No Roman emperor so nearly assumed the position of a temporal pope." During his reign the church was obliged to submit to his will; it did so, although sometimes unwillingly, because he frequently used the power of the state for the benefit of the church. He gave great authority to the bishops and extensive privileges to the clergy. He recognized and increased the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. But "the bishop of Rome, before entering on his functions, must, like others, await the consent of the emperor or of the governor of Ravenna." Yet the change from Gothic to imperial supremacy had increased the temporal authority of the bishop of Rome. "The emperor was far away at Constantinople, the Byzantine governor held his court in Ravenna, the senate was a pithless shadow. The few subordinate officials who occupied the Palatine were not of such standing as seriously to interfere with him. The pope was the man of highest rank in Rome, and he represented the only Roman institution which yet retained vitality, the only one which in an age of universal corruption and decay continued fresh and vigorous." To the church men looked for maintenance and guidance, and the pope was head

of the church." The invasion by the Lombards accentuated these conditions. The people in Rome needed assistance and defense more than ever, and the emperor and his officials were unable to give aid. The senate at Rome, if still in existence, was of no importance; it was not mentioned in connection with papal elections or treaties with the Lombards. By the close of the sixth century, therefore, the pope was the virtual ruler of Rome and had great power.

Gregory the Great

This result was due largely to the personality of Pope Gregory the Great. He was born of an illustrious senatorial family and received the best education to be obtained in Rome. He adopted law as a profession and obtained rapid political preferment; while still a young man he was chosen prefect of the city of Rome, and his talents fitted him admirably for this position. There was much surprise when he withdrew from the world and devoted his great wealth to the foundation of monasteries. Into one of these, which he established at Rome, Gregory entered as a simple monk, and there spent three very happy years, giving himself up to the most rigorous asceticism. Later, when pope, he wrote: "I remember longingly what I once was in the monastery, how I rose in contemplation above all changeable and decaying things, and thought of nothing but the things of heaven; how my soul, though pent within the body, soared beyond its fleshly prison, and looked with longing upon death itself as the means of entering into life." But, as the pope felt that Gregory was far too useful a man to be permitted to live in his beloved seclusion, he made him first a deacon and later sent him to be the papal representative at the imperial court in Constantinople. Gregory's stay at the capital was prolonged for six years and was very distasteful to him. He did not enjoy the life of the court and spent all the time he could in study, contemplation, or prayer. One fruit of this period was a book which was destined to have great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, his *Magna Moralia,* or exposition of the book of Job. As a commentary on Job this work has comparatively little value; as a storehouse of sixth-century theology it is invaluable. After returning from Constantinople Gregory was elected abbot of his monastery. In 589 and 590 a terrible plague swept over Rome and the mortality was great. In the midst of the visitation the pope died, and Gregory was the unanimous choice as his successor. In such a time of peril the strong man was needed, and, although unwilling, Gregory was forced to accept the office. In their trouble the electors did not wait to consult the emperor, but Gregory delayed his consecration until the imperial assent was given, some six months later. The new pope

CHAP. VI

soon became the most important person in the west of Europe. He was a reformer, an administrator, and a statesman. He defended the city of Rome against the Lombards, negotiated with their chiefs, and finally in 599 concluded a treaty of peace which put an end to the war that had been going on for thirty years. He is included among the "church fathers" because of the influence of his theological writings. He was deeply interested in missions and through his zeal Lombard Italy, Visigothic Spain, and Anglo-Saxon Britain were again brought under the sway of the Roman Church; so that from this time on western Europe was held together by the bond of a common faith, and ecclesiastical organization made up to some extent for the lack of political organization.

Progress of Monasticism

Gregory could not have accomplished this, if he had not been ably served by the monks. Monasticism, favored by St. Augustine and the other church fathers, had made rapid progress in the fifth and sixth centuries. Many hermits withdrew from the world and some monastic communities were established in the West. Their life was generally modeled upon eastern customs and adaptations of eastern rules were made for their use. These communities gained in popularity and were constantly recruited by men like Salvian, who felt that the times were so out of joint that a Christian ought not to beget children to lead wretched lives; that the supreme duty was retirement from the world. But, like the eastern, the western monasticism lacked organization.

Benedict of Nursia

To supply this lack was the work of St. Benedict of Nursia. He was born about 480 of a noble Italian family which had furnished many consuls to the state and more virgins to the church. At the age of twelve he was sent to Rome to be educated. He soon became disgusted with the corrupt society in the city, and at fourteen withdrew, in the words of his biographer, Gregory the Great, "learnedly ignorant and wisely untaught." At first he was accompanied by his nurse. After leaving her he found a retreat at Subiaco, a lovely spot in the Apennines, in the midst of "a frightful and terrible silence which was broken only by the cries of the wild beasts." There he dwelt in a cave for three years. A friendly hermit, who was unable to reach his almost inaccessible retreat, let down each day a loaf of bread on a cord, and Benedict shared "not so much the repast as the fast of his benefactor." At first the boy was sorely tempted by the lusts of the world, but he overcame his temptations by rolling in a bed of thorns until the pain from his bleeding and lacerated body stifled all other sensation. Eventually his retreat was discovered by shepherds, who at first thought that Benedict in his clothing of skin was a

wild beast. People soon flocked to him for comfort and advice; other hermits gathered about him and he became their ruler. After some years Benedict found that his work at Subiaco was hampered by the jealousy of other monks in the neighborhood. So he left the monasteries which had grown up and with a few associates wandered on to Monte Cassino. There he found the peasants still worshiping Apollo and had the satisfaction of substituting the Christian for the pagan religion. Many soon came to him to be enrolled as monks, and his monastery became a peaceful, well-ordered community where Roman and Goth, noble and peasant, worked and prayed side by side. There Benedict made his home until his death in 543.

Benedictine Rule

For the government of his monks St. Benedict wrote the famous Benedictine rule, based upon the three fundamental vows of monasticism: poverty, chastity, and obedience. The monks were not allowed to have any property of their own, but were to be supplied amply with all necessities from the common stock. Clothing was to be furnished in conformity to their needs and to the climatic conditions. When they had to go on a journey they were to have better garments than usual; when their gowns became worn they were to receive new ones and the old were to be given to the poor. Bedding, utensils, and other needful objects were to be supplied with a like liberality. Absolute obedience was insisted upon. If an impossible task was enjoined upon a brother, he might humbly suggest the causes of the impossibility. "But if, after his suggestion, the command of the superior continue according to his first opinion, the junior shall know that thus it is expedient for him; and in all love, trusting in the aid of God, he shall obey." The government of the monastery was administered by the abbot, whose will was supreme; but in all important matters he must call the whole congregation for counsel, before making his own decision; in less weighty matters the advice of the elders was sufficient.

Duty of Manual Labor

One of the most important features of the rule was the requirement of manual labor, and of reading or study. For about seven hours each day each member of the community had to work with his own hands. He was expected to do the kind of work for which he was best fitted; skilled artisans worked at their special crafts, and the goods which they made were sold a little cheaper than wares of similar character made outside the monastery; but if a man gloried in his skill he was forbidden to exercise his trade, because humility was considered essential to a monk. In addition to the manual labor, each brother was required to spend two hours or more each day in reading. This provision, in later cen-

CHAP. VI

turies, made the Benedictine monasteries the natural homes of learning.

Moderation

St. Benedict did not believe in extreme asceticism and made great allowance for human frailty. At the two principal meals of the day two different kinds of food were to be prepared, "so that if any one perchance may not be able to eat one, he may partake of the other." He believed that it was better to abstain from drinking wine, but because of the weakness of the flesh he arranged that each brother might have a moderate amount daily, and the prior was to judge whether the needs of the place, or the work, or the heat of the summer necessitated a larger allowance. Old men and young boys were not compelled to observe the same strictness about their food as the able-bodied; they were "permitted to anticipate the canonical hours," which probably meant that they could eat between meals. The most ample hospitality was shown to strangers; the rule said: "All guests who come shall be received as though they were Christ." "Chiefly in the reception of the poor and of pilgrims shall care be most anxiously exhibited: for in them Christ is received the more." This noble standard of hospitality was of the utmost importance during the Middle Ages, when there were very few inns and traveling was both expensive and dangerous.

In all ways the rule was admirably adapted for its purpose; but in no respect more so than in the regulations for the admission of candidates. St. Benedict was careful to permit only those to be received who were fit for such a life, and then only after a full year's probation. After enrolment in the community a brother's time was fully occupied with work and prayer and study. The

Good Government

government was strict but tempered to the infirmities of the weak, and the monastery proved an ideal refuge for those who found the life of the age unbearable. It was suited to the needs of the time and performed many valuable economic and social as well as religious services.

Conversion of England

The conversion of England was the work of monks sent out by Gregory the Great, who became interested in English slaves [1] and heard with sorrow, as he says in a letter, "that the English were longing for the knowledge of Christianity, but the bishops of the neighboring country neglected their duty, and would do nothing to facilitate the good work." Accordingly he sent his friend the abbot Augustine,[2] with a number of monks, to introduce Christianity into southern Britain. All the eastern and central portions

[1] The well-known story of Gregory's conversation with the fair-haired *Angli* is probably unhistorical.

[2] Not the St. Augustine, previously mentioned, who died in 430.

of Britain had been conquered by the German invaders. The natives had been subdued or driven out; the Roman civilization had almost disappeared and the land had relapsed into semi-barbarism. Of the petty kings who ruled in the island, Ethelbert of Kent was the most powerful and was overlord of all the southeastern part of Britain. He had married a Christian princess from Gaul and she had brought with her a bishop as her chaplain. The latter had been allowed to hold services in the old Roman church of St. Martin, but he does not appear to have attempted any missionary propaganda.

In 597 Augustine and his companions, with some Frankish interpreters, landed in England. Probably it was at the same place, Ebbsfleet, where the Jutes had made their first landing on British soil. They sent a messenger to King Ethelbert to tell him that "they had come from Rome and brought glad tidings, even the assurance to all who accept it, of eternal joys in heaven and a kingdom without end with the living and true God." Ethelbert met them in the open air, fearing lest in any enclosed building they might get the best of him by magic. Then Augustine told "how Jesus, full of pity, had by his own agony redeemed the sinful world and had opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers." Ethelbert had already heard something of the Christian religion from his wife, and seems to have been favorably impressed by the words of the tall and handsome stranger. He replied: "Your words and promises are fair, but, as they are new to us and I do not comprehend them, I cannot accept them and desert the faith which I and the whole English folk have so long followed. But, because you have come into my kingdom from so great a distance, and desire, as I suppose, to impart to us what you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not harm you, but will entertain you with the necessary food; nor do we forbid you to preach and make as many converts to your religion as you can." This fair-minded pagan was soon converted, and allowed Augustine and his followers to build and repair churches wherever they chose. Augustine was made "archbishop" of the English, and his influence was great in all the lands which acknowledged Ethelbert's supremacy.

Reception of Augustine

Other missionary agencies were already at work in other parts of the island. The Britons in the western part seem not to have abandoned the Christian religion, as they had not been conquered by the Germans. About the time when the Roman troops were withdrawn, Patrick had gone over to Ireland. In the sixth century this island became noted for its missionary zeal and learning. Columba with some Irish compatriots founded the monastery of

CHAP. VI

Other Monasteries

Iona, which became a center of missionary work for Scotland and the north of England. Aidan, a monk from Iona, was granted Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, on the coast of Northumbria, and this became an enthusiastic nucleus of propaganda. For a time it seemed probable that Ireland, Scotland, and the north and west of England would follow the Celtic usages and be independent of Rome.

After the death of Ethelbert the progress of conversion in the south was checked by the opposition of the rulers. But about the same time an opportunity in the north was afforded the Romans. Edwin, one of the rulers of Northumbria, had married a Kentish princess. Here, as so often in the history of the Germans, the Christian bride was either the direct or the indirect means of the conversion of her husband and his people. She had taken with her Paulinus, who had been ordained a bishop. Moved by his preaching and the prayers of the queen, Edwin promised to adopt Christianity if he should be victorious on a certain expedition. He was successful, and then a council was held in order to win over his followers. The account, which has been handed down by Bede, the earliest of English historians, illustrates the two arguments which were most convincing among the Germans: the teachings of Christianity concerning the immortality of the soul, and the powerlessness of the pagan divinities. At the gathering, after the Christians had had their say, one of the aged councilors spoke: "So seems the life of man, O King, as a sparrow's flight through the hall when a man is sitting at meat in wintertide, with a warm fire burning on the hearth but the chill rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then, flying forth from the other, vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight, but what is before it we know not. If this new teaching tells us aught certainly of these, let us follow it." This poetic expression was followed by the declaration of a pagan priest that he had served his gods faithfully and they had done nothing for him in return; consequently, he repudiated them and hurled a spear against the pagan shrine. As the insult to the heathen deities remained unavenged, the elders assented to the arguments and wishes of the king, and Christianity was adopted as the religion of Edwin's people. A church was built for Paulinus, and this developed in time into York Minster. Because of a wave of pagan reaction Paulinus was forced to return to Kent, but Aidan and his followers from Holy Isle took up the work.

Conversion of Northumbria

By these different agencies most of England had been Chris-

tianized before the middle of the seventh century; but it was still uncertain whether it would eventually accept the leadership of Rome or ally its fortunes with the Celtic Church. Dissensions were frequent when Roman and Celtic missionaries came into contact. The actual points of difference which caused conflict seem comparatively unimportant now; they concerned the date when Easter should be kept, the form of baptism, and the fashion of the tonsure. But the real question at issue was of supreme importance: was England to be in close and constant communication with the churches on the continent and to share in their interests, or was she to remain isolated from the general current of European affairs? The matter was brought to an issue at the Synod of Whitby, in 664. The half-whimsical decision of the king that he would follow St. Peter, as the Irish missionaries admitted that St. Peter held the keys of heaven, lest when he reached the gates of paradise there might be none to open them, gave the victory to Rome, and the Irish monks withdrew to Iona. A few years later, Theodore of Tarsus was sent to England as archbishop of Canterbury, and he organized the whole church on the Roman model. Gradually Celtic customs were abandoned everywhere in England, and eventually in Scotland, Wales, and even in Ireland.

Synod of Whitby

Before this change took place the Irish Church had passed through its glorious period of missionary work. In the sixth and seventh centuries it had been a great civilizing agency, not only in England, but also on the continent. Many Irish monks and scholars worked among the Germans, especially in the Frankish kingdoms. The greatest of these was Columban. He had received an excellent education, for Ireland was then noted as a center of learning; in addition to the classics and sciences he had studied theology and had spent some years in a monastery, in order "that he who was to instruct others might first instruct himself." "He longed to go into strange lands," as his disciple and biographer wrote, "and under the guidance of Christ went to the seashore with twelve companions." He landed on the coast of Brittany, and thence proceeded through the interior of Gaul. He found that "the Christian faith had almost departed from that country, the creed alone remained; but the saving grace of penance and the longing to root out the lusts of the flesh were to be found only in a few." Columban and his associates found favor by their preaching and example and they were allowed to found monasteries. For the sites they chose uncultivated lands where there was an abundant supply of water and of fertile soil, and buildings in ruins furnished materials ready for use. They were especially

St. Columban

CHAP. VI

pleased when they could restore a deserted church or convert pagan foundations into a monastery.

At first, in this pioneer life, they suffered from hunger and many hardships. After they had overcome their early trials many converts joined them. Eventually Columban aroused hostility by his fearless denunciations of the king's vices and was expelled, but he was well received by the rival kings and continued his missionary work among the Alamanni and the Lombards. Columban's rule was very strict and his methods were not conciliatory, but for a time the success of the Irish monks was very great. Their monasteries, especially Luxeuil in the Vosges, St. Gall near the lake of Constance, and Bobbio in northern Italy among the Apennines, were long noted as centers of piety and learning.

Irish Influence in Gaul

Thus, while the Roman Church was making such progress in England, the Celtic Church was extending its influence in Gaul, and in some places Celtic usages were superseding the Roman. In the middle of the eighth century, however, most of the Irish monks were driven out and their places filled by Benedictines. This was the work of Boniface, an Englishman who had devoted himself to the service of Rome.[3]

[3] See Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRANKS, C. 481–751 A.D.

THE early history of the Franks is very obscure. In the latter half of the sixth century Bishop Gregory of Tours wrote a *History of the Franks* which until recently was accepted as trustworthy. Modern scholarship has shown that the good bishop's account of Clovis and his immediate successors cannot be accepted as soberly historical. The *History,* however, is full of interest and throws light upon many a dark point in the civilization of the age. Consequently, in the early portion of this chapter Gregory will be drawn upon freely and his statements will be used to illustrate conditions among the Franks. It would be wasted effort, however, to attempt, from the meager legends, to reconstruct any of the history before the advent of Clovis.

Gregory of Tours' History

When Clovis became king, about 481, he was about fifteen years old and ruled over only a portion of the Salian Franks, who dwelt in the valley of the upper Scheldt. His favorite residence was at Tournai. His people, who were still pagan and very backward in civilization, were noted for their treachery and perjury. They went into battle on foot, half-naked, armed with javelins, swords, and battle-axes. The first extension of their territory was obtained by the conquest of the Roman lands to the south of their home. Syagrius "king of the Romans," was ruling the valley of the Seine and the country to the south as far as Orleans. This part of Gaul had never been conquered by the Germans and prided itself upon being Roman. But in 486 Clovis invaded it, quickly made himself master of the whole country as far as the Loire, and established his capital at Soissons. In this conquest Clovis had been aided by one of the other kings, who was a kinsman, but the latter received no share of the spoils; in fact, Clovis quarreled with him and slew him because he claimed a portion. A second kinsman, also a king of the Salian Franks, he killed for not aiding him. By treachery or battle he soon destroyed all of his other kinsmen who were, or might be, rulers. "Nevertheless," to quote Gregory, "in a general assemblage he is said to have spoken concerning the kinsmen whom he had himself destroyed: 'Woe is me, who have remained like a pilgrim among foreigners, and have no kinsmen to aid me, if adversity befalls me.' But he said this

Conquests of Clovis

CHAP. VII

not because he grieved at their death, but with the cunning thought that he might perhaps find one still alive whom he could kill." In 496 he subdued the Alamanni. He succeeded in obtaining possession of almost all the Gallic lands which the Visigoths had been occupying. In order to curb his power, Theodoric the Ostrogoth interfered and took the Narbonensis and Provence under his protection. The last conquest made by Clovis was the kingdom of his Frankish kinsmen, the Ripuarians. He persuaded the son of an old ally to kill the latter and then slew the son to avenge the murder. Thus in a quarter of a century Clovis by his wars and treachery had become the ruler of almost all Gaul.

Conversion of Clovis

The most important event in the reign of this bloodthirsty barbarian was his conversion to Christianity. He had married a Burgundian princess, named Clotilda, who happened to be a Catholic, although most of the Burgundians were Arians. "Queen Clotilda did not cease to urge him to know the true God and leave his idols. But he could in no wise be moved to believe these things till at last he once on a time fell into a war against the Alamanni. When the two armies met, there was a fierce and bloody struggle, and the host of Clovis was on the point of being destroyed. Seeing this, he raised his eyes to heaven, his heart was touched, and with tearful eyes he said, 'Jesus Christ, Clotilda says that you are the son of the living God, and that you give help to those in trouble, and victory to those who put their hope in you: I pray you humbly for the honor of your aid. If you will now grant me victory over these my enemies, and if I thus experience that power which the people devoted to your name claims to have tested, I too will believe in you and be baptized in your name. For I have called on my own gods; but, as I find, they have forsaken me with their help.'"[1] He won the victory and kept his promise; his sister and three thousand of his warriors were baptized at the same time. Clovis was the first, and is said to have been greeted by St. Remigius with the words, "Meekly bow thy neck, O Sigambrian; adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored!"

The consequences of this conversion were far-reaching. Clovis was the first German king to become a Catholic, as all the other German rulers who had adopted Christianity were Arians. Consequently, to the Catholics under Arian domination, he seemed their natural champion. The bishops of Rome soon entered into relations with the Franks, and their association was destined to become closer in later years. The Roman subjects of Clovis were the more ready to obey him, and even to look upon him as the

[1] Gregory of Tours' account, translated by Burr.

agent of God, because he was an orthodox Christian. The good bishop of Tours, who wrote the account of Clovis' conversion, sums up his career as follows: "The Lord cast his enemies under his power day after day, and increased his kingdom, because he walked with a right heart before Him, and did that which was pleasing in His sight." Such is the language used by a conscientious and upright bishop concerning a king whose hands were red with the blood of his kinsmen, treacherously slain. The words of Gregory show how the orthodoxy of Clovis induced his subjects to overlook his evil deeds. Probably, if he had not been orthodox, the Greek emperor would not have sent ambassadors to confer upon him the titles of consul and of patrician, and thus make his rule more legitimate in the eyes of his Roman subjects. Moreover, Clovis found in his new faith a convenient pretext for war against any of his neighbors. "I cannot endure that those Arians should possess any part of Gaul. With God's aid we will go against them and conquer their lands."

Clovis, Champion of the Catholic Faith

After the death of Clovis in 511, four sons succeeded him as rulers of the Frankish kingdom. Their shares were very unequal and were not separated from one another by any natural boundaries; brotherly love was entirely lacking and each one sought to aggrandize himself by treachery or force; all were unscrupulous and cruel. Yet, in spite of their wars among themselves, they and their immediate successors greatly increased the extent of the kingdom by conquering southern Thuringia, Burgundy, Provence, and Bavaria. Their intestine wars and the murder of kinsmen were too frequent to be recorded in detail. Chlotar or Lothair, the youngest son of Clovis, had received a smaller share than any of his brothers, but by 558 he had secured the whole kingdom. He was noted, even among the Merovingians, for his cruelty; he had with his own hands cut the throats of two of his young nephews; he punished his own rebellious son by strangling him and burning his wife and sons alive. The Franks felt it to be a judgment of heaven when Chlotar died the year after he had killed his son. This was in 561, just fifty years after his father's death.

Sons of Clovis

The kingdom was again parceled out among his four sons, and again without any regard to natural boundaries. One son died within a few years and his territory was divided among his brothers. From this time the names Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy were commonly used. In the first, the eastern portion over which Sigibert ruled, the inhabitants were mainly of Teutonic stock. Neustria, "the newest," i. e., the most recently conquered, was held by Chilperich, and its population was mainly of

Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy

CHAP. VII

Gallo-Roman blood. The southern and southwestern parts of Gaul were ruled by Sigibert, although they were separated from Austrasia by the whole extent of Burgundy. Finally, Guntram's kingdom of Burgundy was an ill-defined territory, and included the valley of the upper Loire and most of the valley of the Rhone. The city of Paris did not belong to any division, but was neutral property into which no one of the brothers could enter without the consent of the other two. Of such a method of division civil wars were the natural outcome.

Brunhild and Fredegund

The half century which ensued before the kingdom of the Franks was again united under a single ruler is noted chiefly for the strife between Brunhild and Fredegund. The former was the wife of Sigibert and daughter of the Visigothic king of Spain. The latter was the concubine and later the queen of Chilperich. Both were beautiful and able women, with great influence over their husbands. When Sigibert married Brunhild he received a magnificent dowry with her; the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and luxury, and Brunhild's beauty and charm aroused general admiration. Chilperich, animated by jealousy, sought and obtained the hand of Brunhild's sister. He celebrated his wedding even more luxuriously than his brother had done, and on the morning after his marriage presented to his bride five cities. But Fredegund, who had been temporarily discarded, soon regained her sway over Chilperich who openly brought her back to the palace as his mistress. The queen was incensed at this and threatened to return to her father. Chilperich did not wish to lose her dowry, and, in order to prevent the possibility of being obliged to restore it, had her murdered. From that time, Brunhild's chief aim in life was to avenge her sister's death. Impelled by his wife, Sigibert made war upon Chilperich. The latter was driven from his kingdom, and, in order to regain his power, had to hand over to Brunhild the five cities which he had formerly given to her sister. A few years later Sigibert was assassinated by agents of Fredegund and Brunhild was seized and thrown into prison. There by her beauty and charm she captivated the son of Chilperich and they were married. When Chilperich learned this, he attempted to seize his son, but the latter had himself killed rather than fall into his father's hands. The bishop who had performed the marriage ceremony was put to death by Fredegund. Chilperich in turn was assassinated. Murder followed murder, until finally in 613 Brunhild was betrayed and delivered to Lothair, son of Fredegund. She was accused of having caused the death of ten Frankish kings, and, after having been tortured, she was paraded about in mockery on a camel, and

"then bound to the tail of a wild horse and thus perished wretchedly." Fredegund had died peaceably in 597.

The bare outline of the horrors connected with these two queens illustrates the state of civilization among the Merovingians, but this is still better illustrated by the character and opinions of Gregory of Tours. He was the most important bishop in the Merovingian realm, and it is from his pages that most of the history of the times is gleaned. He was especially able to write an account of the events, as in many he had had an important part. His education was very faulty, but he had excellent sense and a highly moral character. He protected the poor and the helpless; he never shunned danger in the accomplishment of any duty; "between martyrdom and disobedience to the laws of God and the church, he would not have hesitated one moment." As one studies his life the sterling qualities of Gregory command admiration, but his feelings had become so blunted by familiarity with the conditions about him that he told of the most outrageous deeds of cruelty without any apparent revulsion or condemnation. His judgment of Clovis has already been cited. Brunhild, in spite of her crimes, is praised by him, as well as by Gregory the Great; this may be because she favored the orthodox Catholics. It is interesting, and full of significance for the understanding of the times, to contrast with Gregory's attitude the statement of the biographer of St. Columban, whom Brunhild persecuted, that she was "a second Jezebel." Gregory's special favorite among the Merovingian rulers was the "good king Guntram," as he styles him; yet he tells repeatedly of Guntram's cruelty and perjury. Clovis, Brunhild, and Guntram were orthodox and revered the church; in the eyes of Gregory such qualities seem to have atoned for evil life.

Character of Gregory of Tours

The Merovingians of the sixth century were despotic rulers. The old assembly of free men no longer met, possibly because the kingdom had become too large. The government was administered by the antrustions, counts, and dukes. The first were members of the royal household and accompanied the king on his journeys from one royal estate to another, or in warfare. The most important of them was the *major domus,* or mayor of the palace, who was the chief of the household officials and acted as the king's deputy in case of need. The other chief officials were the marshal or constable, who had charge of the king's stable; the count of the palace, who was the king's legal adviser; the treasurer; and the secretaries, who were usually Gallo-Romans. The kingdom was divided into districts, over each of which a count or duke ruled. In Gaul the unit was the former *civitas;* in Germany, the

Administration

CHAP. VII

former territory of a tribe; in each unit the count had legal, financial, and military power as the king's representative, and also had the right to condemn offenders to death. On the frontiers large territories were placed under the command of dukes, who had powers similar to those of the counts, but outranked the latter. Neither counts nor dukes received any salary, but they were allowed a portion of the fines which they levied. This system gave rise to many exactions, as there was practically no check upon the power of the king's deputy in exploiting the subjects under his rule. The union of so much authority in the person of one official made it possible for him to achieve practical independence under a weak king.

After the long strife between Brunhild and Fredegund, the whole realm again, in 613, passed under the rule of a single king, Lothair II, because all the other male heirs had been killed. But the king had little real power and kept his position only by making concessions to his nobles. He was obliged to permit the mayor of the palace to hold office for life and not be removable at his pleasure. His successors gradually became weaker and weaker and are known as the *fainéant* or "do-nothing" kings. The actual power passed into the hands of the mayors of the palace. Under Lothair the chief men in Austrasia had been Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and Duke Pippin. The latter was mayor of the palace and his daughter became the wife of Arnulf's son. The descendants of this marriage, sometimes called the Arnulfings, were the real leaders in Austrasia and finally became the kings of the Carolingian line. But nearly a century and a half was to intervene after 613 before the Merovingians were finally dispossessed. During the first part of this period the kings still were comparatively able, although the mayors were gaining greater power and were sometimes unruly. One actually kidnapped the royal heir in Austrasia and had his own son proclaimed king, but this action was premature and he was tortured to death by the king of Neustria. Much of the power then passed into the hands of Ebroin, mayor of both Neustria and Burgundy, whose authority was so great that he was able to put down all revolts, until he was murdered in 681. The Austrasians then seized the opportunity to rally around Pippin the younger, grandson of Pippin the elder. After hard fighting Pippin finally defeated the mayor of Neustria in 687, and practically ruled over the whole kingdom.

Mayors of the Palace

Pippin, before his death in 714, had reconquered some of the lands on the frontiers which had become nearly independent during the long struggle between the rival mayors. His success gave the leadership in the Frankish realm to the eastern portion, which

was predominantly German, while the western, as we have seen, was mainly inhabited by the Gallo-Romans. He also aided the church in its missionary labors among the Germans. The Merovingian rulers had been Catholics, but had not been ardent in proselyting except by the sword in the hands of Clovis. The Arnulfings were now to become the great patrons of the missionaries; they aided the Roman Church and in turn were aided by it. Pippin laid the foundation for the close alliance which was to bind together the papacy and the Carolingians and to be so important to both parties. The need was urgent from Pippin's standpoint. He had subdued the Frisians, who had been troubling his lands by piratical raids, but he felt that his conquests would never be secure until the Frisians had become Christians and had abandoned their pagan practices. Consequently, he encouraged the labors of the Irish missionaries, who up to this time had had a practical monopoly of the field. He also sent to England for other missionaries, of whom St. Willibrord is the best known.

Pippin and the Church

Pippin's work was continued by his son Charles, later known as Martel, or "the Hammer." But, as Charles was an illegitimate son, Pippin had willed the succession to his grandson, who was only eight years old. In order to secure the succession for the child, Charles, who was twenty-five years old and already noted for his ability, had been imprisoned. The nobles of Neustria at once took advantage of the opportunity which was offered to them, by the rule of the child, of regaining their independence. They were successful at first; but Charles escaped from prison and soon subjected both Neustria and Austrasia. After a decisive battle in 717, he was recognized as mayor, and thenceforth neither the Merovingian kinglets nor the nobles of Neustria attempted to dispute the supremacy of the Austrasian mayors. In the following year the *fainéant* Austrasian king died. Charles then recognized as king of the Franks the Neustrian king, whom he had previously driven into exile.

Charles Martel

After this, the authority of the Merovingian kings was even less. Einhard, the secretary of Charles the Great, has left a well-known description of them which depicts their position as it was viewed by the Franks of a later generation: "There was nothing left the king to do but to be content with his name of king, his flowing hair, and long beard; to sit on the throne and play the ruler; to give ear to the ambassadors that came from all quarters, and to dismiss them, as if on his own responsibility, in words that were, in fact, suggested to him or even imposed upon him. He had nothing that he could call his own beyond this vain title of king and the precarious support allowed by the mayor of

The Last Merovingian Kings

CHAP. VII

the palace in his discretion, except a single country-seat, that brought him but a very small income. There was a dwelling-house upon this, and a very small number of servants attached to it, sufficient to perform the necessary offices. When he had to go abroad, he used to ride in a cart, drawn by a yoke of oxen, driven, peasant-fashion, by a plowman; he rode in this way to the palace and to the general assembly of the people, that met once a year for the welfare of the kingdom, and he returned home in like manner. The mayor of the palace took charge of the government, and of everything that had to be planned or executed at home or abroad."

Civil Strife

At first, however, Charles Martel had to fight hard to maintain his power. During the years of civil strife after his father's death, many parts of the old Frankish realm had attempted to become independent. In rapid succession Charles had to put down a rebellion in Neustria, to subdue Swabia, Bavaria, and Aquitaine. His most striking military achievement, the defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers, which will be discussed later,[2] did much to consolidate his power over his German subjects. But Charles realized that he must follow his father's policy of Christianizing his subjects, if he wished to establish his rule firmly, and Willibrord, who had been made bishop of Utrecht, was aided by Charles in his efforts to convert the Frisians.

Boniface

The greatest of the missionaries, and the one with whom the Carolingian rulers were to be the most intimately associated, was Boniface. Winfrith, as he was originally called, was an Englishman and had been educated in his native land He first went to Frisia in 716, when he was forty years old, but found conditions so unfavorable for his work that he returned to England the following year. A year later Boniface went to Rome, and was sent to Thuringia and Hesse. Later he returned to Frisia, where the conditions were now very much improved, as Charles Martel had conquered the Frisians and was ready to support the missionaries in their work of evangelization. After success both among the Frisians and the Hessians Boniface was summoned to Rome and was consecrated as bishop. This visit made of him an enthusiastic champion of the Roman supremacy, and he took an oath to obey the Roman Church in everything and to have no communion with priests who did not recognize the absolute authority of the pope. The latter gave him a letter to Charles Martel which secured for him full protection and assistance. Later Boniface wrote: "Without the aid of the prince of the Franks I should not be able to rule my church nor to defend the lives of my priests and nuns, nor to keep my converts from lapsing into

[2] See Chapter IX.

pagan rites and observances." Secure in the protection of Charles, Boniface cut down Odin's oak near Fritzlar and used the logs from it to build a chapel. His success in Hesse and Thuringia was so great that in 732 he was made an archbishop. A few years later he made another journey to Rome in order to arrange for the organization of the church in Germany. On his return he established bishoprics in Bavaria and eastern Austrasia, over which he placed his own disciples.

The Irish monks who had done so much to Christianize the land were driven out, or converted, by Boniface, because they did not conform to the Roman usages. In place of those who were expelled Benedictine monks were installed. As the number of the latter increased, new homes were found for them, of which Fulda became the most important. This was founded in 744 by Sturmi, a Bavarian of noble birth whose parents had given him to Boniface to be educated as a monk. After the boy had been carefully prepared and had grown to manhood he was sent out to establish a new monastery. At first he settled where Hersfeld now is, but Boniface ordered him to go farther into the wilderness, as he was too near the "wild Saxons." Accordingly, Sturmi set out with two companions in a boat to examine the river Fulda. After a fruitless search he returned to report to Boniface, but the latter commanded him to start out again by land. As soon as he was rested Sturmi saddled his donkey, took the necessary food, and set out alone through the wilderness, to spy out the land. With psalms ever on his tongue he examined the hills and valleys, the springs and streams. When darkness overtook him he stopped and cut logs to build a circular enclosure for his donkey, as he feared that the wild beasts, which were numerous, might devour the animal; then he himself went quietly to sleep, making the sign of the cross in the name of God. Only twice did he see any human beings: once he came upon some Slavs bathing, and his donkey was frightened; once he chanced upon a friendly wanderer, who passed the night with him; the only other signs of life were the wild beasts and birds. Finally he found "the place which had been prepared by God long before." He returned and described its advantages to Boniface, who was delighted. Sturmi settled there with his monks, and the mayor of the palace made them a grant of land eight thousand paces square. Fulda soon had four thousand monks and was made an exempt monastery by the pope.[3]

Fulda

Another feature in the organization of the church was the hold-

[3] An exempt monastery was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese and placed directly under the authority of the pope.

CHAP. VII

Councils

ing of councils, where nobles and bishops assembled together under Boniface as presiding officer. At the council of 748 the German bishops swore entire submission to Rome. "We have declared and decreed that we would maintain and protect, until the end of our lives, the Catholic faith and unity, and submission to the Roman Church, St. Peter and his vicar; that we would meet together each year in a council; that the metropolitan should apply to the Roman See for the pallium; and that we would canonically follow all the precepts of St. Peter, in order that we might be numbered among his sheep. We have all consented and subscribed our names to this oath, and have sent it to be deposited on the tomb of St. Peter, prince of the apostles."

Death of Boniface

When the Roman supremacy had been accepted, Boniface's greatest work had been practically completed. He returned to the scene of his early labors, courting martyrdom, and found the death which he had longed for; he and a band of followers were killed by pagan Frisians in 754 or 755. In accordance with his wishes he was laid at rest in Fulda.

Church and State

His work had been fully as important for the state as for the church. The councils or assemblies summoned by the mayor and presided over by Boniface, had brought together bishops and nobles who had taken common and united action for the welfare of the whole kingdom. Charles Martel and his successors had supported Boniface in all his undertakings; he in turn had done everything in his power to strengthen the authority of the mayors of the palace. Together, they had striven earnestly to reform abuses in the church, and to compel the members of the clergy to lead moral lives. The constant aid which Charles and his sons gave to the work of Boniface led the church to resign itself without any very active opposition to the use of its property by Charles Martel for secular purposes. For, in order to raise a force of cavalry sufficient to cope with the Saracens, Charles had used lands belonging to the church: these lands were to be held by his followers as *precaria*[4] from the church, so that their income might enable them to equip themselves as horsemen. By this means Charles had raised the army which won the battle of Poitiers. Later his sons followed a like policy when they needed more soldiers, and the church submitted, under protest, because it needed the aid of the mayors. In 739 the pope sought support from Charles in his struggle against the Lombards. At this time Charles did not send any aid; but the pope's position was so dangerous that he was anxious to bind the Franks more closely to his cause.

[4] See Chapter XII.

CHAP. VII

When Charles Martel died, in 741, he was succeeded by two sons, Pippin and Carloman. A third son felt himself slighted and attempted a rebellion. He was captured and imprisoned; but the revolts against the brothers were so serious that they felt it necessary to put in a Merovingian king, although for some years before his death Charles had allowed the throne to remain vacant, and they had been following the same policy. Now they determined to crown the heir of the Merovingian line, who was an insignificant man, but whose name gave a shadow of legitimate authority to the real rulers; and after three years of continuous fighting Pippin and Carloman crushed all rebellion.

Pippin and Carloman

When their position had been firmly established, Carloman withdrew to a monastery. Einhard says: "The causes no man knew, but it would seem that he was truly moved by a desire for the life of contemplation and for the love of God." It is significant of the man's character that he waited until order had been established before carrying out his desires. On Carloman's retirement the third brother again attempted to revolt, but Pippin put this down and "the whole land had peace for two years." Secure, because of this unusual peace, Pippin now determined to make himself king. But, as he was desirous of legal sanction for his position, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask who ought to be king, the Merovingian or himself. The pope replied, "It is better that the man who has the real power should also have the title of king, rather than the man who has the mere title and no real power." Accordingly, a council or assembly was summoned, in 751; with the consent of the nobles the Merovingian king "was deposed, shaved, and thrust into a cloister," and Pippin the Carolingian became king of the Franks.

Pippin Becomes King

CHAPTER VIII

FUSION OF GERMAN AND ROMAN IN GAUL

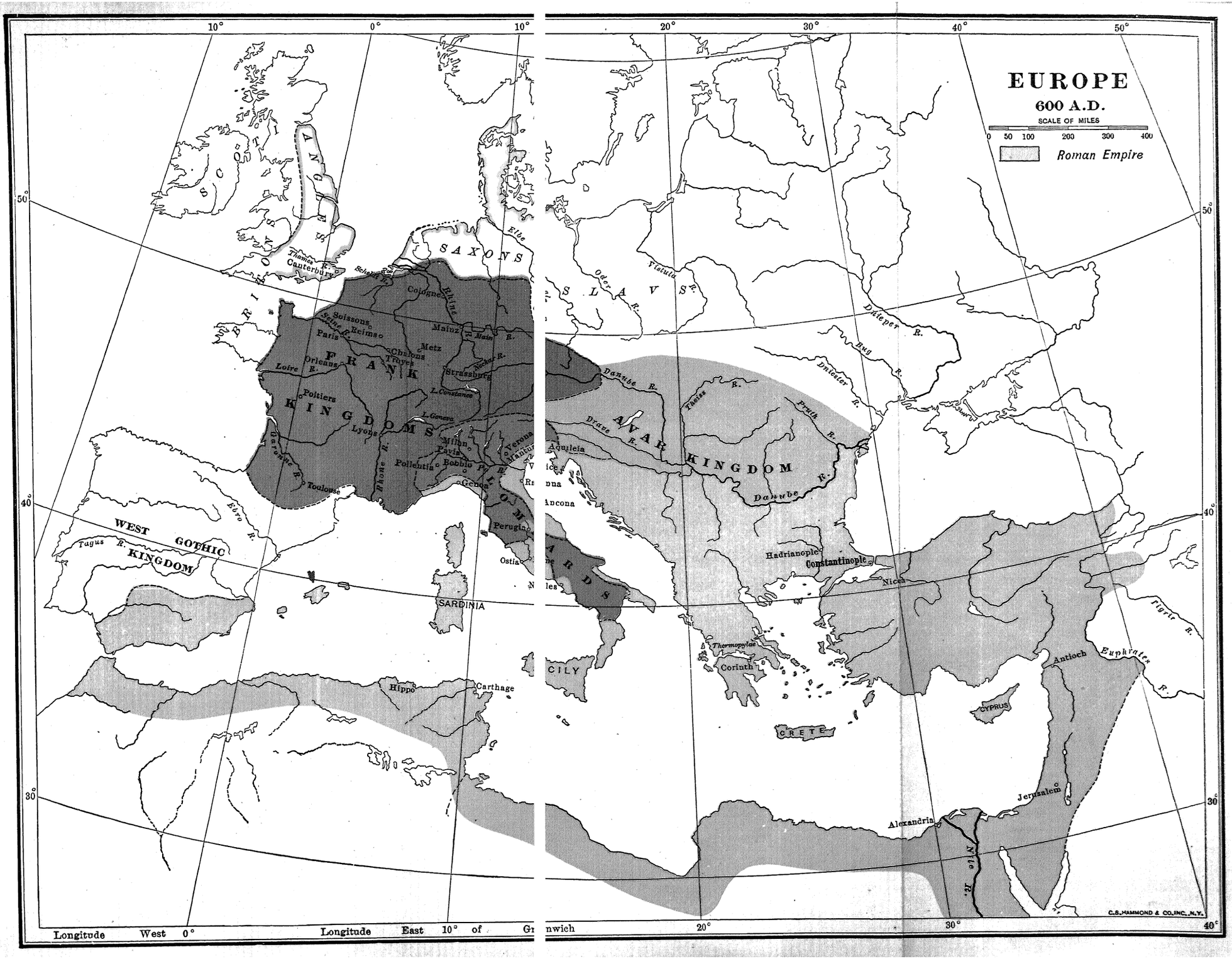
CHAP. VIII

THE manner of living in Gaul in the fifth century outwardly was but little changed from what it had been in the best days of the Roman civilization. The letters of Apollinaris Sidonius depict a highly cultivated and literary society, of which the decadence was not visible to the contemporaries. The writings of Salvian give the dark background of the picture, filled with the miseries of the people oppressed by taxation; his account is undoubtedly exaggerated, but leaves a decided impression that there was need of new blood to regenerate Gaul. The Romans had recognized this dimly, and had admitted individuals and whole tribes into the Empire. As long as the number was so small that the immigrants could be readily assimilated the civilization would be gradually transformed but was in no danger of being overthrown; when the country came wholly under the domination of barbarians like the Franks, the peril was imminent.

Gradual Change

The Germans, however, were relatively few compared with the total mass of the Roman population. They did not like to live in cities; all their habits and customs led them to prefer the country. The urban centers in the *civitas* were mainly left to the Gallo-Roman inhabitants under their rule. The latter were enabled in some cities or towns to continue their existence with comparatively little change at first. Their long training in the duties incident to city management made it easier for them to carry on the various activities after the results of the migrations had removed them from dependence upon the central government. Their new masters interfered but slightly at first with the internal affairs of the city; business and administration were left in the charge of the more civilized race. There was an inevitable decline, which was more marked as some Germans came to live in the cities and became influential. But the importance of the urban centers as elements of permanence in preserving some features of the older Roman civilization was very great. The villa, too, with its working population, frequently continued its existence either under the Roman noble, who had made terms with the barbarians, or else under a German owner who had dispossessed the former proprietor, but desired only the income which the villa yielded. Because

Civitas and Villa


EUROPE
600 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Roman Empire
10° 0° 10° 20° 30° 40° 50°
50° 40° 30°
SCOTLAND
ANGLES
SAXONS
Thames R.
Canterbury
Scheldt R.
Elbe
Cologne
Rhine R.
Soissons
Seine R.
Reims
Paris
Mainz
Main R.
Metz
Chalons
Troyes
Orleans
Loire R.
FRANK
Neckar R.
Strassburg
L. Constance
Poitiers
KINGDOMS
L. Geneva
Lyons
Milan
Pavia
Verona
Mantua
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Pollentia
Bobbio
Genoa
Toulouse
Ebro R.
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Tagus R.
Perugia
Ostia
SARDINIA
Hippo
Carthage
Oder R.
Fistula
SLAVS
Dniepter R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Pruth R.
Drave R.
AVAR KINGDOM
Danube R.
Aquileia
Ancona
Hadrianople
Constantinople
Nicea
Thermopylae
Corinth
CRETE
CYPRUS
Antioch
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Nile R.
C.S. HAMMOND & CO. INC., N.Y.
Longitude West 0°
Longitude East 10° of Greenwich
20° 30° 40°

it was almost a self-sufficing unit, it was able to continue its economic life, only gradually evolving into something quite different from its former condition. The agricultural and peaceful handicrafts continued on many estates with little change from one generation to another. The names of many of the places in France still bear testimony to their origin as Roman villas; near Paris, for example, Passy and Clichy are the former estates of the Gallo-Romans Paccius and Clippius.

Roman Law

A third factor which tended to preserve some features of the older civilization was the use of the Roman law. The Germans when they entered the Empire were in the stage of personal law; that is, they believed that a man, wherever he might chance to live, should be subject to the penalties and entitled to the benefits of the law of his tribe. Consequently they let the Romans keep the privileges of their own Roman law in all their relations with one another. The Visigothic king had an official compilation of the Roman law made for the Romans living in Gaul under his rule; this was published in 506, and is usually called the *Breviary of Alaric*. Other German rulers had similar compilations drawn up for their Roman subjects. When the Germans came into contact with features of the Roman civilization which were entirely unknown to their experience, they were inclined to adopt, or adapt, the enactments of the Roman law concerning such subjects. Probably the tendency of the Germans to codify their own laws was due in part to the existence of the Roman law. Several of their codes have been preserved; namely, the code of the Visigoths, of the Burgundians, of the Salic Franks, of the Ripuarians, of the Saxons, of the Frisians, and of the Lombards. They are among the most important sources of our knowledge concerning the habits and the civilization of these peoples.

Church as a Civilizing Agency

The greatest of all agencies in civilizing the Germans was the church. Its organization, which in many respects so closely paralleled the imperial organization, had been founded firmly before the migrations. All the Germans who had not already been converted became Christians soon after entering the Empire. The Franks, because they were Catholics, were especially influenced by the church; and, as their sway was extended more widely, the other tribes were brought under this influence. It was, consequently, the one institution which exercised any real restraint upon the barbarian kings and leaders, although at times they chafed under its authority or rebelled against it. At first the officials of the church were almost all Romans, as some education was necessary for conducting its service. When the Frankish realm was divided into separate kingdoms, the church in Gaul

CHAP. VIII

was weakened. The members of the clergy in each kingdom were considered to be subjects of the king, and were not expected to have any intercourse with the clergy of the neighboring and usually hostile kingdoms. This isolation and partial subjection was one of the causes of the low state of Christianity in Gaul when St. Columban entered the land. This evil was done away with when all of the kingdoms were united under the powerful mayors of the palace. Boniface's work was all-important in unifying the church and restoring its prestige, as well as in connecting it closely with Rome. His labors made it a far more potent agency in the preservation of the older civilization. The missions and councils bound together the churches in the various lands and the more backward sections profited by the presence of missionaries from the more civilized centers. The organization of the church made it stronger and preserved the prestige of Rome, the old capital of the Empire. And in turn the feeling of unconscious reverence for the Roman Empire, a feeling which was shared by every German who had come under the influence of Rome, enhanced the glory of the Roman Church. The members of the clergy, especially the missionaries, did much to bring the Romans and the Germans together; the bishops were the natural intercessors between the Roman population and the German kings; the church edifice was the common asylum for all who needed protection; the monastery welcomed both Germans and Romans as members.

The Latin Language

Latin was the language of the church, and it was also the language of the great mass of the population, although the latter spoke vulgar Latin, which differed widely from the literary Latin spoken by the educated. As the vulgar Latin was the vernacular of the great majority of the people, it naturally supplanted both the rude German dialects of the invaders and the literary language used by a small and vanishing class of highly educated aristocrats. Gregory of Tours makes an apology for the rusticity of his Latin, but is consoled by the fact that the ordinary rustic will understand him better than would be the case if he could write really good Latin. This vulgar Latin became the idiom of all the kingdoms founded by the Germans within the old boundaries of the Empire, except England. Italian, French, Provençal, Spanish, and Portuguese are Romance, i. e., Roman, tongues. The variations which are still noticeable between the dialects of various portions of France or Italy are due partly to their isolation from one another when the languages were being formed and partly also to the differences in the number and provenance of the Germans who dwelt among them. But the variations are

far less striking than the resemblances, and all betray, even to casual observation, their Latin origin.

Education

As all education was under the control of the church, Latin was its vehicle. This resulted in the preservation of much of the old culture contained in the Latin literature, and enabled every educated man to profit by any Latin work which he could obtain. The similarity of the language to their own idioms made it easier for the students to acquire the Latin education of the schools. In the early Middle Ages practically all education in book-learning was obtained in the monasteries, or the cathedral schools, or occasionally from clerical tutors. As education was considered to be a function of the church, it was directed exclusively to subjects which would serve the interests of the latter. The old Roman curriculum was retained in part, but it was sadly emasculated. Compends formed the usual text-books and were committed to memory. The instruction was restricted to the so-called seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, which composed the *trivium* or language studies; arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, which composed the *quadrivium*, or mathematical and scientific branches. The most advanced students then proceeded to theology, which included the study of the Scriptures and some works of the church fathers.

Certain text-books were generally used and remained in favor for many centuries, so that it is possible to form some conception of the average scholastic equipment of medieval students. The first study was naturally the alphabet, and for this the pupils were given tablets in which the individual letters were written. As soon as they had learned the alphabet, they began to read in psalter books written in large letters. Sometimes they learned to read the psalter glibly without understanding a word of it. After the psalter, *Cato* was the favorite reading book. Who the author of *Cato* was is unknown, but he lived in the third or fourth century and his little book retained its popularity for over a thousand years.[1] It contained about a hundred and fifty couplets, many of which have become common proverbs in the various modern languages. As examples may be cited: the chief virtue is to know how to hold one's tongue; in good fortune beware of evil, as the outcome is often different from the beginning; bear poverty patiently, since you came into the world naked.

Cato

Writing

In connection with the reading, writing was taught. Sometimes the teachers seem to have used blocks into which the letters were

[1] The copy from which I am quoting was printed in 1766 in Germany. It contains the Latin distichs and below, at the bottom of the pages, translations into German iambics, trochees, and dactyls for each couplet.

CHAP. VIII

cut deeply. The pupil was required to follow the lines in the block with his pen until his hand was accustomed to the form of the letters. After that, or sometimes first of all, tablets covered with wax were used. At the top the teacher wrote the copy and then guided the pupil's hand while the latter formed the letters. Finally, the ablest pupils were given practice in fine writing on parchment; but, as parchment was expensive, many never attained to this height. Double tablets, covered with wax on the inner sides, were sometimes used for letters. The epistle was written in the wax, the tablets were tied together and sealed, thus insuring the letter's remaining unread unless the seal was broken. But writing was a comparatively rare accomplishment in the early Middle Ages.

The elementary text-book in grammar was the work of Donatus, who lived in the fourth century and was probably the teacher of St. Jerome. He wrote two books on grammar, the *Ars Minor* and the *Ars Major* or *Ars Grammatica*. The first occupies only twelve pages in a modern printed edition and consists of elementary questions and answers, with some declensions and conjugations. It was highly appreciated in the early centuries and remained in use for several hundred years. Of the larger work only the last book, which treated of rhetoric, was commonly used in the schools. A more advanced text-book in grammar was that of Priscian, which furnished many quotations from classical authors;[2] and grammar when studied from Priscian included some training in literature, history, and mythology.

Donatus

After they had been *donatistae* or grammar-grade pupils, the bright boys might be introduced to Martianus Capella, who furnished the main stuff of learning in his *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*. This is an encyclopedic text-book, thinly disguised under the form of an allegory, partly in prose and partly in verse. Gregory of Tours praised this work highly as containing all the knowledge needful for education. After a somewhat lengthy account in the first two books of the wedding, each of the other books is devoted to a treatise on one of the seven liberal arts. It is to be noted that geometry included some geography and natural history. While many of the statements seem trivial or laughable, there is much sound learning and exact information;

Seven Liberal Arts

[2] Priscian quotes Homer 78 times, Horace 158, Juvenal 121, Lucretius 25, Ovid 73, Sallust 80, Terence 225, Vergil's Aeneid 721, and Vergil's other writings 146 times. From Priscian many medieval writers learned the classical quotations which they used. The preference for Vergil's writings is especially noteworthy.

for instance, Martianus knew that the world is round and flattened at the poles.

Comparatively few ever mastered the seven liberal arts. It was the custom of some nobles in the seventh century to send their sons to the monasteries to be educated, but very few acquired more than a smattering of learning. Several of the Merovingian kings were not unwilling to be patrons of learning; and one, Chilperich, who died in 584, invented several new letters which he commanded should be used in all books; but this attempt, like later ones, to improve spelling by fiat was unsuccessful. Among the best teachers in Gaul during this period were the Irish monks, and later the English, under the influence of Boniface.

Education Confined to Few

Roman customs still held sway over many features in the life of the citizens, but they gradually lost control of the administration and finances, and these passed under the power of the counts or the bishops. Some traces of the old organization remained and some usages had been adapted to new ones. All business arrangements and all arts and crafts retained much of the Roman method and skill. It is possible that some of the Roman colleges or gilds, such as that of the boatmen of Paris, continued to exist for centuries, but cities suffered from their isolation and the necessity of defense. The insecurity of travel prevented the carrying on of extensive commerce and each center was thrown back upon itself. For the purpose of defense walls were built around the cities; in order to avoid labor the district to be walled in was restricted as much as possible, and the people crowded together. As the population increased, the necessity of living within the protection of the wall caused the citizens to encroach upon all open squares, and gradually almost the whole space was occupied by the houses. As the latter were built of wood, fires were frequent and very disastrous, and many cities were burned more than once, either by enemies or by accident.

Conditions in Cities

The Germans controlled military affairs, political institutions, and judicial procedure, because they were the conquerors and were interested in those matters. The army was composed almost entirely of foot-soldiers until Charles Martel was compelled to raise a force of cavalry in order to check the invasions of the Moslems. Every free man was required to serve at his own expense when summoned by the king, and any who did not obey the king's summons were fined very heavily. Those who were too poor to equip themselves became dependents of their wealthy neighbors, for the latter were desirous of having a large following, which added to their strength and reputation.

Army

CHAP. VIII

Political Institutions

It has generally been stated that the Germans brought into the civilization, as their most important political contribution, the public assemblies and elective monarchy. This statement must be accepted with some caution; the public assemblies which Tacitus describes had ceased to exercise many of their functions and the kingship had become so fully hereditary that the father's kingdom was usually divided among all of his sons, and the latter became kings, each over his own inheritance. This was taken for granted among the Franks; and the political institutions of the Merovingians, described in the preceding chapter, are fairly typical of the Germanic kingdoms as a whole. One of the most striking features is the delegation of military, financial, and executive powers to the same official, a count or a duke. This made it peculiarly easy for the count or duke to revolt successfully. Another feature was the assignment to the officials of land from which they might derive an income, in addition to the portion of the fines which they received.

Judicial Procedure

The judicial procedure of the Germans in the case of accusations was very different from the Roman. A charge did not need to be proved; the accused individual must clear himself; that is, the burden of proof was thrown on the negative and the defendant must prove that he was not guilty. As this frequently could not be accomplished, at least by any human agency, they had recourse to divine assistance. They had brought over from their pagan civilization certain customs which had been accepted by the church. In invoking the aid of God, all rested on the conception that He would maintain the right and punish by divine vengeance any one who, when guilty, impiously called upon Him to vouch for a falsehood. When Gregory of Tours was accused of calumniating the queen, he purged himself at three separate altars by performing mass and taking an oath that he was innocent. By this his innocence was fully established in the minds of his associates, and the man who had accused Gregory was severely punished by the king. Relics were frequently used to enhance the value of an oath, and when those upon which an oath was taken were especially sacred, perjury was considered a far more heinous crime than when a man had sworn falsely upon an empty reliquary.

Compurgation

Compurgation, or wager of law, was another means frequently resorted to, when the oath of the accused was deemed insufficient. In the early times the compurgators were kinsmen, but later any one might be allowed by the court to act in this capacity. The number required varied with the rank or standing of the accused and with the gravity of the crime or the importance of the sub-

ject. Twelve, including the principal, was frequently the standard; e. g., if a noble had slain another noble, he must obtain eleven compurgators; if, however, he had killed a free man, he needed only seven in addition to himself; and if he had killed a slave, three; whereas a free man would need eleven besides himself for the killing of another free man, seventeen besides himself for the killing of a noble, and five for the killing of a slave. In cases of great moment a large number was sometimes required; when Guntram declared that he doubted the legitimacy of the child for whom his brother's kingdom was claimed, Fredegund satisfactorily established the paternity of her son by herself taking oath that Chilperich was his father, and by bringing forward three bishops and three hundred nobles to swear that they believed she was telling the truth. Usually compurgation was allowed only when there was no means of certain proof; if the accused were later proved guilty, the compurgators were sometimes punished as perjurers.[8]

Ordeals

Ordeals, by which the judgment of heaven is invoked, have been widely practised in all times. They had been common among the heathen Germans and were accepted as Christian customs, for which elaborate formulas were prescribed by the church. There were many different varieties; the use of hot water, cold water, fire, or red-hot iron seem to have been the most common. In the ordeal of boiling water, a kettleful was heated and in it some small object was thrown or suspended. The water was duly blessed, God was besought to show the right, and the accused was required to take out the object from the boiling water; his hand was then sealed up and left for three days or more. In the interval salt and holy water were mixed with his food. If, at the end of the period, his hand was found to be uninjured he was judged innocent. In the ordeal of cold water the accused, after a preliminary hallowing of the water, was "bound by a rope and cast into the water." If he floated or remained unsubmerged he was considered guilty, for, as Bishop Hincmar claimed, "the pure nature of the water recognizes as impure and therefore rejects as inconsistent with itself such human nature as has once been regenerated by the waters of baptism and is again infected by falsehood." Consequently, to prove his innocence, the man had to sink. In the ordeal of fire the accused seems at first to have put his hand into the fire; later he might be obliged to walk between two burning piles of wood; the severity of the ordeal was determined by the size of the piles and the distance between them.

[8] Compurgation was not abolished by law in England until 1833, although it had fallen into disuse long before.

CHAP. VIII

The ordeal of red-hot iron might be administered in various forms. A person might be required to step successively upon nine hot plowshares; then guilt or innocence would be determined by the extent and the persistence of the resultant burning. He might be required to walk blindfolded among the red-hot plowshares; if innocent, he would be guided divinely so that he would not touch any. He might be required to carry a piece of red-hot iron for nine feet; after which his culpability was determined by much the same method as in the ordeal of hot water. Other forms were frequently used until the custom was condemned by both popes and lay rulers in the thirteenth century.

Wager of Battle

The third method which was commonly used for determining questions of guilt was the wager of battle, or duel. This defense of one's honor by fighting naturally appealed to a barbarous people, and when the belief that God would protect the right was general, the wager of battle seemed the most satisfactory way of deciding important cases. Under Otto the Great it was used even for a strictly legal question concerning inheritance, and in Gothic Spain for deciding which form of ritual should be used in the church. The custom was widely extended; not only the principals might decide the question by fighting, but the accused might challenge the truth of the testimony of any witness against him and demand the wager of battle. When one party was unfit to participate in the fighting personally, a champion was allowed as a substitute; women and members of the clergy were especially privileged in this respect.

Penalties

When a man was convicted of wounding or killing a person the penalty was a fine, as a compensation to the injured party or his family. When the Germans entered the Empire, they had advanced beyond the stage of "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe," and in the interests of the tribe as a whole were endeavoring to restrict private vengeance and feuds. The various Germanic laws attempted to fix for each offense a sum which the guilty party would be willing to pay and the injured party willing to receive, and thus further strife would be averted. Some of the laws go into the most minute details about injuries; of these the Frisian and, later, the code of Alfred are particularly noteworthy. Alfred the Great copied to some extent the laws of his predecessors, but changed the penalties and made the list of injuries more complete. For instance, he fixed the payment for knocking out a front tooth at eight shillings, a "cheek tooth" at twelve shillings, and a "man's tusk" at fifteen shillings. The values of the fingers were respectively: the "shoot-

ing" or forefinger, fifteen shillings; the middle, twelve shillings; the "gold finger," or ring finger, seventeen shillings; the little finger, nine shillings. The nails varied from one shilling for the little finger to five shillings for the thumb. In the Frisian law each wound was rated according to its length, and, as in Alfred's law, the list of possible injuries is very detailed.

Wergeld

If a person were killed the compensatory payment was called wergeld and varied according to the worth or position of the victim. Among the Franks the wergeld for "a free Frank, or a barbarian living under the Salic law" was two hundred shillings; for a free Roman one hundred; for a Frank who was in the service of the king and for "a Roman who eats in the king's house" the penalties were three-fold the above. If the murderer attempted to conceal the body the penalty was also three-fold. Consequently the fine was eighteen hundred shillings when a free Frank in the service of the king had been killed and the body hidden in a well or elsewhere. A Roman who paid tribute was valued at only sixty-three shillings; while the slaying of a Frankish boy under ten years of age entailed a penalty of six hundred. The penalties for women varied according to their age and condition, their worth depending mainly upon the possibility of their having offspring. Thus a woman who had begun to bear children was valued at six hundred, one who was pregnant at seven hundred, but one who had passed the child-bearing age at only two hundred shillings; evidently the interests of the tribe in having as many warriors as possible was the determining element.

Intermingling

Although the customs and desires of the Romans and Germans were so different, the people naturally intermingled because they were living in the same localities. Even when individual Romans were actually enslaved by the barbarians, their association developed some acquaintance and intimacy and sometimes resulted in the acquisition of new tastes by the barbarians. Gregory of Tours tells an interesting tale which illustrates the possibilities and furnishes a glimpse of the life in Gaul in the first third of the sixth century. Many sons of Roman nobles had been seized as hostages and finally made slaves to the barbarians. One of these slaves had been set to tending horses. His family grieved over his fate, but were entirely unable to accomplish his rescue. Finally one of their faithful slaves offered to secure the release of his young master from slavery, and having received permission went to the place where the latter was held in bondage and caused himself to be sold to the same owner. When questioned he said he was "skilful in cooking everything that ought to be eaten at a gentleman's table." He so pleased the barbarian palate that he

CHAP. VIII

became highly trusted. After a full year had elapsed, the cook decided that the time for escape had come, as there was to be a great banquet when all the barbarians were sure to eat and drink heavily. At the conclusion of the banquet the chief guest asked the cook jokingly, "When are you going to steal my father-in-law's horses and run away home?" The cook replied, "I am thinking of starting this very night, please God," and they both enjoyed the joke. Soon the two slaves, the cook and his young master, were off with a supply of clothing and arms and driving all the barbarian's horses before them. They were pursued and had to abandon the horses, but succeeded in escaping and finally reached home in safety.

Mutual Attraction

Moreover, Germans and Romans were mutually attracted by one another. Many a German learned to desire the luxuries which could be procured in the cities; many a Roman boy learned to love life in the country. Intermarriages were common. The Romans needed the protection which could be secured from the barbarian king or noble, for the Salic law read: "If any one shall have killed a Roman who eats in the king's house and the deed is proven he shall be fined 12,000 denars, which make 300 shillings." As stated above, this was three times as much as had to be paid for the murder of an ordinary Roman and one-half as much again as had to be paid in the case of a free Frank who was not in the immediate service of the king. The Germans needed the Romans for all callings where education was essential; Theodoric had employed Cassiodorus and many other noble Romans; the royal secretaries of the Franks were usually, if not always, Gallo-Romans. Many of the Roman nobles held office as counts under the Merovingian rulers, and by the end of the sixth century many of the chief positions under the Frankish kings were held by men of Roman descent. At the beginning of the seventh century a Roman became mayor of the palace. By the middle of the eighth century the fusion of the two nationalities was practically complete. In the pages of Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, the Romans are carefully distinguished from the barbarians. In the chronicles of the latter part of the eighth century no such distinction is possible. Then it was a nation of Franks; the Romans and the barbarians had all come to form one society. The same evolution was going on in all the other portions of the Empire settled by the Germans; but in some the process was less rapid. The Lombards in Italy, partly because of their Arianism, remained distinct from the Romans longer than any of the other Germans.

In some features of the civilization the Germans first adopted Roman customs as they found them, and then gradually modified

them until the result was something very different. In the matter of finance, they seem originally to have levied in Gaul the same imposts as the imperial officials; but they granted many exemptions, and the Merovingian kings finally received no taxes and were wholly dependent upon the income from their landed estates. The latter were managed at first according to the Roman method: the most important change in the early period of the migrations was that the master's home became transformed into a fortress, surrounded by a stockade. Gradually the more advanced methods of agriculture fell into disuse, and the decline in productiveness was very marked. But, on the other hand, in German lands which had never formed a part of the Empire, Roman methods were introduced to some extent and were a great improvement compared with the crude German customs in agriculture.

Modification of Roman Customs

As a result of the long process of fusion, the civilization which ensued was less advanced than the Roman, but far higher than the Germans had known before the invasion. Its different sources and composite character are reflected in many of the institutions under the Carolingians and later, so that it is often difficult to say whether the Roman or the German influence was the more important. In studying the feudal structure of society, for instance, some scholars have derived all of its most fundamental concepts from the German customs, while others have traced the evolution back to Roman institutions. Both are probably right and both wrong, as the feudal usages were shaped by the fusion of Roman and German points of view.

Results of Fusion

CHAPTER IX

ISLAM (TO 750 A.D.)

CHAP. IX

Islam

WHILE the fusion was slowly going on in the West under the influence of the Christian church, a new religion called Islam was developing in the distant East, and was winning converts so rapidly that it became a serious menace to both the Roman Empire and the Germans. The rapid rise of Islam is explained, in part, by the geography of its birthplace, Arabia, and the customs and character of the Arabs, as well as by the personality of the prophet Mohammed.

Geography of Arabia

Arabia is a peninsula in the southwestern part of Asia, bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman; on the south by the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden; on the west by the Red Sea; to the north lies Palestine and a wide desert extending almost to the Euphrates; while in the northwest it is connected with Africa by the peninsula and isthmus of Suez. It contains over a million square miles, and is consequently about one-third as large as the United States. It has never been thickly populated, for probably almost all of the country is a desert waste and very few parts are suited to pasturage or agriculture. Most of it is apparently an elevated plateau, covered with shifting sand. All but one of the rivers dry up during several months of the year. Mountain-chains or hills, whose prevailing direction is parallel to the coast, shut out the sea-breezes and cut off the rain-fall from the interior. There are no forests, and comparatively little vegetation. The horses, for which Arabia has long been noted, have to find their food in the extensive tracts of thin desert grass. Some of these statements have to be made tentatively, for Arabia has been only partially explored and the interior is little known.

Inhabitants

The occupations of the Arabs were influenced by these geographical conditions. In the seventh century, the inhabitants could be divided into two general classes: the Bedouins, who lived in tents in the desert, and the dwellers in houses, who were to be found only near the coast in the southern and southwestern parts. The Bedouins were a pastoral people, and made their living chiefly from their flocks and herds. The house-dwellers practised some agriculture and were traders, but remained in close touch with

the nomadic life of the desert. There was no central government; the organization was by tribes. In times of peace the family was the unit; only in case of war did the head of the tribe have any real authority outside his immediate family. Polygamy was the rule for those who could afford the expense. Private vengeance for injuries was the custom, but a feud might be stopped by a payment similar to the wergeld. The Arabs were noted for their vivid imagination and great love for poetry.

Their religion was a mixture of nature-worship and fetishism, although all believed theoretically in the existence of one supreme God, Allah. But the djinns, or genii, were also worshiped because they were believed to act constantly, in manifold ways, for good or evil. Jewish, Christian, and Persian beliefs had penetrated into the country, and each had some devotees. A sacred month was observed by all, and during this time the great fairs were held and no feuds were allowed. Mecca, which was the chief religious center and inviolable, contained the great national sanctuary, the Kaaba, housing approximately three hundred and sixty idols. Among the latter were an image of Christ and also the famous black stone, a meteorite fallen from heaven, which was the most highly venerated object. The prevailing polytheism and influences from abroad were causing both a decay in the sincere belief in idols and a condition of unrest. The absence of a central government and of a national religion were important influences in preparing the way for Mohammed's success.

Religion

The prophet was born about the year 571 of our era. In early childhood he was left an orphan, and his inheritance is said to have comprised five camels who fed on wild shrubs (that is, animals of an inferior quality), a herd of goats, a black maid or servant, and a small house. Little is known of his early years. His utterances in the Koran contain only one reference to this period:

Youth of Mohammed

"Did He not find thee an orphan and sheltered thee?
"And found thee erring and guided thee?
"And found thee poor and enriched thee?"

From the traditions it appears that Mohammed grew up a shepherd boy and later entered the service of a rich widow, his cousin Khadija He won her love, and at twenty-five married her; she is said to have been about fifteen years his elder. This marriage gave him wealth, position, and leisure.

From childhood Mohammed had been subject to peculiar seizures, and as he grew older the attacks became more frequent. His followers have regarded these as holy trances; Christian writers have called them sometimes epileptic or cataleptic fits, some-

CHAP. IX

times hysteria. This condition is important, as it made him peculiarly susceptible to nervous excitement. After his marriage, he was wont to retire to a cave during one month each year, where he gave himself up to meditation and prayer. But until he was about forty years of age there was no hint of his prophetic career. At one time, while in retirement from the world, he had a vision in which he believed that the angel Gabriel came down to the lowest heaven and commanded him to preach.

The Call to preach

"Cry, in the name of thy Lord, who created —
"Created man from blood.
"Cry! for thy Lord is the bountifulest!
"Who taught the pen,
"Taught man what he did not know."

Early Preaching

For some time Mohammed was in doubt, but Khadija comforted him and believed in him. Then he began his preaching, appealing to "the wonders of nature, the stars in their courses, the sun and the moon, the dawn cleaving asunder the dark veil of night, the life-giving rain, the fruits of the earth, life and death, change and decay — 'all are signs of God's power, if only ye would understand.'" "This earliest portion of the Koran is one long blazonry of nature's beauty. How can you believe in aught but the one omnipotent God, when you see this glorious world around you and this wondrous tent of heaven above you? is Mohammed's frequent question to his countrymen."

The prophet was not without honor among his immediate associates, for his first followers were his wife, his servant, and his cousin Ali; but progress was very slow, and it is said that in three years he made but fourteen converts. There was little that was new in the religion which he preached, except that he was the prophet of God. He did not claim supernatural powers or worship for himself. "I am no more than man; when I order you anything with respect to religion, receive it, and when I order you about the affairs of the world then I am nothing more than man." Throughout his life he always denied that he could work a miracle. Consequently his fellow citizens paid little heed to him. Abu Bekr, Othman, Omar, and Ali were almost the only men of good family who believed in him, and his followers were mainly from the lower orders, especially slaves. Opposition was not aroused until he began to preach against the idols; then his lowly followers were persecuted, and finally his own life was in danger. He made one unsuccessful attempt to withdraw to another city, but was stoned from its gates. Then he fled to Yatrib, which was renamed Medinet-en-Nabi, now Medina. This hegira, or flight,

Hegira

was in the year 622 A.D.; and from this the Mohammedans reckon the beginning of their era.

The Prophet's Personality

At Medina the prophet's personality and popularity gained converts rapidly. He was noted for his eloquence, and his followers have believed that his inspired utterances are inimitable in their beauty. Traditions have handed down many fragmentary statements from which it is possible to reconstruct some phases of his character. He was fond of animals, and they trusted in him. He seldom passed by a child without at least a smile, and he loved to take part in the children's games; after he had married the child Aisheh, he frequently played with dolls with her. His nature was kind and forgiving; his disposition, grave and dignified. He never lost the friendship of one whom he trusted. In his habits he was simple; his clothes were plain but exquisitely neat; he delighted in ablutions and perfumes. At home he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the goats, and mended his own clothes and shoes. His regular food consisted of dates and water, or barley bread; milk and honey were luxuries of which he was very fond, but which he seldom allowed himself. A bench always stood before his door on which any beggar might rest and share his food. And he was, as Aisheh said, "bashful as a veiled virgin."

His Successes

At Medina Mohammed soon became strong enough to attempt vengeance on his enemies at Mecca. For several years there was more or less fighting, and finally in 630 Mohammed captured Mecca, and, although he left the black stone as an object of reverence, purified the Kaaba of its idols. Standing before each one, he said: "Truth is come, and falsehood is fled away!" and his followers smashed the idol. By the end of the following year a large part of Arabia was enlisted for the prophet. According to a doubtful Mohammedan tradition the prophet sent messengers to the monarchs of the neighboring countries, summoning them to accept Islam. But he died in 632 before he could undertake any farther conquests.

Mohammed had enjoined upon his followers: "Let the Koran ever be your guide. Do what it commands or permits; shun what it forbids." His order was obeyed, and the Koran, which consisted of his utterances received in visions, was reverenced and became the religious guide for all true Mussulmans. His sayings had been committed to memory or written down by his associates on paper, parchment, palm leaves, bones, or stones. As the whole formed a confused mass, his successor, Abu-Bekr, 632–634, had the fragments collected and put together. But, as other copies

CHAP. IX

The Koran

of Mohammed's utterances were in existence, disputes soon arose as to what were the correct forms. Consequently the third caliph, or successor, Othman, 644–656, had an authoritative collection made, and ordered all other copies to be destroyed. This collection has remained practically unchanged down to the present day. It is very badly arranged: the first revelation, which was quoted above, is in chapter ninety-six. In general, the earliest utterances come late in the book, and the later and longer passages come in the first part of the book. There are frequent repetitions and contradictions. While some utterances are very beautiful, the greater portion seems very commonplace in translation. But the orthodox Mussulmans delight in the Arabic original and assert not only that it is of divine origin, but also that it is perfect in both form and content. It has certainly been one of the most influential books in the history of the world and deserves most careful study.

Dogma and Practice

The dogma which it teaches consists in certain beliefs and practices which have had a remarkable and continuing influence on historical events. The Mussulman must believe in Allah, the one and omnipotent God: "He begetteth not nor is He begotten; nor is there one like unto Him." The faithful must also believe in the day of judgment and the resurrection; and in Mohammed as Allah's prophet—"verily they only are true believers who believe in God and His apostle." These are the principal points in the creed, but the Koran also teaches that the Mussulman must believe in the angels, who are mortal and will die on the day of judgment; in the scriptures, which include some Christian and Jewish books, but as the Koran is the final revelation it has superseded these; in the prophets, of whom the greatest were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed; and in absolute predestination—"every man's fate have we bound about his neck." The principal religious practices are four: prayer, fasting, alms-giving, and pilgrimage. There are five set times for prayer each day: at daybreak, just after noon, in the middle of the afternoon, at sunset, and at nightfall. Prayer is preceded by purification with water, or sand in the desert. Fasting is enjoined during the month of Ramadan and lasts all day long; believers are allowed to eat and drink at night until they can discern a black thread from a white thread by the light of day. Alms-giving was to be of the best of things; "ye will never attain unto righteousness until ye give in alms of that which ye love." A favorite saying of one of the caliphs was: "Prayer carries us half way to God; fasting brings us to the door of His palace; and alms procure us admission." The pilgrimage is to Mecca and must be

made at least once by each believer. But "he only shall visit the Mosque of God who believes in God and the Last Day, and is instant in prayer, and payeth the alms, and feareth God only." The Koran also prohibits wine-drinking and gambling, "abominations of the devil's making"; and eating certain things, especially pork. There are many other precepts governing the daily life and enjoining morality, for among the Mohammedans moral conduct and religion were closely associated.

The yoke placed upon the believers was not a light one and the religion needed a strong leader if it was to be generally accepted. Consequently when the prophet died there was at first consternation among his sincere followers; and many Arabs, especially Bedouins, seized the opportunity to revolt, as they resented so keenly the restrictions and taxation imposed upon them by the new religion. Abu-Bekr, who was chosen as caliph, or successor, had been one of the earliest converts and most sincere believers. At the prophet's death he had said: "Ye people! he that hath worshiped Mohammed, let him know that Mohammed is dead; but he that hath worshiped Allah, that the Lord liveth and doth not die." By his wisdom and boldness he managed to stem the crisis and to maintain his position in Mecca. Then began the wonderful conquests. The Arabs, united for the first time by the inspiration of the new religion and a desire for booty, destroyed the empire of the Sassanids and robbed the Roman Empire of many of its wealthiest provinces; between 634 and 649 Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and Egypt were subdued and wrested from the Roman Empire. This was due partly to the weakness of the Empire, which attempted no effective resistance; partly to the religious differences and political disaffections among the inhabitants; and partly to the reckless daring and fatalism of the Moslem leaders. Mohammed had taught, "Fear the heat of combats? Hell is hotter! Paradise is before you!" The Arabs among the population of Syria had welcomed their brethren and embraced the religion, and, in general, the inhabitants of the conquered lands found the Arab yoke lighter than the Roman, and seldom attempted revolt. Persia had been conquered with almost equal ease, between the years 632 and 642. It had been weakened by its unsuccessful wars against the Roman Empire, and many of the inhabitants were disaffected on account of the absolutism and incompetence of the rulers. Islam was now dominant from the eastern boundary of Persia to Tripoli in Africa. The Arabs were pushing onward in every direction when their advance was interrupted by civil war at home.

Early Conquests

During these years the caliphs had been chosen from the old

CHAP. IX companions of Mohammed; Abu-Bekr, after ruling two years, had been succeeded by Omar, caliph 634–644; when the latter died, Othman had been elected. Although he had been a believer from the first, he did not have the intense feeling of hostility to the people of Mecca that was held by most of the old believers. He was accused of favoring his kinsmen the Ommiads, who were among the leading men of Mecca and had formerly been opposed to the prophet. This supposed predilection for the Ommiads aroused antagonism and finally led to the assassination of Othman in 656. These internal dissensions, which had checked the advance of the Mussulmans, were greatly increased by the election of Ali, the son-in-law and adopted son of Mohammed, to succeed Othman. Ali did nothing to punish the murderers of the latter and was suspected of having been an accomplice. Civil war broke out at once and the rebellion was led by Aisheh, the widow of the prophet. The fighting lasted one hundred and ten days and there are said to have been ninety battles. It was called "the war of the camel," because Aisheh rode on a camel in directing the revolt. She was finally captured and the war ended. But the Ommiads then began a new war. After some fighting the whole matter was referred to arbitration and decided adversely to Ali. One of the Ommiads was proclaimed caliph and took Damascus as his capital, but Ali refused to submit and held Persia and Mesopotamia. He was assassinated in 661 by a member of a new sect, the Kharijites, who wished to have no caliph, but a democratic government.

Civil War

Ommiads at Damascus

Under the Ommiads at Damascus the rule was much more centralized and the office of caliph became hereditary. The rulers were not religious and were interested in Islam only as a political factor. The "old believers" in Medina and Mecca were much scandalized and attempted to become independent, but both cities were captured by the Ommiad caliph. Most of the inhabitants of Medina were put to the sword, the Kaaba at Mecca was burned, and the rebellion was put down so thoroughly that all Arabia recognized the authority of the ruler of Damascus. The large income which flowed in from the Mohammedan conquests caused a change in the standard of living; luxuries became common and much of the former democratic simplicity was lost; but as yet Islam retained its vigor as a conquering religion and the population soon increased sufficiently to make further advance possible.

The second great period of Mohammedan conquest began in the last decade of the seventh century and continued for about fifty years. The caliph first directed his efforts to Africa, where Carthage was taken and destroyed in 697, and by 708 almost the

CHAP. IX

Conquest of Africa

whole of the northwest as far as the ocean was subdued by the Arabs. But this was a conquest from the Berbers rather than from the Roman Empire. After the defeat of the Vandals the heavy taxation under the Empire and the persecutions of the Jews and heretical Christians had caused many of the inhabitants to leave Africa. The imperial government was too weak to keep the old inhabitants, the Berbers, in obedience, and the former provinces became more or less independent states, acknowledging sometimes a theoretical subordination to the Empire, but having lost much of the Roman civilization. Christianity had been superseded to a great extent by a mixture of nature-worship and fetish-worship. As a result, although separate Berber states made an obstinate resistance, the Arabs were able to subdue one portion after another, and many Berbers eventually became Mohammedans.

Conquest of Spain

From Africa the Mohammedans passed over into Spain. There the Visigothic kingdom was weak and rent with dissensions; some of the leading men were anxious to see the king defeated and the inhabitants were severely oppressed and ready for any change. Consequently a single victory, in 711, was sufficient to open the whole country to Tarik, who commanded the army, and from whom Gibraltar takes its name. It is said that his forces numbered only about twelve thousand, of whom all but three hundred were Berbers If this is true, it is a striking illustration of the way in which the Arabs used the subject peoples to extend their conquests. In Spain the Visigothic nobles frequently joined with the invaders. New bands of Arabs or Berbers poured into the country, and soon all the peninsula, except the mountains of Galicia, was occupied by the Mussulmans.

Battle of Poitiers

They pressed on across the Pyrenees and began to reduce southern Gaul, until in 732 they met with their first real check near Poitiers, where Charles Martel had led a great host in order to prevent their advance. From the fragmentary accounts of the meeting of the two armies we can glean the main facts; for nearly a week Christians and Mohammedans watched one another, waiting anxiously for the moment of battle; finally the Arab leader attacked; in the heat of the fight the Franks, who had formed in hollow square, were like an immovable ocean; they stood shoulder to shoulder without giving way, as if they were frozen to the ground, and with their swords hewed down the Arabs. Night at length put an end to the contest; in the morning the Franks saw the tents of the Mussulmans deserted, but feared an ambush; finally they sent out spies, who learned that the squadrons of the Ishmaelites had vanished in the night. Later legends embellished their victory and recounted that three hundred and seventy-five

CHAP. IX

thousand of the Arabs together with their king had been killed, while the Frankish loss was only fifteen hundred. Even in modern times the importance of this battle has been greatly overestimated. It was not a very decisive conflict; the Arabs withdrew, but continued their raids elsewhere; in 743, for example, they pillaged Lyons, and they were not expelled from Narbonne until 759. But all further advance was effectually checked by the revolt of the Berbers in Africa, who regretted their lost independence. Their rebellion made it impossible for the Mohammedans in Spain to get any new recruits from the East, as they held the country through which reinforcements must be sent. Unconsciously, they were aiding Charles Martel in the consolidation of his power in Gaul.

Conquests in the East

In the East the Mohammedans had made great advances during this same period; they had captured Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand and had advanced to the boundary of China; they had taken Kabul and had subjugated the valley of the Indus. But they did not succeed in getting possession of Asia Minor, and twice they failed in attempting to reduce Constantinople by siege. The city on the Bosphorus was then, as so often later, the bulwark of Europe. In spite of these defeats the Mohammedan dominions reached their greatest extent under the Ommiads. During the same period the Arabs made a marvelous advance in civilization, but this reached its culmination a little later, under the Persian influence at Bagdad, and consequently will be described in another chapter.

CHAPTER X

PIPPIN AND CHARLES THE GREAT

THE labors of Boniface had been very serviceable to the Frankish kings, and had brought about a close connection between them and the Roman Church. This association was now to bear its fruit for the pope, who was in great difficulties, as the Lombards had conquered Ravenna and were threatening to seize Rome. The emperor at Constantinople did nothing to aid Italy, and the pope was wholly unable to defend the menaced territory. A few years before, fruitless appeals had been made to Charles Martel, who was in alliance with the Lombards and unwilling to make any hostile movement against them. Hoping for better success, in 754 Pope Stephen II went to France to ask assistance from Pippin.

Difficult Position of the Pope

The latter received him gladly. There had been some rebellious movements and Pippin's position was not entirely secure. He desired to strengthen it and to obtain a stronger position for his family than he already had. Consequently Stephen anointed Pippin, his wife, and his children, and forbade the Franks in the future, under penalty of excommunication, to choose a king from any other family. Thus the Carolingian line obtained a sanction which the Merovingian had never possessed: they were God's anointed, and rebellion against them was rebellion against the church. In addition the pope conferred on Pippin and his two sons the title of "patricians of the Romans"; this was an empty honor, conferring no power, and Pippin seems to have set little store by its possession. The pope probably hoped that it would interest the king in the fate of Rome, and begged him unceasingly for protection from the Lombards in return for all the favors showered upon him. The Frankish nobles were opposed to this war, but were finally won over and two expeditions were made, in 754 or 755, and in 756. Each time the Franks were victorious and each time the Lombards, yielding temporarily to force, gave up certain cities, including Ravenna, and promised to refrain from attacking Rome. In 756 the keys to these cities were solemnly carried to Rome and placed upon St. Peter's tomb, together with a deed of gift. This was the famous donation of Pippin. Until the Lombards were thoroughly subdued the gift was of

Donation of Pippin

CHAP. X

little value; but later it served as a very important precedent and helped to influence Charles the Great to make his donation.

Pippin's Victories

Pippin fought other successful wars; he expelled the Saracens from Narbonne in 759; after eight years of fighting he succeeded in reducing all Aquitaine to submission, thus completing the work of Charles Martel; he put down a revolt in Bavaria, and led a victorious campaign against the Saxons. In other respects he showed himself an able ruler and won recognition from the caliph at Bagdad and the emperor at Constantinople. His work prepared the way for his son Charles the Great, whose renown has to a great extent obscured the services of the father.

Pippin left two sons, Charles and Carloman, between whom the realm was divided. Carloman, however, died after reigning only three years; his infant sons were excluded from the succession, and Charles received the whole kingdom. He was obliged throughout his reign to carry on the work, begun by his grandfather and father, of really subduing the peoples who either were nominally under the Frankish rule or else were hostile neighbors. His first war was occasioned by a revolt in Aquitaine which had been so recently conquered by his father; he was successful and the province was firmly annexed. His second war was a continuation of Pippin's work in aiding the pope against the Lombards. This policy was no more popular at first with the Frankish nobles than in the days of Pippin. Carloman had been a friend of Desiderius, the Lombard king. Pippin's widow had been anxious that Charles should marry a Lombard princess. In vain had the pope protested against "this diabolical union"; Charles had married the Lombard king's daughter, but soon repudiated her. About the same time Carloman's widow fled to Desiderius and sought his aid in securing her children's inheritance. He had already reconquered the cities which he had been compelled by Pippin to surrender to the pope, and now he espoused her quarrel. Consequently Charles felt that there was ample cause for war. Early in his reign he had entitled himself "Charles by the grace of God, king and rector of the kingdom of the Franks, devoted defender of the Holy Church, and its aider in all things." When the pope implored him "to succor the church of God, the afflicted province of Rome, and the exarchate of Ravenna, as Pippin, his father of holy memory, had done," Charles was ready. In order to satisfy the reluctant nobles, he proposed terms of peace which the Lombard ruler refused, and then war was proclaimed. Desiderius was soon taken prisoner and confined in a monastery, and Charles became king of the Lombards in 774. At the pope's request he renewed the donation

Donation of Charles

made by Pippin; "granted the same cities and territories to St. Peter, and promised that they should be conveyed to the pope with their boundaries set forth as contained in the aforesaid donation, namely: From Luna with the island of Corsica, thence to Suriano, thence to *Mons Bardonis,* thence to Parma, thence to Reggio, and from thence to Mantua and *Mons Elice,* and also the whole exarchate of Ravenna, such as it was in old time, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria; and also the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum." If this donation is taken literally it means that Charles gave most of Italy to the pope; as a matter of fact he never relinquished his actual control over the territory included in the grant. The difficulties of reconciling the donation with the actions of Charles have been so great that many scholars have suspected that interpolations were later made in the document. CHAP. X

The conquest of the Saxons, whose lands extended from beyond the Elbe almost to the Rhine, was Charles' greatest military achievement. "No war ever undertaken by the Frank nation was carried on with such persistence and bitterness, or cost so much labor, because the Saxons, like almost all the tribes of Germany, were a fierce people, given to the worship of devils, and hostile to our religion, and did not consider it dishonorable to transgress and violate all law, human and divine. Then there were peculiar circumstances, that tended to cause a breach of peace every day. Except in a few places, where large forests or mountain-ridges intervened and made the bounds certain, the line between ourselves and the Saxons passed almost in its whole extent through an open country, so that there was no end to the murders, thefts, and arsons on both sides. In this way the Franks became so embittered that they at last resolved to make reprisals no longer, but to open war with the Saxons. Accordingly war was begun against them, and was waged for thirty-three successive years with great fury; more, however, to the disadvantage of the Saxons than of the Franks. It could doubtless have been brought to an end sooner, had it not been for the faithlessness of the Saxons. It is hard to say how often they were conquered, and humbly submitting to the king promised to do what was enjoined upon them, gave without hesitation the required hostages, and received the officers sent them from the king. They were sometimes so much weakened and reduced that they promised to renounce the worship of devils, and to adopt Christianity: but they were no less ready to violate these terms than prompt to accept them, so that it is impossible to tell which came easier to them to do; scarcely a year passed from the beginning Saxon War

CHAP. X

of the war without such changes on their part. But the king did not suffer his high purpose and steadfastness — firm alike in good and evil fortune — to be wearied by any fickleness on their part, or to be turned from the task that he had undertaken; on the contrary, he never allowed their faithless behavior to go unpunished, but either took the field against them in person, or sent his counts with an army to wreak vengeance and exact righteous satisfaction. At last, after conquering and subduing all who had offered resistance, he took ten thousand of those that lived on the banks of the Elbe, and settled them, with their wives and children, in many different bodies here and there in Gaul and Germany. The war that had lasted so many years was at length ended by their acceding to the terms offered by the King; which were renunciation of their national religious customs and the worship of devils, acceptance of the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and union with the Franks to form one people." [1]

The wars which have been mentioned were due to the necessity of carrying on the work which Charles' father had begun. Of the other wars which were waged one of the less important was destined to live in song because of the famous defeat at Roncesvalles. After an expedition into Spain to aid some emirs who were in revolt against the caliph of Cordova, Charles was obliged to retreat hastily. In the valley of Roncesvalles the rear-guard was attacked by the Gascons and completely annihilated and Count Roland was slain.[2] Possibly this defeat made a greater impression upon the contemporaries because it was never avenged by Charles.

Roncesvalles

Other Wars

For about forty years Charles was engaged in war almost continuously. "He so largely increased the Frank kingdom, which was already great and strong when he received it at his father's hands, that more than double its former territory was added to it. The authority of the Franks was formerly confined to that part of Gaul included between the Rhine and the Loire, the ocean and the Balearic Sea; to that part of Germany which is inhabited by the so-called Eastern Franks, and is bounded by Saxony and the Danube, the Rhine and the Saale,...and to the country of the Alamanni and Bavarians. By the wars above mentioned he first made tributary Aquitaine, Gascony, and the whole of the region

[1] From the contemporary biography of Charles, by Einhard. (Turner's translation.)

[2] He is not mentioned elsewhere in historical documents, but is renowned as the hero of the Song of Roland.

of the Pyrenees as far as the river Ebro. He next reduced and made tributary all Italy from Aosta to lower Calabria, where the boundary line runs between the Beneventans and the Greeks, a territory more than a thousand miles long; then Saxony, which constitutes no small part of Germany, and is reckoned to be twice as wide as the country inhabited by the Franks, while about equal to it in length; in addition, both Pannonias, Dacia beyond the Danube, and Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, except the cities on the coast, which he left to the Greek emperor for friendship's sake, and because of the treaty that he had made with him. In fine, he vanquished and made tributary all the wild and barbarous tribes dwelling in Germany between the Rhine and the Vistula, the ocean and the Danube."[3]

These conquests had given Charles the kingship over many nations and a territory which even before his coronation might be spoken of as an empire. At the end of the eighth century events were ripe for the installation of a new emperor in the West. Every one believed in the continued existence of the Roman Empire and up to this time had looked to the emperor at Constantinople as the head of the Christian world. But Irene had usurped the Empire and blinded her son, in whose name she had been ruling, so that many were unwilling to accept her and considered the Empire to be without a legal ruler. At the same time the pope, Leo III, was greatly in need of a powerful protector. In 799 he had been attacked in the streets of Rome, in the midst of a religious procession, and had been blinded, as his enemies believed. He set out for the court of Charles and returned with the guard furnished by the latter. But the presence of the guard was only temporary, and there was no one in the city of Rome who had a legal right to inflict the death-penalty. Consequently Leo realized that his position amidst his enemies would continue to be a perilous one unless some strong and legal power should be established in the city of Rome.

The Pope's Need

Accordingly, when Charles went to Rome the following year it "seemed both to Leo the pope himself and to all the holy fathers who were present in the self-same council, as well as to the rest of the Christian people, that they ought to take to be emperor Charles king of the Franks, who held Rome herself, where the Cæsars had always been wont to sit, and all the other regions which he ruled through Italy and Gaul and Germany; and, inasmuch as God had given all these lands into his hands, it seemed right that with the help of God and at the prayer of the whole

[3] From Einhard.

CHAP. X

Christian people he should have the name of emperor also."[4] On Christmas day, 800, as Charles knelt in prayer before the altar in old St. Peter's, Pope Leo suddenly placed upon his head a crown, and the people proclaimed him emperor. If we can trust an account written a little later, they cried three times, "To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving emperor, be life and victory."[5]

Coronation of Charles

His secretary Einhard says that Charles had such an aversion to the pope's action at this time that he declared he would not have set foot in the church the day that he was crowned emperor, although it was a great feast, if he had foreseen the design of the pope. This has been a difficult passage to explain because it raises a question as to Charles' own purpose, which cannot be answered. The pope's action may have interfered with his plans. It was sure to displease the authorities in the eastern Empire. One of the Greek sources says that Charles proposed to marry Irene; this is possible, although Charles was already married. Einhard's statement is probably accurate; if so, the coronation was wholly the act of the pope without any previous consultation with Charles.

Charles' Unwillingness

When he was crowned emperor Charles was about fifty-eight years of age. He "was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall (his height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot); the upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. Thus his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting; although his neck was thick and somewhat short, and his belly rather prominent; but the symmetry of the rest of his body concealed these defects. His gait was firm, his whole carriage manly, and his voice clear, but not so strong as his size led one to expect. His health was excellent. . . . In accordance with the national custom, he took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase. . . . He enjoyed the exhalations from natural warm springs, and often practised swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him; and hence it was that he built his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death. He used not only to invite his sons to his bath, but his nobles and friends, and now and then a troop of his retinue or body guards, so that a hundred or more persons sometimes bathed with him.

Description of Charles

[4] Translation from the Annales Laureshamenses, by James Bryce (Holy Roman Empire, Chap. V).

[5] From the Life of Leo III.

CHAP. X

His Habits

"Charles was temperate in eating, and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fasts injured his health. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at table, he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden times: he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled *The City of God*. He was so moderate in the use of wine and all sorts of drinks that he rarely allowed himself more than three cups in the course of a meal. In summer, after the midday meal, he would eat some fruit, drain a single cup, put off his clothes and shoes, just as he did for the night, and rest for two or three hours." [6]

His Ideals

He took his new position as emperor very seriously. His ideals are well brought out in the general instructions which he issued in 802. Each one of his subjects who was twelve years old or more was to take an oath of fidelity to him as emperor. Charles defined this fidelity to include living a highly moral life as well as the fulfilment of the ordinary duties of a subject. Throughout the instructions he lays stress upon the maintenance of morality and piety; e. g.: "that bishops and priests shall live according to the canons and shall teach others to do the same"; "that monks shall live firmly and strictly in accordance with the rule"; "monasteries for women shall be firmly ruled"; "no bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, or other members of the clergy shall presume to have dogs for hunting, or hawks, falcons and sparrow hawks"; "the canonical clergy shall observe fully the canonical life, and shall be instructed at the episcopal residence or in the monastery, with all diligence according to the canonical discipline." As these quotations indicate, Charles felt himself to be the head of the church in his dominions and to be responsible for the conduct of its members. By a writer of two generations later who recorded many anecdotes of the great emperor he was styled *episcopus episcoporum*.

Administration

In the general administration of his empire Charles followed and developed the methods of his Merovingian predecessors. He employed counts as his chief officials and he summoned the religious assemblies regularly. His most important changes were the institution of the privy council and the extent to which he employed the *missi dominici*. The latter were used to check

[6] From Einhard.

CHAP. X

counts from abusing their great powers. The Empire was divided into various districts; into each division each year two *missi,* one a layman the other a clerk were sent to represent the emperor and in his name to hold court, to correct abuses, and to inquire generally into the adminstration of the counts. They were required to make written reports of their work. These *missi* performed a very useful service and did much to centralize effectively the authority in the hands of Charles.[7]

Exhaustion of Franks

Changes in the judicial and military matters which Charles was compelled to make were due to the exhaustion of the free men in his constant warfare. The rule that all should attend the judicial assemblies in their district was a hardship because such assemblies were held very frequently. Charles was obliged to restrict the number to two or three each year. The rule that each free man must serve in the army was also a great hardship for the poor, as they were not only required to furnish their own equipment, food for three months and arms and clothing for half a year, but also frequently had to neglect their farms during the entire agricultural season. Consequently this rule was gradually modified, until in 808 all those who held four *mansi*[8] or more were required to serve in the army; those who held a less amount were obliged to join together in bearing the expense of equipping one of their number so that there should be a representative for each unit of four *mansi.*

Finances

There were few public expenses to be paid by the imperial treasury. As noted above, the soldiers in the army had to furnish their own equipment and food, and there was no navy. The maintenance of the highways, bridges, and other public works was attended to, if at all, by the people of each locality. The administration of justice brought in a revenue, as almost all offenses were punished by fines, of which two-thirds were supposed to go to the emperor and one-third to the count who presided over the court. As a matter of fact, the administration of justice was very venal; one bishop boasted that when he sat as a judge he accepted only trifling presents from the suitors, instead of the rich bribes which other judges were accustomed to receive. But Charles probably did not profit by these bribes. His income consisted almost entirely of the fines levied, of the "free gifts" which his officials were required to make each year, and of the produce of his es-

[7] Brunner sees the origin of the circuit judges of England, and consequently of those of the United States, in these *missi* and the courts which they held during their circuit. But Stubbs and others deny that the *missi* had any influence, even indirect, upon the English institution.

[8] A *mansus* was, according to Platz, 720 rods long and 30 broad.

tates. The last were very extensive and probably furnished the largest part of the emperor's income. CHAP. X

The famous capitulary *de villis,* in which Charles gave directions for the management of his estates, throws much light upon the economic and social conditions. Each Christmas every steward was required to make a statement of all the income and resources of each estate; of the extent of land under cultivation and the waste lands; of the number of pigs, hens, eggs, geese, colts, and fillies; of the amount of hay, fire-wood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of vegetables, wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits, turnips, hides, skins, and horns; of the honey, wax, fat, tallow, and soap; of the mead, vinegar, and beer; of the products of the mines; and of the workmen of various kinds. "Of the food-products other than meat, two-thirds shall be sent each year for our own use, that is of the vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, and in addition of the wax, soap, and other small products." The stewards were to keep up the necessary buildings; to provide, "for the sake of ornament, swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, turtle doves." The chambers were to be provided with "counterpanes, cushions, pillows, bedclothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron, and wood; andirons, chains, pot-hooks, adzes, axes, augers, cutlasses, and all other kinds of tools, so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them." Capitulary de Villis

One inventory which has been preserved furnishes a useful commentary upon the extent to which Charles' orders were executed. It reads, in part: "We found in the domain estate of Asnapium a royal house built of stone in the best manner, three rooms; the whole house surrounded with balconies, with eleven apartments for women; beneath, one cellar; two porticoes; seventeen other houses built of wood within the court-yard with as many rooms and other appurtenances, well built; one stable, one kitchen, one mill, one granary, three barns. . . . Actual Conditions

"Vestments: coverings for one bed, one table-cloth, one towel.

"Utensils: two brass kettles, two drinking-cups, two brass caldrons, one iron one, one frying-pan, one gramalmin, one pair of andirons, one lamp, two hatchets, one chisel, two augers, one ax, one knife, one large plane, one plane, two scythes, two sickles, two spades tipped with iron. Enough wooden utensils for use." In addition the steward gives a long list of all the numerous products, garden herbs, and other articles which he found.

Charles was intensely interested in education. "He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them Interest in Education

CHAP. X

in great esteem, and conferred great honors upon them. He took lessons in grammar of the deacon Peter of Pisa, at that time an aged man. Another deacon, Albin of Britain, surnamed Alcuin, a man of Saxon extraction, who was the greatest scholar of the day, was his teacher in other branches of learning. The king spent much time and labor with him studying rhetoric, dialectics, and especially astronomy; he learned to reckon, and used to investigate the motions of the heavenly bodies most curiously, with an intelligent scrutiny. He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters; however, as he did not begin his efforts in due season, but late in life, they met with ill success." [9]

Alcuin was not only the teacher of Charles but also of the palace school, which was attended by the children of Charles and of the leading nobles. Other schools were established and were open to the nobles and to bright youths of humble birth who had shown marked ability. A pleasing anecdote told by the Monk of St. Gall shows Charles visiting and examining the pupils. All who had done well in their work he placed on his right; those who had been idle he placed on his left; when he had concluded the examination all the young nobles were on his left, while those of lowly extraction were on the right. The latter Charles thanked and urged to continue their work, promising them that if they were diligent he would make them powerful bishops and abbots. Then, turning his wrathful glances on the idle, he told them that in spite of their birth and fine appearance they need not expect anything from him unless they mended their ways. The same author says that Alcuin and the other teachers had been so successful that "the Gauls and the Franks were then the equals of the old Romans and Athenians."

Schools

Charles assembled at his court all the learned men whom he could find. Alcuin was from the episcopal school at York in Northumbria; Paul the deacon was a Lombard from Friuli; Theodulf was a Goth and was bishop of Orleans; Angilbert was a Frank; Peter was from Pisa; Paulinus was from Aquitaine; Einhard, who has been quoted so extensively, was a Frank. These men together with Charles and others formed a so-called academy. They assumed names drawn either from the Bible or from the classical authors: Charles was known as David; Angilbert as Homer; Alcuin as Horace; others took less pretentious but equally curious names. The members of this academy discussed all kinds of questions and prided themselves upon their

The Academy

[9] From Einhard.

great learning. For the most part they imitated the writings of antiquity; yet their work was not sterile, and the cause of education as a whole was greatly furthered by this earnest band at the court of Charles the Great.

Reform in Writing

The reformation in which the influence of the new learning can be most visibly traced was in the handwriting. The books of the Merovingian age are very badly written and very difficult to read. Charles in a general admonition ordered that all the books used in the church service should be carefully written by men of mature age, because some often desired to pray to God properly, but prayed badly because of the incorrect books. Following out this idea, Charles had intrusted to Alcuin the reformation in the handwriting, and the results are seen in the beautiful manuscripts written in the school at Tours while Alcuin was the abbot. These manuscripts are perfectly legible at the present day and many of the forms of the individual letters are still in use.

Why Charles was Great

In spite of his enthusiasm for the Roman education, Charles was a thorough German. His greatness was due largely to his keen appreciation of the actual conditions and of what it was possible to accomplish. His aim was to graft upon the German stock and the German customs all that was best in the older civilization. He seems to have realized the strength which would result from the union of the best qualities in both societies. This is why men have agreed to call him great, so that his name is commonly written Charlemagne, Charles the Great.

CHAPTER XI

THE LATER CAROLINGIANS AND THE EMPIRE

CHAP. XI

THE western Empire had been the result of the work of Charles the Great as king of the Franks, who had brought to a successful conclusion the task begun by Charles Martel and Pippin. He had put down the rebellions of the subject-peoples and had kept his own officials under control, in spite of the great size of his dominions and the difficulties of communication. But it had been a hard task even for Charles. Einhard says that most of the counts and other officers were corrupt and dishonest; even the *missi* could be depended upon only when a strict oversight was kept. The title of emperor added no real power to Charles and he had no strength as emperor except that which he possessed through his kingship over the various nations. To a strong king like Charles the title of emperor gave prestige; for a weak ruler it would add little or nothing.

Empire Work of Charles

When Charles died in 814 the imperial position was a very difficult one. The Franks, upon whom Charles had especially relied, were exhausted, because they had spent their lives and property so continuously in his campaigns. Many of the poor had been compelled to sink from their position as freemen into dependence upon the wealthier or upon the king's officials. The counts, dukes, bishops, and abbots were in a semi-independent relation to the emperor. Charles had made the head of each county or other division responsible for the men in his portion, to lead them to war and to see that they were properly equipped. As long as a sufficient number of troops came from the county and good order was preserved, Charles interfered comparatively little with the actions of his deputy; but naturally only a very strong ruler could afford to leave so much power in the hands of his subordinates. This was the more true because the means of communication between the different parts of the Empire were so inadequate; it took weeks and sometimes months to get news from the frontier to the place where Charles happened to be holding court. Even when Charles was emperor and his subjects dreaded his displeasure, he had not been able to protect ambassadors from ill-treatment while they were journeying from Constantinople to

Causes of Weakness

his court. His own counts had maltreated them in order to extort money.

Principle of Division

The greatest source of danger to the Frankish Empire, however, arose from the German custom of treating a kingdom as if it were private property and consequently dividing it up among all the legitimate sons. Fortunately this danger had been averted thus far; but this had been due mainly to chance. When Charles Martel died, his kingdom had been divided between his two sons; one of them had resigned the kingship in order to enter a monastery, and thus the unity of the Frankish realm had been preserved under Pippin. When Pippin died the kingdom had again been divided between two sons, Charles and Carloman, but the latter died very soon and again the disruption of the kingdom had been prevented. Charles the Great had planned to divide his empire among his three legitimate sons and the compact had been duly drawn up, but two of the sons died before their father. One left a son, Bernard, who was allowed to rule over his father's portion in northern Italy. Consequently when Charles died there was only one legitimate son still living and the Empire passed to him.

Lewis the Pious

This son was Lewis the Pious, or the Debonair, as he is usually called. There have been great differences of opinion with regard to his character; some historians have described him as weak and vacillating; others have laid stress upon the elements of strength which he possessed. The truth seems to be that Lewis would have made a good ruler in a position where less responsibility was laid upon him. As the king of Aquitaine, a position which he held while his father was still alive, he had succeeded admirably and had won praise from Charles for the excellence of his government. He was far better educated than his father had been; he was more pious, as he had been trained by Benedict of Aniane, one of the leading churchmen of the time. When he succeeded to the throne he dismissed all the councilors of his father who led corrupt lives; by doing this he alienated some of the strongest supporters of the throne and caused an opposition party to rise. The feeling against him was intensified by the fact that he had been in Aquitaine during so large a part of his life that he had little in common with the East Frankish nobles who had been so influential at his father's court. His great piety also led him into subserviency to the pope and to the church officials. During his father's lifetime he had crowned himself emperor, under his father's direction, taking the crown from the altar and placing it upon his own head; but after Charles' death the pope had made a journey to the court of Lewis and had re-crowned him emperor.

CHAP. XI

By this act the pope established more firmly his theory that the imperial crown was bestowed by the church, while, in all probability, Charles had intended that Lewis, by crowning himself, should be free from all obligation to the papacy. On several occasions during his reign the piety of Lewis led him into a position where he lost prestige and consequently power. Although he was comparatively able, he was easily influenced by those whom he loved and trusted; his amiability, which is commemorated by the epithet *debonair,* was very apparent.

First Division of Empire

In 817, Lewis, following the example of his father, divided his empire among his three sons. In his arrangement, however, he laid stress upon a new principle which was a departure from the German custom and marked a change in the attitude toward the Empire. Instead of dividing his dominions and placing all of his sons upon an equality, he gave to the eldest the title of emperor and the supremacy over his two brothers. Lothair was to support and to protect his younger brothers and to exercise authority over them; from this time on he was to be associated with his father in the rule of the Empire. This division entirely neglected the claims of Bernard, the nephew of Lewis, who had been ruling in Italy. The latter felt much aggrieved, and, supported by the opposition, attempted to set himself up as an independent king. The rebellion was quickly put down; Bernard and the chief leaders were condemned to death, but in Bernard's case this penalty was changed to blinding. Although he had come to his uncle's court under a safe-conduct, the sentence was carried out, and so clumsily that Bernard died very soon from the shock.

Lewis was filled with remorse as a consequence of this act, and when his wife died the following year he looked upon her death as a sign of the displeasure of heaven, because she had incited him to the punishment of his nephew. In sorrow for her death and afflicted by the knowledge of his own sins, he wished to withdraw from the world to spend the rest of his life in a monastery. His subjects were very unwilling to have him carry out this desire, as his sons were still too young to rule effectively. In order to prevent the emperor from resigning the duties of his office and entering on the monastic life, they urged him to marry again. He was somewhat averse to this, but finally yielded to the wishes of his councilors. The pretty girls of suitable rank throughout the Empire are said to have been gathered together, and Lewis was urged to choose a bride. He was attracted by the beauty and wit of Judith, daughter of Count Welf, and the marriage took place in 819. Judith had a strong character and was very seductive; in addition to her beauty she had many qualities "recalling

Marriage with Judith

the ancient Judith," as the contemporaries said. She was soon to become the leader in the Empire, controlling her husband, who yielded to all her wishes.

Lewis never ceased to regret the death of Bernard, and felt that he had sinned grievously against him. In 822 he did public penance in his palace at Attigny, where he confessed that "he had shown himself so often guilty, in his life, his faith, and his duties, that it would be impossible to enumerate all the circumstances in which he had been at fault." This public humiliation testifies to Lewis's piety and also shows the difference between him and his father; it is impossible to imagine Charles the Great humbling himself before his subjects. And the act of Lewis made him despised by many nobles. While the emperor said that he was following "the example of the emperor Theodosius," his subjects thought the penance anything but a deed worthy of the ruler and head of the Empire.

Penance of Attigny

In the following year Charles, the only son of Judith and Lewis, was born. From this time Lewis was mainly concerned, under the influence of his wife, in preparing a suitable kingdom for his dearly beloved youngest son. The whole history of the last years of his reign was determined by his anxiety to satisfy Judith and to make her son equal in rank and power to the sons of the first marriage. At first he gained the consent of Lothair that Charles should receive whatever portion of the Empire Lewis might decide. The opposition party soon influenced Lothair so that he retracted his consent; but in 829 Lewis made a new division and gave to Charles a considerable part of the territory which had formerly been assigned to his eldest brother, and the latter was sent into Italy to rule that kingdom; Lothair's name was no longer placed on the imperial documents and his disgrace was evident. The next ten years saw repeated division of the territory of the Franks; sometimes all three of the sons of his first marriage were united against their father and he was forced to yield; at times he was held prisoner and his wife was compelled to retire to a monastery. Again and again he succeeded in detaching the other sons from the party of Lothair and was triumphant. The strength of the nation was exhausted in civil strife; a contemporary wrote in sorrow: "The state is troubled and there is danger both within and without. The armies which ought to be sent against foreign nations to conquer them are employed in carrying on civil war. Where is the former grandeur of the Empire of the Franks? If God does not intervene we shall soon be delivered defenseless to the attacks of the pagans." Finally in 838 Pippin died; Lewis the German, as he is usually called,

Repeated Divisions of Empire

CHAP. XI

was in disgrace and Lewis the Pious again turned to Lothair with the proposal that "if he would consent to become the guardian and protector of Charles he should be received into favor again; all his bad actions in the past should be pardoned, and he should have one-half the kingdom." Lothair accepted and the whole Frankish realm was again divided, but this time only into two portions: one-half was to go to Lothair and one-half to Charles, later surnamed the Bald.

Lewis died in 840 and immediately war broke out between the three surviving brothers. Lothair did not keep the agreement which he had just made with his father, but claimed the Empire in accordance with the constitution of 817. Thereupon Lewis the German and Charles the Bald made common cause and "the war of the three brothers" began. The nobles in the Frankish Empire followed the party of one brother or another wholly in accordance with their own interest; each one making the best terms for himself that he could. Consequently at the battle of Fontenay in 841 all three met, and "the forces of the Franks were so diminished that they no longer sufficed to protect their own boundaries, far less to conquer other peoples." On that field of battle, in the words of a contemporary, "the supremacy of the Franks perished." Each party claimed victory, but the contest was indecisive; "a great carnage had been made, neither of the two parties had triumphed." It is said that forty thousand of the Franks perished in this action.

Fontenay, 841

Soon after the battle at Fontenay Charles and Lewis separated, but they soon found that they must make common cause if they did not wish to be conquered separately by Lothair. In February, 842, they met at Strassburg and swore a perpetual alliance. Each one took the oath in the language spoken by the followers of the other; that is, Lewis took the oath in the Romance tongue and Charles in the German, so that each might be understood by the brother's partizans. The oath ran as follows: "Out of love for God and for the good of the Christian people and our own salvation, I will in the future, from this day forth, as far as God gives to me wisdom and power, treat this my brother as one ought to treat his brother, on the condition that he does the same by me. And with Lothair I will not willingly enter into any agreement which may injure this my brother." It is especially interesting to read the language used by each of the brothers. Lewis spoke the following words: *"Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in adiudha et in cadhuna cosa si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in*

Oath of Strassburg

o quid il mi altresi fazet; et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit." Then Charles repeated the same oath in the German language: "*In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizci indi madh furgibit, so haldih thesan minan bruodher, soso man mit rehtu sinan bruodher scal, in thiu, thaz er mig sosama duo; indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne geganga, the minan willon imo ce scadhen werben.*"

This union of the two brothers forced Lothair to terms and in 843 the treaty of Verdun was concluded. By this Lothair received the long middle strip extending from the mouth of the Rhine to Rome and included between the Rhone and the Saone on the west and the Rhine on the east. The territory accordingly was almost a thousand miles in length and was exposed to attack on either side; it was especially vulnerable, as the boundaries were not very clearly marked out and were not protected by natural defenses. Lewis the German received practically all of the eastern part of the Empire beyond the Rhine with certain territories surrounded by his brother's possessions, including the bishoprics of Spires, Worms, and Mainz. Charles the Bald received all the western portion of the Empire, including most of what is now France. This treaty led the way to the formation of the modern nations, as France was clearly separated from Germany, and both from Italy. The long strip lying between the two, the kingdom of Lothair, was destined to have no unity and to be the battle ground between France and Germany.

Treaty of Verdun

The internal wars between the brothers and their father and the later strife had exhausted the strength of the Franks to a very great degree. The resources which formerly had been so large had been wasted for many years. When Lothair had been fleeing from his brother he had been compelled to pay his followers with fragments from a large silver globe. This had been the pride of Charles the Great, for on it "were represented the divisions of the world and the constellations of heaven and the courses of the planets." The sacrifice of this precious object illustrates the poverty of the emperor, and the other kings were no more fortunate; they were weak in both men and money, while their needs were greater than before, as all three kingdoms were threatened by dangerous invaders. Wholly absorbed in their strife against one another, they had done little to check the piratical inroads, and in fact Lothair after the battle of Fontenay had actually sought aid from the Northmen against his brothers. The clergy fully understood the position and were the only ones who

Weakness of the Empire

CHAP. XI

acted for the general good. Throughout the troubled period which ensued it was the church which constantly stood for unity, and in 844 the leading bishops of the Frankish realm induced the three brothers to come together. At the prayers of the clergy they consented, or pretended to consent, to an agreement that they would refrain from injuring one another and would support one another against any foreign foe.

Northmen

The need of such unity was very great, as all of the kingdoms, but especially the realm of Charles the Bald, were being harassed by the pirate Northmen, a name which then included all the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula and of Denmark. Because of the nature of their home these peoples were good sailors and accustomed to making much of their living on the sea. They were a hardy and vigorous race, of Teutonic stock, tall in stature, fierce in disposition, and intensely averse to any form of subjugation. As the population in their lands had increased, some of the chieftains had attempted to establish order and to make themselves powerful. Those who were dissatisfied and defeated had to leave the country, and as vikings in small open boats they sailed away from home in the search of adventure and wealth. The Swedes for the most part harried Russia; the Norwegians made descents upon Scotland and Ireland and founded colonies along the coasts; the Danes attacked England and Gaul. During the reign of Charles the Great they had made at least one descent upon the coast; but while this great warrior was alive they had found it more profitable to carry on their depredations elsewhere.

Their Devastations

During the reign of Lewis the Pious they made occasional attacks on the Frankish realm and obtained considerable booty. After his death, in 841, the Northmen pillaged the city of Rouen and put it to sack with fire and sword. As they were still pagans they paid no heed to the sanctity of the churches and convents, but massacred or enslaved the monks and plundered the monasteries. In 843 they sacked Nantes, murdered the bishop before the very altar, and carried away many captives. About this time, finding it more convenient for their "summer harvest," they made their headquarters on islands at the mouths of the rivers, so that these bands soon came to be known as "the pirates of the Seine," or "the pirates of the Loire," or by some similar name according to their winter quarters. In 845 many Northmen joined together under the leadership of Ragnar Lodbrok and captured Paris, whence they departed only after receiving an enormous ransom, and plundering as far as Toulouse sacked Bordeaux. From this time on, for a number of years it is a dreary tale; the Northmen sacked Tours, Orleans, Paris, and very many other cities; they

withdrew from a district only when there was nothing more to glean. The annals of the writers at this time recount how the Northmen, "according to their custom," plundered the villages "before the eyes of Lothair," and carried off immense booty; or, again, how they pillaged Orleans without opposition, plundered all the monasteries in the vicinity, and then unattacked passed the winter. CHAP. XI

Charles the Bald, who was king of the western Frankish kingdom, has usually been represented as weak. The disasters of his reign lend only too much color to this point of view; but it seems somewhat unjust to him. He was ambitious and active, but not usually successful. He had been well educated by his mother and knew both the sacred and the profane literature much more extensively than was usual at that time. His court was the home of many scholars, whose studies he encouraged, for he loved to be known as a patron of learning; he had what was then a large library and was very fond of his manuscripts. He was especially well versed in the laws of his ancestors and attempted to carry out the policy of his grandfather. But he was not strong enough to maintain order, and two sections of his kingdom, Brittany and Aquitaine, were usually in revolt against him. In the former there was a revolt which he attempted to suppress in 845, but he met with a disastrous defeat, and Nomenoe, the chief noble in Brittany, attempted to have himself crowned king. The bishops, who were the great defenders of the principle of Frankish unity, refused to crown him, but he succeeded in obtaining the crown after three years of strife in which he had expelled the bishops who were not subservient. Until the death of Nomenoë Charles was unable to conquer the land; and he was obliged to recognize a new king on condition that the latter should become his man. In Aquitaine also there were constant rebellions and the people frequently summoned to their aid, against Charles, Lewis the German or any one else who would espouse their cause. Finally, Aquitaine was made into a vassal kingdom. It would seem that with the revolts in Brittany and Aquitaine and the constant invasions by the Northmen, Charles would have been fully occupied and would have had no time for external wars; but when his brother Lothair died in 855 and left his kingdom to his three sons, Charles was anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to secure additional territory for himself. Charles the Bald

For the time being he could accomplish nothing, as many of his own nobles were in revolt against him and had summoned Lewis the German to their aid. In 858, while Charles was busy in the siege of the chief stronghold of the Northmen, he had been

CHAP. XI

Revolt against Charles

abandoned by many of his followers. They affirmed that they could no longer support the tyranny of Charles; that the little property which remained after the pillage by the pagans was taken from them by the king; and accordingly they deserted him for his brother Lewis the German. The latter was successful in his invasions and secured possession of the West Frankish realm after a single battle. In December, 858, he was able to date a diploma in "the twentieth year of my reign over the East Frankish kingdom and the first of my reign over the West Frankish kingdom." The bishops, however, remained loyal to Charles and induced his followers to attempt to drive out Lewis, on account of "the abominable cruelties which his troops had committed in crossing the dioceses." Within a very few weeks Lewis was obliged to retire and his attempted conquest led to no result except the further weakness of both kingdoms.

Robert the Strong

The ravages of the Northmen still continued. The only Frankish leader of this period who had achieved any great success against them was Robert the Strong, the ancestor of the Capetian line He may have been German by birth and may have come from the eastern Frankish kingdom, but this is not certain, as his origin is very obscure. In 852 he was the rector, or guardian, of the abbey of Marmoutier near Tours, and from this time he seems to have been an important man in the West Frankish kingdom. In 858 he was one of the leaders against Charles the Bald; later he returned to his allegiance and was made duke of the country between the Loire and Seine, where he fought successfully against the Bretons and also against the Northmen. In 865 he is said to have killed more than six hundred of the pirates and to have received as a reward from the king two counties, but in 866 he was killed while fighting against the Northmen. After his death there was no one left who could cope with the pirates, and Robert the Strong was long remembered as the great hero of the national defense; his son inherited much of his father's prestige and the deeds of Robert were influential in bringing about the establishment of the Capetian line.

Edict of Pitres

Meanwhile Charles the Bald was doing all in his power to check the Northmen. In 864 he made the edict of Pitres, which showed real understanding of the difficulties. The Northmen always had attacked places suddenly, and generally had succeeded in escaping with their prisoners and booty before any troops could be gathered against them. Their sacks of the cities had been due, to a great extent, to the lack of fortifications; few of the towns had walls and there were almost no castles. In the edict of Pitres

Charles attempted to substitute cavalry for the foot-soldiers who formed the Frankish army; he ordered that all of the Franks who had horses or were able to have horses should serve as cavalry. By this means he hoped to acquire forces which could be moved more swiftly and might check the invasions. In order to protect the country better from the Northmen, in this same edict Charles ordered that all the towns on the rivers should construct bridges, with fortified bridge-heads, so that the Northmen would not be able to pass by them on the rivers. The Seine, in particular, was protected, both at Pitres itself and also at Paris, where two strongly fortified bridges were built from the opposite banks to the island on which was the city. This defense for Paris proved very efficacious during the next siege.

When Lothair had died, in 855, his empire had been divided, as stated above. His oldest son had been given the imperial title with the kingdom of Italy; a second son, Lothair, had received as his kingdom the territory which soon took from him the name Lotharingia, or Lorraine; the third son received the southern portion, Burgundy, or Provence, with some of the territory lying north of it. The fortunes of Lothair will be touched upon in another connection; here it is important, however, to notice his death, in 869, because of its connection with the history of Charles the Bald. Lothair II had left no legitimate heir; consequently, under the lead of Hincmar, the most powerful bishop in the Frankish realm, Charles was summoned by the leading nobles to Lotharingia and received the crown. But Lewis the German was determined to have his share of the spoils, and the emperor Lewis, the brother of Lothair II, also claimed a part. At this time the emperor was fully occupied in Italy, fighting against Saracen invaders; but Lewis the German was so powerful that Charles had to negotiate, and by the treaty of Mersen, in 870, the kingdom of Lothair was divided between his two uncles, Charles receiving the western portion including Lyons, Vienne, Besançon, Verdun, Liége, and other important towns; while Lewis secured Aachen, the old capital, Cologne, Strassburg, and other important Rhenish cities. This treaty prevented fighting for a few years, but both brothers were so greedy for land, although they could not defend what they already had, that no lasting peace was possible between them. While the Northmen were continuing their ravages and the people said in the Litany, "from the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us," each Carolingian ruler was attempting to aggrandize himself at the expense of his relatives. Except for the church, there would have been no

Treaty of Mersen, 870

CHAP. XI

unity throughout this period; but the leading clergy, with Hincmar, bishop of Reims, at their head, did all in their power to preserve peace and concord.

In 873 Charles succeeded in winning a great victory over some Northmen, whose chiefs surrendered, paid him money, thus returning some of what they had received from him, and gave hostages for their good behavior. They promised not to pillage the kingdom again and asked only that they might have an island in the Loire where those who should be baptized and should be true Christians might live. This success freed the kingdom of Charles from the fury of the Northmen for several years and so enhanced his reputation that when the emperor Lewis II died, two years later, the pope was eager to crown Charles emperor He hoped that Charles would be strong enough to protect him against the Saracens, who for many years had been ravaging the peninsula of Italy. Although Lewis the German also wanted the imperial title, Charles was able to reach Rome first and was crowned on Christmas day, 875. It was the anniversary of the coronation of his grandfather, but the ceremony meant something very different in the latter case. Charles the Bald had very little power and sought the title only for the prestige; after receiving the crown of the kingdom of Italy he returned home and left the pope to his fate.

Charles the Bald, Emperor

Death of Charles

In 877 Charles died. His career has been related at some length because of its importance for the history of the Empire and of western Europe. From the time of his birth he had been an influential factor, as it was the desire to secure a kingdom for him that had led his father Lewis the Pious to change the division which he had made and to precipitate war. For this reason Charles has often been treated very unfairly. He was greedy of power, but no more so than his brothers; he was unsuccessful in managing his kingdom, but again not more so than his brothers. During his reign feudal conditions were taking shape very rapidly, the church had great power, the nobles were frequently in rebellion, the Northmen were plundering the country, but it seems unfair to hold Charles responsible for all these conditions and mishaps. Charles had done what he could; in particular he had made excellent laws, which he was unable to enforce. On the whole, he was neither better nor worse than his leading contemporaries, and it is unhistorical to single him out as the scapegoat and to make him responsible for all the evils which may have resulted from the intrigues of his clever mother.

All of the later generations of the Carolingians were short-lived. Charles the Bald had had four sons, but only one, Lewis, called

CHAP. XI

the Stammerer, had survived him. Lewis was an able man, loving peace and justice, and not misled by the ambitious designs of his race. Yet he was able to obtain the crown by election only after he had bribed many of the nobles. In spite of the long succession of hereditary rulers the hereditary principle was by no means established; both in the case of Lewis the Stammerer and in that of his sons the nobles hindered the election in order to extort concessions before they recognized the heir as king. Lewis lived only two years and was succeeded by his sons Lewis III and Carloman, whose succession to the throne was assured only through the exertions of the clergy. These kings were so weak at first that a part of their former possessions in Burgundy and Provence was detached and made into a separate kingdom. Lewis III, however, was a man of real ability, and he found his opportunity in the contest against the Northmen. The latter had been for some years fully engaged in England, but Alfred the Great had restored peace there and the unruly vikings sought other places to ravage. They again were harassing all northern France and had occupied the city of Amiens, where Lewis and his brother rushed to meet them. At Saucourt, on August 3, 881, Lewis gave battle to the Northmen and won a notable victory; more than eight thousand of the invaders were left dead upon the field and the remaining Northmen withdrew from France. They devoted themselves to plundering Lorraine until after the death of Lewis III, the following year, when they returned to France.

Lewis III

Later Carolingian Rulers

An evil fortune seemed to pursue these later Carolingians. Lewis had won this great victory which had freed his land from the terror caused by the pirates and everything seemed propitious; but "it chanced one day that in sport he chased a certain damsel, the daughter of Germund. She fled into her father's gate and the king followed her laughing. But he forgot to stoop sufficiently at the portal, and was crushed between the roof and the high pommel of his saddle so that he died within a few days." Two years later his brother Carloman was accidentally killed while boar-hunting, and left no heir except a young brother, a child of five, who was later known as Charles the Simple. The Carolingian line was now almost extinct. In Germany only one son of Lewis the German was still living, Charles III, later called the Fat, who had inherited from his father and his brothers all of the kingdom and had been crowned emperor at Rome in 881. The nobles and bishops of France, when they met together to deliberate on the fate of the kingdom, decided in favor of the fully grown man, Charles III, rather than the child, Charles the Simple; accordingly the former was crowned king. He was praised as

CHAP. XI

"a very Christian prince, fearing God, with all his heart keeping His commandments, very devoutly obeying the orders of the Church, generous in alms-giving, practising unceasingly prayer and song, always intent upon celebrating the praises of God." This catalogue of virtues is discreetly silent concerning Charles' ability and valor, and he seems to have been cowardly and unable to take any vigorous action. When the Northmen attacked his kingdom he was entirely incompetent, and in every peril or time of need he showed his unfitness for his position.

The great event during his reign was the siege of Paris by the Northmen. In November, 885, several hundred viking-ships assembled below the city; it is said that they covered the Seine for the distance of two leagues. Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong, was in the city and managed its defense, which was greatly facilitated by the towers and bridge-heads on the bridges at either side. In September of the following year, Charles the Fat with an enormous army arrived at Montmartre, which was then well outside the city of Paris, but did not dare to engage in battle and "did nothing worthy of the royal majesty." Toward the end of October, after the Northmen had besieged the city for eleven months, he made a peace in which they agreed to leave and go into the district of Sens, where the people did not recognize his authority; in addition, the next spring the Northmen received seven hundred pounds of silver, on condition that they would leave France and go home. His subjects were very much disgusted, and a powerful party rose in opposition to him, so that Charles was compelled to abdicate. He died within three months, in January, 888. It is eloquent of the condition of the time that a later generation should have made a hero of Charles the Fat and should have looked back to his days as the good old times. In fact, the difficulties were increasing, and the people were to suffer so many evils that the last Carolingian who united almost all of the Frankish realm under his power was to become a theme of legend; Charles the Fat was represented as having retired to a cave where he waited for the opportunity to deliver his people. A more sorry hero or one more comical in some respects than was he, was never chosen by a national legend. The condition of the Empire immediately after his death was thus described by the contemporary Regino: "The kingdoms which obeyed him, deprived of a legitimate heir, quarreled and separated from one another; each one chose a king from its own inhabitants, paying no heed to the natural heir. Great wars followed, not because there were lacking Frankish princes worthy by their nobility, courage, and wisdom of commanding the kingdom; but because

Abdication of Charles the Fat

they were all equal to one another in race, dignity, and power; the distrust was augmented, and no one was so preeminent that the others were willing to submit to his domination." Germany, Italy, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence became kingdoms, and were for a time almost entirely independent of one another or of France.

Fate of Imperial Title

After the death of Charles the Fat the imperial title attracted a few ambitious men, and five rulers were successively invested with the title of emperor of the Roman Empire; all but one owed the advancement entirely to the pope and the title carried with it little prestige and no power. Finally the office was left vacant for more than a generation until the coronation of Otto the Great.

CHAPTER XII

FEUDALISM

CHAP. XII

Gradual Evolution

DURING the period which has been the subject of the preceding chapters there had been a gradual evolution in the social and political institutions which resulted in what is now called feudalism. In order to understand the process and its outcome, it is necessary to regroup and restate some of the facts already mentioned.

In the Roman society at the beginning of the fifth century there was no civil equality of persons and the lower classes of freemen had fallen almost completely under the power of the nobles. Some of the small land-holders had been violently dispossessed.

Beginnings Under Roman Rule

Frequently poor men with small farms had been compelled to place themselves under the patronage (*patrocinium*) of some wealthy and powerful neighbor in order to secure protection or to escape the burdensome taxation; such protection the powerful man was usually willing to grant, but as payment for his patronage he required the transfer to himself of the title to the land which the poorer man had owned; usually the former owner, as long as he lived, was allowed the usufruct or tenure of the land. Thus the land was passing into the hands of the nobles, and the latter frequently had more than their *coloni* and slaves could cultivate. Consequently, rather than let it lie idle, they often granted the request (*precarium*) of a poor man for the use of some land. Usually there was no payment demanded, but on the other hand the grant could be terminated at any moment when the owner desired, so the user had a precarious tenure. The *patrocinium* and *precarium* became well established, and on each estate the inhabitants looked to the proprietor for protection and the means of earning a livelihood. Consequently it was natural that the administration of justice should also fall into the hands of the proprietors, and many of them possessed a *de facto* private jurisdiction in their villas during the later decades of the Roman rule.

Decline of Cities

While the power of the nobles was increasing, the cities (the urban centers of the *civitates*) were losing their importance. The citizens had been deprived of almost all their privileges and

were being crushed by taxation. As the villas were practically self-supporting they offered no market for the products of the cities. The migrations brought in a ruling class of a lower civilization who felt little need of the Roman manufactures, and the disorders incident to the presence of the barbarians made travel dangerous, so that commerce between the different portions of the Empire was greatly hindered. The cities became smaller and their inhabitants were forced to turn to agriculture for a larger portion of their living.

After the Germans had become the masters in Gaul, some Roman nobles retained their possessions and became companions and officials of the barbarian rulers. Some lands were confiscated by the invaders and distributed among the companions of the kings, in return for military service or other duties. In either case the tenants and small holders depended almost wholly upon the great proprietors for protection and livelihood, and had to serve them in return. From the time of the migrations onward, warfare was constant. At first the wealthy Roman aristocrats had to maintain fighting men in their service in order to defend themselves. All of the Germans, and later all men who were wealthy enough, had to serve in the king's army for several months each year at their own expense. These were the general conditions during all the time from the fifth to the tenth century, and it was in this framework that the kings were obliged to carry on their functions.

Effects of Migrations

The customs which had prevailed under the Roman rule were not unlike some of the German customs, and the new institutions which grew out of the fusion have long been a bone of contention between the different schools of historians. One school lays stress upon the Roman origins and shows how vassalage and fiefs developed from the *patrocinium* and *precarium;* the other school derives the vassal relation from the German *comitatus*[1] and points out that the land relation in the fief is the natural outcome of the idea of a gift among the primitive Germans, who were like children, ready to give away anything which they did not desire at the moment, but feeling that they had a perfect right to reclaim the gift if they wanted it. Consequently when the land was distributed among the followers of a German king they had only the tenure and not the ownership, which still was vested theoretically in the king.

German Factors

The prevalence of the private jurisdictions may have been an outgrowth of the Roman customs or it may have been due to the grants of immunity on the part of the German kings. By the

Private Jurisdictions

[1] See p. 81.

CHAP. XII

terms of a typical formula all royal officials were forbidden to enter any of the property of the abbot or bishop, who was the recipient of the grant of immunity, either for the purpose of holding court or exacting fines; all receipts from the courts were turned over to the abbot or bishop. These privileges were frequently sought because of oppression by some official of the king. The bishops and abbots wished to be dependent only upon the king and thus to escape responsibility to the local count; and the king was generally willing to grant such a request because it did not cost him much, usually only a part of the court fines, and it did restrict the power of his often unruly subordinate. In order to protect the holder of the immunity the king usually appointed an official, who was called the advocate, to see that the privilege was respected; very frequently this advocate ended by usurping power over the estate. Laymen were seldom granted immunities, but the more powerful and more wealthy had continued to exercise or had usurped private jurisdiction over their estates, very similar to that conferred by a definite grant, and in 614 A.D. these *de facto* privileges were recognized by royal edict under the name of *potestates*.

These private jurisdictions are symptomatic of the general change which had been going on throughout the society, even before the migrations. In place of the old relation between the state and the individual, or between the clan and its members, obligations between man and man had become common. The protection which the poor man had been obliged to seek from the wealthy man had come to be recognized under the name of commendation, and the universality of this relation is indicated by the formulas of the seventh century. A typical one reads:[2] "To that magnificent lord so and so, I, so and so. Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your piety, and your good will has decreed to me that I should hand myself over or commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done; that is to say in this way, that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it. And as long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, suitably to my free condition; and I shall not during the time of my life have the ability to withdraw from your power or guardianship; but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defense. Wherefore it is

Commendation

[2] Translated by E. P. Cheyney. Almost all the examples are taken from his excellent collection of documents in Translations and Reprints, Vol. IV, No. 3, where others will be found.

proper that if either of us shall wish to withdraw himself from these agreements, he shall pay so many shillings to the other party (*pari suo*), and this agreement shall remain unbroken." It will be noted that the commendation differs from the *patrocinium;* the latter carried with it an idea of degradation for the weaker man; the commendation seems to maintain more of the dignity of the *comitatus* relationship.

References in the capitularies show that this custom of commendation was widespread in the Frankish Empire by the year 816, if not earlier. In the latter year Louis the Pious decreed: "If any one shall wish to leave his lord (*seniorem*), and is able to prove against him one of these crimes, that is, in the first place, if the lord has wished to reduce him unjustly into servitude; in the second place, if he has taken counsel against his life; in the third place, if the lord has committed adultery with the wife of the vassal; in the fourth place, if he has wilfuly attacked him with a drawn sword; in the fifth place, if the lord has been able to bring defense to his vassal after he has commended his hands to him, and has not done so; it is allowed to the vassal to leave him. If the lord has perpetrated anything against the vassal in these five points it is allowed the vassal to leave him." But otherwise, not; vassalage was a permanent relationship.

Permanence of Relationship

In the year 847, by the capitulary of Mersen, the three sons of Louis the Pious attempted, for administrative purposes, to compel all freemen who had not already commended themselves to enter into such a relation. "We will, moreover, that each free man in our kingdom shall choose a lord, from us or our faithful, such a one as he wishes. We command moreover that no man shall leave his lord without just cause, nor should any one receive him, except in such a way as was customary in the time of our predecessors." For greater ease in administration many public services, such as the leading of the men to the army, were intrusted by the Carolingians to the *seniores,* or lords. More and more the king ceased to have relations with the majority of the inhabitants of his kingdom except indirectly through the lords, and it came to be considered the duty of the average man to obey his lord rather than the more remote authority of the king; in fact, the average man had no duties toward the central government except through his lord.

Universality

Land-holding had been undergoing an analogous change. Almost all of the land had passed into the hands of a comparatively small number of owners, who, in order to have it cultivated and to secure followers, had granted out portions to individuals. At first these grants were usually for a short term, frequently of five

CHAP. XII

years, and were called *precariae*,[3] although the conditions were different from those in the older *precaria*. Later it came to be the custom to grant the land for a lifetime, or even for the period of two or more lives, and such grants were called benefices. The holder of the benefice had the use of the land and was expected in return to make some payment, usually small, and to give personal services when called upon; but his burdens were relatively light and he received protection from the stronger man, so that not a few land-owners preferred to hand over their property in order to better their own condition. Sometimes such a change of ownership was forced upon them by the stronger party. A typical formula of the seventh century reads, in part, as follows:

Benefice

Formula

"I have settled in my mind that I ought, for the good of my soul, to make a gift of something from my possessions, which I have therefore done. And this is what I hand over, in the district named so and so, in the place of which the name is such and such, all those possessions of mine which there my father left me at his death and which as against my brothers or as against my co-heirs the lot legitimately brought me in the division; or those which I was able afterward to add to them in any way, in their whole completeness, that is to say the courtyard with its buildings, with slaves, houses, lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, woods, waters, mills, etc. These, as I have said before, with all the things adjacent or appurtenant to them, I hand over to the church which was built in honor of such and such a saint, to the monastery which is called so and so, where such and such an abbot is acknowledged to rule regularly over God's flock; on these conditions, viz: That so long as life remains in my body, the possessions above described I shall receive from you as a benefice for usufruct, and the due payment I will make to you and your successors each year, that is so and so much. And my son shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, and shall make the above-named payment; and if my children should survive me they shall have the same possessions during the days of their life and shall make the same payment; and if God shall give me a son from a legitimate wife, he shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, after the death of whom the same possessions with all their improvements shall return to your part to be held forever; and if it shall be my chance to beget sons from a legitimate marriage,

[3] The change in the form of this word from a neuter noun of the second declension, *precarium*, to a feminine noun of the first, *precaria*, is an illustration of the changes going on in the Latin language, because of the general ignorance and disregard of the study of grammar.

these shall hold the same possessions after my death, making the above named payment, during the time of their lives. If not, however, after my death, without tergiversation of any kind, by right of your authority the same possession shall revert to you to be retained forever."

It is evident that these private relations must have encroached decidedly upon the power of the central government. The Roman emperors had attempted to check the practice of commendation and the growth of private jurisdictions. The Merovingians apparently did not realize the danger; they thought of their kingdom as private property and made grants freely to favorites or to gain friends. In order to hold such a society together and to make his power effective a very strong monarch was needed. In western Europe such men were rare; during all of this period the kings were frequently weak and the power gradually slipped from their hands. In the seventh century the decay of the royal authority in Gaul was comparatively rapid, although checked for a time by the rise of the strong mayors of the palace. But the latter often had to buy support from their nobles and in times of great stress found their own resources entirely inadequate. Thus Charles Martel had been compelled to use some lands of the church in order to equip an army of cavalry to serve against the Mussulmans, in 732. Charles the Great had arrested the decay and had apparently built up a strong centralized monarchy; but he had exhausted the strength of the freemen by long and continuous campaigns, and in order to make the administration more easy he had actually sanctioned the causes of the decay of the royal power, so that after him its ultimate ruin seems to have been inevitable. In the oath of 802, which Charles required all of his subjects to take, more stress apparently was laid upon Charles' position as overlord than upon his rights as king or emperor.

Weakness of Central Government

Like his Merovingian predecessors, Charles the Great delegated authority to the counts, and in any district, during the absence of the king, the count had practically all of the power in his own hands; he maintained order, held the courts, raised and led the army, and published any new edicts of the king. Under the Merovingians these counts had held only a temporary position; under the Carolingians they generally held office for a number of years and the son often succeeded to the father; at the assembly of Kiersy, in 877, it was recognized by Charles the Bald and his nobles that this hereditary succession was the general rule. The powers which they had possessed as deputies of the king were gradually usurped by the officials for their

Strength of Hereditary Officials

CHAP. XII

own advantage; they no longer transmitted to the king the major part of the fines levied in the courts but kept all for themselves; when the king summoned them to lead their contingents of soldiers to his army they obeyed or not, according to their own interests; in all their acts they were governed mainly by the ability, or inability, of the king to enforce obedience.

To intensify all the difficulties came the invasions: by the Northmen on the north and the west, by the Saracens on the south, and by the Slavs on the east. Against these dangers the kings were powerless to protect their subjects; each district had to depend upon itself in times of emergency, and the strong man, whether count, bishop, or abbot, naturally came to the front and became recognized as the real power in his locality. For the defense of his property he built a castle of wood which was not very unlike an ordinary blockhouse on the American frontier, and was defended by a wall or stockade of logs surrounded by a ditch. To these fortifications the people fled in times of invasion; for the protection which they rendered to the people the lords of these castles demanded services. Because of this the strong man in each district generally came to be the lord of the freemen in that district; usually also he granted land to followers as benefices and usurped or obtained private jurisdiction over his lands and men.

Usurpations by Local Rulers

The conjunction of the vassal-relationship, of the land-tenure, and of the private jurisdiction, marks the character of feudalism in the west of Europe. It takes its name from the *feodum*, the fief of land, which was the essential unit. This differed only in one respect from a benefice—it was transmitted by hereditary right from generation to generation; gradually the same came to be true of a benefice, and the two terms were often used interchangeably. The vassal, or holder of a fief, had private jurisdiction over the land which he did not actually own, but of which he had the usufruct and for which he paid services to the lord from whom he held it. While a fief usually was a tract of land, it might be anything which would bring in an income, and especially any grant in the nature of a monopoly: e. g., an office, either administrative or judicial, the right to levy tolls at a bridge, a mill or a bakery which the people of the neighborhood had to patronize, the tithes of a church, half the bees in the woods of Champagne. Sometimes, especially in the thirteenth century and later, a fief might consist of a sum of money which the vassal received each year from his lord, i. e., wages or salary, as it would be termed now. Whatever the fief might be, the

The Fief

CHAP. XII

services owed by the vassal were practically the same: they consisted of military, judicial, civil, and pecuniary obligations.

The later Carolingian kings had retained little of the authority of Charles the Great. They still had great pretentions to power but their actual position had changed. The lords not only had private jurisdiction over their own estates, but they had also bound themselves together, voluntarily or involuntarily, by a network of relations, based upon land-holding, so that they owed services and protection to one another on account of the fiefs which they held. While theoretically they were subjects of the king, practically only those paid him service who held land directly from him. At the close of the tenth century there were several thousand fiefs in the kingdom of France, which were very unequal in size; there were only about forty great lords as distinguished from the multitude of petty fief-holders.[4] Around these great proprietors lesser men had grouped themselves, and frequently the same individual held land from two or more lords; consequently all the nobles were bound together by their feudal relations, and except as the king entered into the system, through land-granting or land-holding, he had no actual duties to the people of his kingdom, or rights over them. Personal relations, generally based upon land-holding between lords and vassals, supplanted the duties and rights incident to citizenship or to membership in the tribe or state.

Feudal Relations Become All-Important

Although the customs of feudalism were going through a continuous evolution and the incidents varied not only from county to county, but also from fief to fief, it seems best to give a general statement at this point. It is important to remember, however, that any such general statement must be wrong in some details and that some of the countries came under the feudal régime much later than others. Yet a composite picture may be drawn which will not be incorrect in its main outlines.

Customs

The contract which held together the members of the feudal

[4] According to Mortet, the great fiefs were the duchies of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitaine; the counties of Flanders, Champagne, Brittany, Anjou, Blois and Chartres, Toulouse, Provence, Dauphiné; the vi-counties of Limoges, of Carcassonne; the archbishoprics and bishoprics of Laon, Reims, Beauvais, Châlons, Langres, Le Puy, Mende, Viviers, Lyons, Narbonne. There was always some land held allodially, or in full ownership, and not by feudal tenure. But such lands were assimilated to the feudal conditions. In later times the "Kingdom of Yvetôt," which owed its name to a lawyer's fiction, became famous in fiction It is also true that there was some prestige about the kingship which was very useful to a strong monarch and seemed to give him power over and above what he possessed as a feudal overlord.

CHAP. XII

Homage and Fealty

society was entered into through the act of fealty. The man who was to receive a fief or benefice knelt before the lord bare-headed and without his sword, and placing his hands within the hands of the lord made a formal promise. He declared that he became the lord's man, or vassal, for all the days of his life, and would defend the lord against "all men who may live or die." The lord then raised him up, kissed him on the mouth, and declared that he accepted him as a vassal. This act of homage was usually followed by the oath of fidelity to the lord, sworn upon the Gospel or some other sacred object. Then the vassal received the investiture of the fief, usually by some symbolic act, such as a stroke "with a little rod." This bond entailed definite obligation for both parties, which also gave certain rights to each. The lord, theoretically, was bound to protect his vassal, secure justice for him, and give him such aid as he might need. The vassal was to render military and judicial services, to give his counsel and aid to the lord whenever demanded, and, under exceptional circumstances, to make payments in money or kind.

Military Service

Each vassal was required to serve in the lord's army for a fixed period each year, usually forty days. He was obliged to equip himself and to pay his own expenses during this time; if he served longer, the lord was usually expected to pay his expenses. In addition, the vassal was frequently required to do castle-ward for a fixed time each year. Sometimes he had to have his wife and children with him while on service in his lord's castle. In this way the lord would have a personal knowledge of the character and qualities of the members of the family, which might be useful to him in connection with some of the rights which are discussed below.

Court Service

The lord had the right to summon his vassals and ask their counsel on any question. In particular, he could require them to assist him in the trial of cases in his court. The vassal also owed suit, i. e., he was expected to bring any law-suit in which he was concerned to the lord's court, where it would be decided by his fellow-vassals and his lord.

Aids

Theoretically, the vassal did not owe any money payments to his lord. As a matter of fact, when he received his fief, he frequently contracted to make an annual payment. A vassal was also expected to help his lord when the latter had some extraordinary expenses. In such cases his payment was called an aid; gradually the cases in which such an aid might be demanded were fixed by custom, but the custom varied in different countries and even in different fiefs in the same country. The "three chief aids" in Normandy or England were due when the lord's

oldest son was knighted, when the lord's oldest daughter was married, and when the lord himself was taken prisoner; in these three cases the vassal had to help pay the expenses, the dowry, or the ransom. In the period of the crusades vassals in France were frequently obliged to pay an "aid" towards the lord's equipment when he went on an expedition to the Holy Land.

Purveyance

Payments in kind were caused partly by the right of purveyance which the lord enjoyed. This required the vassal to board and lodge the lord and his followers for a time. In theory there was at first no limit to this right, but it was so burdensome that it became fixed for each locality either by custom or contract, and it could seldom be exercised more than three times a year, and then only for a given number of followers; often it was restricted to once a year, and both the number of persons and animals and the kinds of food and supplies were stipulated.

Relief

The relief might be paid in kind or in money according to the usage of the fief. It was due whenever there was a new holder of the fief or a new lord, because the feudal bond was thought of as a personal one, and consequently homage and relief were due from each vassal to his lord, and must be renewed whenever there was a new lord. But the relief was a very burdensome payment, often fixed at one year's income from the fief, and there was a tendency to restrict the payment to the occasion either of the change in the vassal or in the lord and not to make it in both cases. The relief in Normandy was a fixed sum of money, and this usage was transferred to England, where the relief was frequently five pounds for each knight's fee. It should be noted here that a knight's fee had come to be a measure and meant such a fief or part of a fief as would furnish sufficient income to support a knight. A noble, for example, might be obliged to pay £15 relief, because he held a fief equivalent to three knights' fees. There was a tendency to reckon all services in a similar manner. Thus the earl of Clare, on one occasion, paid £94, 11s. 10d. for the aid for the daughter of the king, "for 131 knights and two-thirds of a knight, and a third and a fourth and an eighth and a ninth and a tenth of a knight, and two thirtieths of a knight of his fee; and for nine knights and the fourth part of a knight of the fee of the countess, his wife." And in 1272, when the military tenants were summoned to the French army, some would furnish a knight for forty days; others for four, or ten, or twenty, or thirty days, according to the value of their holdings; still others would have to furnish several knights.

When a vassal died the relief might be exacted, according to custom, if the heir was of full age; if he was a minor, the lord

CHAP. XII

might take possession of the property and hold it until the end of the minority. In such a case he was exercising the right of

Wardship

wardship. This was the usual custom in Normandy and England; the theory was that the fief owed to the lord the services of a knight, and when the heir could not perform these the lord had a right to the income of the fief. He was, however, expected to provide for the support of the minor and to restore the fief to him when he came of age; then a relief might be demanded and frequently was. The heir to a fief, whether his father was alive or not, was often required to live at the castle of his lord, because he was a useful hostage.

Marriage

In many fiefs the lord must give his consent to the marriage of his vassal or his vassal's oldest son; if there was no son, and a daughter would inherit, then the lord was especially interested in her marriage; for, if she should marry any one hostile to him or whom he could not control, he would lose his property. This right of marriage was lucrative and was sometimes abused; in the English Exchequer Rolls there are very significant entries, such as, "Hawisa, who was wife of William Fitz Robert, renders account of 130 marks and 4 palfreys that she may have peace from Peter of Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her; and that she may not be compelled to marry."

Intricacy of Relations

The feudal usages were greatly complicated by the fact that many vassals held from different lords and almost every one was both lord and vassal. Consequently all were bound together by an intricate network of duties and rights, and frequently a vassal owed conflicting services to two or more lords, especially when the latter were at war with one another. And the private wars were frequent. Marriages and inheritances were constantly causing the rupture of old feudal bonds and the formation of new. If the king of France married the heiress to a fief held from one of his own vassals, he was supposed to owe to this vassal the services due from his wife's fief.

Lack of Uniformity

Almost the only service which was uniformly demanded of all vassals was the military. And even this varied; while it was usually forty days, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, owing to the conditions there, it might be demanded at any time for any length of time: the formula was that the knight owed one year of military service each year. In France there was a difference of opinion as to the right of a lord to keep his vassal after forty days, even when he was willing to pay the latter. In England the vassals frequently held that they were not required to serve outside the country. The solution of these differences depended

mainly upon the relative power of the vassals and of the lords.

Force, the Sanction

For the sanction of the feudal tie rested, in the last analysis, upon force. Whatever the legal theories might be, the vassal usually performed only such services as he felt unable to avoid. His lord might cite him to court, but generally tried to reduce him to submission by a private war. Luchaire has stated for France that "every feudatory was at strife with his different suzerains, with the bishops and abbots with whom he was in contact, with his fellow-vassals, and with his own vassals."

Position of King

Both the king and the church were included in the feudal relations. The king was theoretically the overlord of all the nobles in his kingdom, and this was especially true in England or in the kingdom of Jerusalem, to which the feudal customs had been transplanted. When they had grown up by gradual evolution, as in France, the position of the king was less clearly recognized. While a certain sanctity was associated with the kingship, the French monarch owed his actual power to his feudal vassals and his feudal holdings. This continued to be true until the rise of the cities introduced a new element, which generally sided with the king.

Position of Church Officials

The bishops and abbots held a vast extent of property which had been gradually acquired by the church. Since the days of Charles the Great these high churchmen had been considered officials of the king, did homage to him and received from him the investiture of their fiefs. They were required to lead their contingent of troops to the king's host and to perform many of the other feudal obligations. They, in turn, granted many fiefs from their lands, and consequently had many vassals who owed them the regular feudal incidents.

The Peasants

Thus far only the two estates, the nobility and the clergy, have been considered. But feudal society was supported by the labor of the peasants, who formed an integral part of the feudal group. They were said to hold their land by servile tenure because their primary duty was not fighting. They owed to their lord many services analogous to the feudal incidents, and might even be called out to fight. Their lot will be described later.[5]

[5] See Chapter XXVII.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH TO 954 A.D.

CHAP. XIII

THE emperors at Constantinople were iconoclasts and unable to defend their possessions in Italy. Consequently the popes, "placed between the heretic and the robber," had turned to Pippin and Charles the Great for aid against the Lombards. The expeditions of the Franks had freed Rome from danger of conquest by the Lombards and also from the control of the Greek emperors; the events which culminated in the coronation ceremony in St. Peter's had made Charles the Great the temporal head of both church and empire in the West. The pope was obliged to defer to the wishes of the emperor, who exercised the right of sanctioning the elections to the papal see. But the church was only temporarily in bondage and had already obtained great power and authority and wealth. By its missions Rome had brought under its own leadership the Christians in Gaul, Germany, and England, and the pope was recognized as the ultimate authority in all matters of faith. The Irish Church, which had been its only rival in the West, was suffering from the invasions of the Northmen and was gradually losing its prominence as an educational and missionary center. Boniface had destroyed the prestige of the Irish monks on the continent and had established the supremacy of the pope.

Power of the Church

Church as Landholder

The church possessed an enormous amount of territory in the different countries of the West, and on its lands exercised feudal authority. By their rights of immunity the bishops and abbots were practically independent of all external control in the administration of their estates. They granted benefices and thus became suzerains, with vassals who owed military as well as other services; as they in turn were vassals of the kings or other lords, and were held to the performance of all the feudal duties, they were frequently obliged to lead their warriors in person. As the church was forbidden by the canons to alienate its property, and as it, unlike a lay holder, never died, property once passed into its hands would theoretically always remain in its possession, in mortmain.[1] Its property was constantly

[1] Mortmain, or dead hand, was the term used because the hand was the organ of transmission and if the hand was dead there could be no transferral of property.

added to by pious gifts from individuals; but occasionally a ruler sequestrated a portion of its lands under some more or less legal pretext, as Charles Martel had done in order to raise a force of cavalry to meet the Saracens. Only by such acts of confiscation was the church prevented from holding an ever-increasing proportion of the land, which would eventually have reduced the lay powers to impotence.

Charles the Great had commanded that each one of his subjects should pay a tithe of his income to the church, and this practice gradually became universal, although, of course, there were many evasions. Because of the income from its feudal grants, from the estates which it kept in its own hands, from the tithes, from gifts of the faithful, and from the payments and contributions for the various rites and services, the church became enormously wealthy. Consequently the bishops and abbots were important because of their power and wealth, and many ambitious men sought to obtain these positions; in the ninth and tenth centuries, laymen frequently succeeded in usurping various church offices, or in being appointed to them. In the contemporary chronicles an individual is sometimes styled an abbot-count, because he held both the lay and ecclesiastical office. In speaking of the election of one of the popes a chronicler writes, "in one and the same day he was both a layman and a pope."

Wealth of Church.

The church also gained power by its activity in correcting the immoral conduct of its members and by its insistence upon acts of penance for wrong-doing. The code of penalties dated from the early days when the members of the church were picked and devout men and women. After Christianity became the state religion and the great mass of unworthy people had been brought into the church, it became difficult to maintain the customary penalties, for many an individual was condemned to an amount of penance which it would have been impossible for him to perform during his life-time. Consequently some allowance had to be made for human frailty; if the penitent was judged to be truly repentant he might be allowed to commute his penance into a contribution to some pious undertaking, or into a pilgrimage to some holy spot, especially Rome or Jerusalem.

Penance

As the penances which were required made a severe draft upon the income of the sinner or necessitated a change in his mode of life, many were indisposed to obey the church; in order to control such unruly members the priests dwelt upon the punishment of sinners in the next world. To the unrepentant were depicted the terrible fate which they must undergo after death unless they had made their peace with the church during their life-

Terrors

CHAP. XIII

time. Stories were told of the visions which some priest or monk had had concerning the conditions after death. These set before the hardened sinners the special torments which their relatives or neighbors who had recently died were compelled to undergo.

Excommunication

If a man remained obdurate and was unwilling to recognize the authority of the church he might be cut off from its membership by excommunication. This term had a varying content from age to age. In its usual and more severe form, in the ninth and tenth centuries, it meant that the person under the ban was not allowed to be present at any service of the church and was not permitted to participate in the common life of other Christians; if he died unrepentant he had no chance of eternal salvation. Sometimes, when the culprit was unwilling to yield, the excommunication was extended to affect the whole community of which he was a member; this penalty was more sharply defined later as an interdict and became the strongest weapon which the church possessed; but it was not much employed until a later period than the one under discussion in this chapter.

Services of the Church

If, however, it should be supposed that the church owed its hold upon its members mainly to the terror which it preached or to the means of discipline which it used, the conclusions would be entirely erroneous. Its influence was due mainly to the many services which it performed for the welfare of society. The members of the secular clergy were the leaders in every community and the church building was the social center. There the people gathered together on feast-days or Sundays, attended the services, heard the news, and spent the entire day. Between the services they engaged in games or dancing on the ground about the church, with no thought of any irreverence. Of course, it was the members of the clergy who officiated at all times of special interest, such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals; but, in addition, they entered far more fully into the daily life of their parishioners than at the present time. Their services were in constant requisition for advice and assistance, for the taking of oaths for the ordeals and other methods of trials, and in a host of other ways.

Services of the Monks

The monks, the members of the regular clergy, were frequently more influential than the secular clergy. Where a monastery was planted, fields were reclaimed and the wilderness was soon transformed into an agricultural estate, which sometimes served as a model farm. Peasants came to live about the monasteries for the sake of protection and especially because, as the medieval proverb said, "It is good to dwell under the shadow of the cross."

Artisans found opportunity to ply their trades and frequently a town grew up about the monastery; it is surprising to know how many of the cities of western Europe have been built up in this way. The monks were also the great teachers, so that monastery and school became practically synonymous terms. The nobility often sent their children to be educated; bright boys among the peasants were sought out by the monks and were trained for the service of the church. The monasteries were also the only libraries of the period, and while their collections of books were always very small, in them were preserved the writings of the church fathers and the classical manuscripts. Very few of these would be in existence at the present day except for the labor of the monks, for they copied books as well as preserved them. St. Jerome had written to a pupil, "Have a book always in your hand or under your eyes," and this advice was followed in many of the monasteries.

Educational

Their social services were no less important. The monks were the doctors and nurses of the age; to them the sick were brought and by them were preserved some of the medical secrets known to the Romans. The monasteries served as inns where travelers were always welcome; for St. Benedict had ordered that every stranger was to be received as if he were Christ himself, and this noble tradition of hospitality was respected throughout the Middle Ages. The nunneries offered the women the only alternative to marriage, and many took advantage of the refuge in the cloister. Some distinguished themselves by their learning; Roswitha, for example, wrote a series of plays modeled after Terence, which she fondly hoped would supplant the pagan author. Finally, the monasteries antagonized, although unconsciously, the prevailing feudalism. For, while still following feudal usages in the management of their estates, in their membership they welcomed peasants as well as freemen and nobles; and within their walls all were equal. Often the son of a peasant rose to the position of abbot and became the overlord of the nobles who held land from the monastery. Because of their various activities it is difficult to overestimate the services which the monks performed during this period.

Social

The immense power which the church possessed because of its wealth and influence was centered mainly in the hands of the bishops and abbots. The former, in particular, were among the great territorial lords of western Europe, and from their enormous estates they collected great incomes and levied large armies. As has been indicated above, they usually stood for the unity of the Empire and were on the side of the weak monarchs against the

CHAP. XIII

lay nobles. Because of their ability and united action the churchmen generally held the balance of power, and really determined governmental affairs to a great extent. Armed with spiritual and temporal authority, having their armies to enforce their decrees, and the ban of excommunication to check the unruly, they were able to make their position stronger and stronger. With considerable accuracy Voltaire designated the ninth century as the "Age of the Bishops."

"Age of Bishops"

The most important of all was the pope. Charles the Great had maintained his authority over the city of Rome, and from time to time he sent thither his legate, who looked into the administration of the city and represented the emperor in the same way as a *missus* in any other territory. The coins which were struck represent the condition of affairs very clearly; on one side appears the name of the pope, on the other the name of the emperor. Charles the Great had had his son Louis the Pious crown himself, and had exercised some control over the papal actions, but after his death the popes attempted to change the relations between themselves and the emperors. Stephen IV in 816 and Paschal I in 817 were consecrated without waiting for the imperial sanction; Louis the Pious allowed himself to be recrowned by the pope and in 822 had his son Lothair crowned by him as co-emperor On the latter occasion, however, Lothair exercised his authority as ruler of the city and decided a case adversely to the pope. Soon after his departure from Rome some of the imperial partizans were put to death by the hostile party and the pope had to clear himself of an accusation of participation in their murder by taking an oath of purgation. The following year Lothair went to Rome and published there a civic constitution in which he regulated the administration of justice in the city of Rome, and the relative rights of the pope and the emperor, reserving the supremacy to the latter. But, from this time on, the Carolingians were so busily occupied in their internal strifes that they had little opportunity to interfere with the affairs of Rome, and the control of the city passed more and more into the hands of the pope, although an imperial party still existed in the city and from time to time manifested hostility to the papal party.

The Popes and the Emperors

Patrimony of St. Peter

The history of the patrimony of St. Peter is somewhat similar. Until the outbreak of the civil strife the emperor maintained his authority over the lands in Italy. The city and the territory immediately surrounding it was set apart as a separate jurisdiction, administered jointly by the emperor and the pope, but the other lands were governed by the emperor or his representative. As the Carolingian power became weaker, the popes were able to

extend their control or to make their power felt feudally over the whole patrimony, and as they received donations, or recognitions of existing donations, from several of the emperors, their power became firmly established. The question concerning the genuineness of these various grants is a very difficult one. The so-called donation of Constantine was a forgery of the eighth century and may have been forged to influence Pippin to make his donation. The first mention in existing documents of the donation of Lewis the Pious is in the eleventh century; but historians now believe that there was a genuine document into which forgeries have been interpolated. The weak emperors made donations, influenced partly by the existing grants, and partly by the fact that they could have no opportunity to exercise authority over these lands, so that, by the middle of the tenth century, the pope was fully recognized as the feudal overlord of the patrimony, although there was still some dispute as to just what it included.

The most pressing need felt by the officials of the church was a series of precedents which would free them from all lay control, and the popes felt the necessity of some legal documents which would make them the supreme authority over the church. This lack on the part of the church as a whole and especially on the part of the pope was supplied by the forgery of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. This famous collection was composed of genuine letters of popes and authentic canons of councils with a large addition of spurious documents, consisting of letters supposed to have been written by earlier popes and canons supposed to have been enacted at various councils. While the genuine collections of the canons and letters of the popes had omitted to discuss many subjects of interest to this later time, the forged documents took up questions which were important in the eighth and ninth centuries, and furnished ample precedents for the entire freedom of the church officials from all lay control and also for the supremacy of the pope over all of the archbishops and bishops.[2] This collection was almost universally accepted as genuine throughout the Middle Ages, and few suspected any forgery. At the present time no one defends the genuineness

Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals

[2] There has been much discussion concerning the date of these forgeries. It is probable that the various documents were forged at different times, and the whole collection was not brought together much before the middle of the ninth century. But this date is not universally accepted. The tendency has been, in the past, for Roman Catholic historians to place the date as late as possible in order to show that these documents had little, if any, influence. Protestant partisans, on the other hand, have frequently attempted to place the date as early as possible in order to show that the authority of the Church rested mainly upon forgeries.

CHAP. XIII

of this collection. Early popes were made to use the title of *servus servorum Dei,* which we now know to have been first used by Gregory the Great (590–604), and were made to quote from books written centuries later; but no one then raised any question about such anachronisms, and the forgery furnished a storehouse of arguments which were used by popes and churchmen of the ninth and succeeding centuries.

The first use of these documents, as far as it is recorded in existing literature, was during the pontificate of Nicholas I (858–867). He was a man of noble family and great ability. During his reign he was engaged almost constantly in various struggles which were destined to have a great influence in the future. At Constantinople the orthodox patriarch had been deposed by the emperor Michael in December, 857, and in his place the learned Photius had been raised to be head of the Byzantine Church. Both disputants appealed to Rome, and the papal legates were bribed to support Photius, but Pope Benedict excommunicated these faithless officials, and in a Roman synod, in 863, Nicholas I condemned Photius and ordered him to resign his office. The latter, in turn, excommunicated the pope and charged the Roman Church with heresies. He was able to maintain his position until 867, when he was deposed by the successor of Michael, after the murder of the latter. This struggle alienated the two churches still more and was one of the links in the chain of events which finally brought about the schism between the East and the West.

Struggles of Nicholas I

Photius

A second struggle emphasized the pope's position as the moral arbiter over kings as well as over other members of the church. Lothair, the brother of the emperor, had put away his wife Theutberga and had taken in her place a mistress, Waldrada. The papal legates who were sent to investigate this matter were bribed by Lothair, pronounced Theutberga's divorce legal, and recognized Waldrada as his wife. Nicholas was very indignant, deposed and excommunicated the guilty churchmen, and annulled their decree. All of this took place in 863. There was a long struggle, but Nicholas stood firm and Lothair was compelled to take back his lawful wife. When he repudiated her again and took back Waldrada, he was excommunicated by Nicholas. Finally, after the death of Nicholas, Lothair was compelled to humble himself and to submit to the commands of the next pope. In this matter, as frequently throughout the Middle Ages, the pope stood firm as the champion of the sanctity of the marriage ties and used the weapon of excommunication in order to enforce morality. He established the fact that the king as a

Lothair

Christian was subject to the judgment of the church if he did wrong.

The third important struggle which the pope was obliged to carry on was against the most powerful churchman in France, Hincmar, the archbishop of Reims. The latter had arrested one of the bishops in his province and held him a prisoner for months in order to prevent his prosecuting a suit at the court of Rome; for he claimed that he had supreme authority in his own province and that no one could appeal from his decision. Nicholas condemned Hincmar's action and urged Charles the Bald to force him to yield; as the king needed the pope's aid in other matters he attempted to coerce Hincmar. The latter protested and argued that, while the pope was supreme over the whole church, he had no right to interfere in the government of a metropolitan. He quoted the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in order to enforce his arguments, but Nicholas I replied and also quoted the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, showing by them that he was completely within his right. Hincmar, who seems to have had some suspicion as to the spuriousness of this collection, spoke of it as "a mouse-trap to catch the archbishops." Nicholas won a complete victory, and the right of the pope to intervene in all affairs of the church was recognized. This was to have an important influence upon the relation of the national churches to the Church of Rome.

Hincmar

Through the personality of the pope, Nicholas I, the papacy had won great power. Secure in the possession of the patrimony of St. Peter, and armed with the authority based upon the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, it might have seemed destined to fall heir to the power which was slipping from the nerveless hands of the Carolingians. That it was not able to do so was due to the conditions in Italy, to which we must now turn our attention.

Promising Outlook for the Papacy

The Mohammedans, called in by a traitor, had invaded Sicily in 827. This island was still subject to the Byzantine emperor, who sent aid against the Saracens until in 832 he had to turn all his attention to the struggle in Asia against the caliph Motassem. Although the Greek commanders in Sicily made a gallant and prolonged defense, in 859 they lost their last important stronghold in the center of the island and their possessions were reduced to Syracuse and the towns at the foot of Mount Etna.

Saracen Conquest of Sicily

The Saracens were now able to devote their forces to the conquest of Italy itself. Their task was greatly facilitated by the rival powers which were ruling in southern Italy. A large part was included in the duchy of Benevento, which formerly had done homage to Charles the Great but since his death had been prac-

Rival Powers in Southern Italy

CHAP. XIII

tically independent. "The heel and toe" of Italy were still held by the Byzantine Empire; Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta were almost independent cities, although nominally reckoned as subjects of Constantinople.

In 839 the duke of Benevento was murdered and a civil war broke out over the succession. One of the contending parties sought aid from the Mohammedans in Sicily; the other from the Mohammedans in Crete. Each of the Saracen forces captured cities, but, instead of reliquishing them to the Christian leader for whom they were nominally fighting, garrisoned the strongholds for themselves. By 851 southern Italy, to the very gates of Rome, was in constant danger from the marauding bands. In 846 the Roman Campagna had been invaded and the churches of St. Peter in the Vatican and of St. Paul outside the walls had been sacked. Fortunately the strong wall which had been built by the emperor Aurelian kept the Saracens out of Rome itself and the Eternal City was spared the fate of Bari, Brindisi, and other cities, which had already become Mohammedan fortresses.

Conquests of the Saracens

In this time of peril Italy owed much to the Carolingian Lewis, son of the emperor Lothair, who was crowned as co-emperor in 850. He was a worthy descendant of Charles the Great, but circumstances compelled him to devote himself to Italian affairs and he exercised no authority north of the Alps. In firm alliance with the popes, over whom he exercised some imperial control, he sought to drive the Saracens from Italy and to reduce the Lombard rulers in southern Italy to obedience. The most notable victories were won by Pope Leo IV in 849 at Ostia,[3] and by Lewis at Bari in 871 and at Salerno in 872; for over twenty years Lewis was always busy in spite of lukewarmness and treachery on the part of his allies, the Greek and Lombard rulers. His death, in 875, prevented the accomplishment of his task. It was taken up by the Greek emperor Basil, who succeeded in driving the Saracens out of eastern Italy. Although successful on the mainland, he lost Syracuse, which was taken by the Saracens in 878, some years before his conquest of southern Italy.

Expulsion of the Saracens from Italy

On the death of Lewis, Pope John VIII bestowed the imperial crown on Charles the Bald and gave to him, as a vassal, a golden scepter. There was no question as to which was the more exalted power. After this time the emperors received their crown from the hands of the popes and had little or no authority, until the coronation of Otto the Great, in 962. For the last thirty-seven

Fate of Imperial Title

[3] A feat which has been commemorated in the fresco designed by Raphael in the Vatican.

years of this period there was not even a nominal emperor. In the half century from the accession of Charles the Bald to the death of Berengar seven emperors held the title by the gift of the pope, of whom three were recognized only in Italy, and even there they did not really rule During ten years, from 905 to 915, the office was vacant. Except for the part played by their partizans in the struggles at Rome they exercised no influence over the papacy.

Pope John VIII

John VIII, who was pope from 872–882, was a man of great ability, and his attitude toward Charles the Bald showed his ambition. But a year after he had conferred the Empire he was obliged to beg piteously for aid against the Saracens. "Cities, fortresses, villages have perished with their inhabitants, the bishops are dispersed. . . . The whole Campagna is depopulated, . . . the neighborhood of the city has been so devastated that not a single inhabitant is to be found." Rulers in the south were in alliance with the Saracens, but John was undismayed and himself prepared a fleet with which, in alliance with the Greeks, he won a victory, capturing eighteen vessels and liberating six hundred Christian slaves. But he was soon compelled to buy peace from the Saracens and to flee to France. This was because, after the death of Charles the Bald in 881, Charles the Fat wanted the imperial crown, and his partizans in Rome were too strong for the pope, who was finally forced to give the crown to the German king.

Degradation of the Papacy

After John the popes were weak, and usually ruled only for a short time. Some were men of so little note that scarcely more is known of them than their names. In the closing years of the ninth century, it was apparently the custom for the servants and others to plunder the papal palace when the pope died. When Stephen V was elected pope, in 895. he found that everything had been stolen, except one votive offering; yet, in accordance with custom, he had to make gifts to the populace on his accession. Another glimpse of anarchy and barbarism at Rome is afforded by the trial of Formosus, who was pope from 891 to 896. He had been a partizan of the German Arnulf, whom he had crowned emperor. The party opposed to Arnulf was greatly incensed at his cruelty when he entered the city, and, as soon as he left, sought vengeance. Formosus had died, but his enemies, not to be thwarted, exhumed his body eight months later and placed it on trial, seated on a throne and clad in papal garb. The corpse was duly convicted, the vestments torn from it, the three fingers which had formerly given the pontifical blessing were hacked off, and then it was dragged through the streets and thrown into the

CHAP. XIII

Tiber. After Formosus, there were eight popes in eight years.

Papacy Controlled by Local Nobles

The papacy had passed under the control of the nobles resident in Rome and its suburbs. Rulers from the north sometimes exercised a momentary pressure, but northern Italy was almost given over to feudal anarchy, and, to make conditions worse, in 899 the Magyars, or Hungarians, began their raids into Italy. Consequently, in Rome rival factions arose, and one of their main objects, if not the chief one was to have a partizan as pope, in order to enjoy the income which still flowed into the papal coffers from the faithful outside of Rome; for the Christian West, as a whole, still revered the papal office and knew little or nothing of its degradation.

In the early years of the tenth century, the most influential nobles in Rome were Theodora and her husband. She styled herself "*Senatrix*," as her husband was called "*Senator Romanorum*." It is difficult to form a just estimate of her or of her daughter Marozia, both of whom were very influential in creating and controlling popes. By their opponents they were represented as vile women, but no one denied their ability.

Papacy Controlled by Women

The pope for whom Theodora secured the position was her old lover, John X, who did much for the defense of Italy and Rome; in his pontificate the last Saracens were expelled from Italy. But, quarreling with Marozia, he was imprisoned and died a captive. Then Marozia became all-powerful in Rome, and the succeeding popes were her appointees; in 931 she had the dignity conferred on her son, who was known as John XI, and whose father was, by common rumor, the pope Sergius III. Marozia's downfall and the end of the women's control of the papacy was brought about by her son Alberic.

His mother, a widow for the second time, offered her hand, and Rome as a dowry, to Hugo, "king of Italy." Alberic may have felt that this marriage would injure his own prospects, or he may have been insulted by his father-in-law; the facts are not definitely known. But it is certain that Alberic headed a rising of the Romans against his mother and Hugo. The latter was compelled to flee from Rome; Alberic imprisoned his mother, and kept his brother, the pope John XI, under close surveillance, while he himself ruled as "*princeps atque omnium Romanorum Senator*." For twenty-two years, from 932 to 954, Alberic was all-powerful in the Eternal City, and restricted the activity of the popes wholly to spiritual affairs. He felt himself strong enough to refuse admission to the city when Otto I desired to visit Rome in 952. Before he died, in 954, he had secured the succession of his

Alberic "Princeps"

young son Octavian to his own position as "princeps" and also, it is said, to the papacy. At all events, Octavian, in 954, became temporal head of Rome, and in 955 was elected pope as John XII, and thus temporal power again passed into the hands of the pope.

While the papacy was sinking into degradation, the church elsewhere was not in such evil straits. To be sure, the church was permeated by feudal usages; the bishops and the abbots were often corrupt and ambitious worldlings; the monks were sometimes dissolute; the clergy as a whole ignorant and "blind leaders of the blind." But there was already a leaven of reform at work which was to permeate the whole fabric of the church, and this emanated from Cluny, a Burgundian monastery founded in 910. In the first place, Cluny was the home of able men and picked leaders who worked for righteousness and were zealots. Secondly, Cluny at its foundation was made an "exempt" monastery, owing obedience only to the pope, and free from control by all other secular or ecclesiastical authorities; consequently it became a champion of papal authority and urged the necessity of freeing church officials from all control by laymen, even kings or emperors.

Cluny and Its Work

In the third place, Cluny added a new feature to the monastic system; this was "the congregation." Before the foundation of Cluny each monastery was independent; when a band of monks was sent out to found a new home, they owed no allegiance, no obedience to the parent monastery. If discipline declined and corruption became rife in a monastery, it was difficult to reform it, because no other monastic community had any jurisdiction, and monks, as a rule, were bitterly jealous of any interference by the secular clergy. But Cluny established a new system by which all monasteries founded from Cluny remained subject to the abbot at Cluny and were visited regularly by him. The result was so good and the prestige of Cluny so great that other monasteries were affiliated and passed under the obedience of the abbot, as if they were the offspring of the mother convent. The congregation of Cluny became very powerful and was gradually working for reform, for strengthening the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and for exalting the church above all lay powers.

Congregation of Cluny

CHAPTER XIV

GERMANY, 843-1002

CHAP. XIV

Kingdom of Lewis the German

BY the provisions of the treaty of Verdun, in 843, Lewis received the eastern part of the Carolingian empire. Contrasted with the central portion, the empire of Lothair, or the western portion, the kingdom of Charles, his share might seem to have been poor; in particular he had comparatively few cities. His subjects were, on the whole, less civilized, for only a few parts of his territory had been included in the old Roman Empire. In reality, Germany, as we may now begin to call the kingdom of Lewis, was to prove the strongest of the three divisions; practically all the inhabitants were Germans and their vigor was less impaired and their customs less changed than those of their brethren in the west.

Division and Reunion

At first the fortunes of Germany were closely associated with those of the other Carolingian territories, as described in the preceding chapters. Lewis, following the traditional policy of his family, planned to divide his kingdom among his sons. After his death there were for a time three separate kingdoms, but the barrenness of the Carolingian stock and the deaths which ensued so rapidly soon brought all together again, under Charles the Fat. After he had been deposed on account of his incapacity, Germany was less involved in the fortunes of the other kingdoms.

German Kingship Elective

As there was no Carolingian heir of legitimate birth, except the boy who later was known as Charles the Simple, the German nobles proceeded to elect a king. By their act the old German principle of electing a ruler, which had so long been in abeyance, was again made prominent; and from this time on election was frequently practised, as it gave more power to the nobles and at the same time made it possible to secure a strong ruler in any emergency.

Arnulf and the Danes

The nobles elected Arnulf, an illegitimate grandson of Lewis the German, who had already shown his ability as a ruler in the little territory which had been assigned to him. During the twelve years that he was king, 887–899, Arnulf fully justified the wisdom of the nobles' choice. The greatest danger was from the marauding expeditions of the Danes, who made their last

great attack upon German territory in 891. At first they were successful, but Arnulf, although far distant, came hastening to the rescue. He drove them back to their fortified camp at Louvain on the river Dyle, which they believed to be impregnable, as it was placed between the river and a marsh and could not be approached by cavalry. But Arnulf, dismounting, led the attack in person and the Germans with their huge battle-axes were soon within the breastworks. The Danes were obliged to flee and their position made escape difficult; most of them were forced into the river, where they were drowned. This victory added greatly to Arnulf's prestige both in his own kingdom and among the neighboring peoples.

Moravians and Hungarians

On the east too Arnulf had to strive against invaders, for the Moravians under the leadership of Svatopluk had founded a strong empire and were threatening the German frontiers. In 892–893 Arnulf invaded their lands, but with little success. The following year Svatopluk died and the Moravian empire gradually crumbled to pieces, so that it was no longer a source of danger to the Germans. But in order to get aid in his expedition against the Moravians Arnulf had hired a band of Hungarian warriors. The latter continued to make raids upon the Moravians on their own account, and extended their plundering expeditions even into Italy. For the next half century they were a serious menace, especially to the Germans, on whose villages and monasteries they were continually swooping down. They were horsemen and skilful archers, but were seldom able to capture cities or fortified places.

Because he had been successful in suppressing disorder in his own kingdom and in securing it against invaders, Arnulf was recognized as the ablest ruler in the north, and the other kings in the Carolingian territories sought recognition from him and seem to have regarded him as a kind of overlord. Consequently it was natural that one of the rival claimants for the throne of Italy, who had been defeated, should seek his aid in 894. In a rapid campaign Arnulf secured recognition as overlord in northern Italy. Then the longing for the imperial crown seized upon him and the following year he made a second expedition into Italy and forced his way down to Rome, which closed its gates against him. He took the Leonine city by storm; then the gates of Rome were opened and he was crowned emperor by Pope Formosus. But Arnulf, like so many other German conquerors of Italy, was stricken with disease and had to hasten back to Germany. The vandalism of some of his followers and his own severity had alienated the Romans, so that the opposition got

Arnulf and Italy

CHAP. XIV

control in Rome and Arnulf was never able to return to restore order.

When Arnulf died in 899, he left his kingdom to his son, Lewis "the Child," who had been born in 893. There seems to have been no thought of an election. There was only one other son; he was illegitimate and was not able to maintain order in Lotharingia, which had been given to him by his father. When he died, fighting against his own subjects, Lotharingia also passed under the rule of Lewis. The latter had the support of the most powerful churchman in Germany, Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, who attempted to carry on the government as regent for the infant king. All Germany soon fell a prey to anarchy; the nobles fought with one another; the freemen had to seek protection and became vassals of the powerful nobles. At the same time, the Northmen, especially the Danes, and also the Wends and the Hungarians harassed the frontiers; the last named even invaded Bavaria, Swabia, and Thuringia, spreading terror everywhere. As one of the contemporary bishops wrote, "Never could it be said more truly, 'Woe to the country of which a boy is king!'"

Lewis, "the Child"

The great difficulty in the kingdom of Germany was the lack of organization and centralization. The old divisions among the tribes had always persisted to a greater or less extent. Charles the Great had done what he could to weaken the hereditary rulers, but the national divisions persisted in spite of all his efforts. During the reign of Lewis the Child certain duchies came into prominence; these were to some degree the continuation of the old duchies, but also partly new creations. Bavaria had always preserved its own identity and had been recognized as a kingdom under one of the sons of Lewis the German; at the beginning of the tenth century a new dynasty was established there. The boundaries of the duchy were the Alps, Bohemia, and the rivers Lech and Enns. To the westward of Bavaria extended the duchy of Alamannia or Swabia, which stretched along both banks of the Rhine from the Alps to Strassburg or beyond; here also in the early years of the tenth century a new duchy was established. North of Swabia was Franconia, which included the banks of the Main and of the lower Neckar; for the possession of this duchy there was a long and continuous contest waged during the early years of the tenth century. The strongest of all the duchies was Saxony, which included most of the northern part of Germany; for the Saxons, although conquered by Charles the Great, had never lost their sense of nationality. Lorraine, or Lotharingia, was sometimes a part of the German kingdom and sometimes was connected with the West Frankish kingdom. When it was sub-

The Duchies

ject to the German ruler it formed a fifth duchy of coördinate rank with the other four. Each of these duchies was practically a petty kingdom, and its ruler had within his territory almost all the powers of a king, with his own court, officials, and army; national assemblies continued to be called by him. This last point and the general feeling of common nationality were the great sources of the power of the dukes.

These duchies were subdivided, just as the empire of Charles had been, into counties, and the counts exercised a delegated jurisdiction. The most important were the counts of the border lands, the margraves or *markgrafen*. Thus Bavaria had charge of two marches, that of the east which later was to become Austria, and the march of Carinthia. The Slavs formed the greatest danger and in order to protect Germany from the invasions of the Czechs the march of Bohemia had been established. In similar manner in the north to protect the country from the Sorbs, who were Slavs, the marches of Thuringia, Sorabia, Misnia, and Lusatia. The Saxon march protected against incursions from other Slavs and out of it grew *Nordmark, Altmark, Mittelmark, Neumark,* which later formed the elements of Brandenburg; against the Danes the march of Dania, known also as the march of Schleswig. Finally in the south there was the march of Rhætia. At times the rulers of the more important of these marches had almost as great power as the dukes. For their defense able administrators were selected who not only held the country intrusted to them, but frequently extended its limits.

The Marches

The duchies had been established or had grown strong during the lifetime of the child Lewis. At his death in 911 Conrad, the duke of Franconia, was elected king, but had no authority over any part of Germany except his own duchy. The dukes of Saxony and Swabia had consented to his election but did not feel bound to defer in any way to his wishes, and most of his reign was spent in warfare against the ruler of Saxony. When he died, in 918, according to the Saxon chronicler Widukind, he magnanimously considered that the insignia of the royal office should be sent to his life-long antagonist, and that Franconia should give its aid in the election to Saxony.

Conrad of Franconia, 911–918

Whether this actually took place as stated is uncertain; but at all events the Saxon duke was elected king of Germany and the Saxon house held the throne from 919 to 1024. Henry I, later sometimes called the Fowler, was the first of these Saxon kings, and under him the power of the monarchy was greatly developed. He had owed his election only to Franconia and Saxony; co-

Henry, the Fowler 919–936

CHAP. XIV

sequently it was necessary for him to force the other dukes to recognize his authority. This was a matter which was soon decided, because Henry placed himself at the head of his forces and reduced first Alamannia and then Bavaria to submission. The ruler in Lorraine also became his vassal. The real test of Henry's ability was, however, the way in which he met the danger of invasion and the problem of his unruly and semi-independent vassals. The Hungarians were the greatest difficulty, as they were constantly making incursions far into German territory. Their attacks were always unexpected and consequently difficult to meet; they did not attempt to hold the country but sought only plunder. Henry felt the impossibiliy of a decisive conflict without sufficient preparation, and accordingly, in 924, concluded a peace of nine years with the Hungarians. These years were utilized in the preparation of a strong army, so that when the peace came to an end he was ready. In two great battles the Hungarians were defeated and Germany was freed from their attacks during the remainder of Henry's life-time. In the other portion of his task Henry was not equally successful, and at his death Germany did not constitute a centralized monarchy, but merely a kind of confederation in which the dukes ruled their duchies and the king's authority was limited to his own duchy and to such other matters as the other dukes were willing to intrust to him.

Otto the Great, 936–973

Henry was succeeded by his son Otto, usually called the Great because under him the Saxon house reached its greatest period of glory. His long reign of thirty-seven years enabled him to carry out the tasks for which his father had paved the way. Fortunately for Otto, Henry had not followed the old German custom of division of the kingdom, but instead had followed the principle of the ducal houses of transmitting the power to one son. Otto had two brothers, one older and one younger; the older, although illegitimate, had expected the heirship because of his seniority; the younger, who had been born after his father had become king, claimed the succession because he was of royal blood, while Otto, who had been born before his father's accession to the throne, he held to be of inferior birth. The widow of the emperor favored the youngest son; the dukes in the other duchies were not inclined to recognize Otto's authority any more than they could possibly help. Both of his brothers attempted revolts and the first five years of his reign were occupied in putting down rebellions and in consolidating his power. But, while the open strife was ended by 941, Otto was not satisfied until he had completely crushed the dynasties of dukes, who were

always a source of danger and weakness. After his brother Henry had been subdued and had proved himself faithful, he received the duchy of Bavaria. One of his daughters Otto married to Conrad the Red, whom he put at the head of Lorraine; another daughter was married to the man whom he placed at the head of Franconia. One of his sons was married to the heiress of Swabia and inherited through her the duchy. Saxony Otto administered by his own faithful officials. Thus all Germany was under the rule of members of Otto's family and this same policy was influential in his foreign relations; the two most powerful men in France, the king and his rival, Hugh the Great, were his brothers-in-law. Later, in order to secure a claim on Italy and the Empire, Otto himself married Queen Adelaide of Italy. Still later, in order to make an alliance with Constantinople, he sought a Grecian princess as a bride for his oldest son. This policy of control by family alliances was very effective in Otto's case, but was hardly adapted to the permanent maintenance of a strong monarchy. In fact, only a strong personality could have accomplished what Otto did. The descriptions of him which his contemporaries have left all show that his appearance and character were equally forceful; he was tall and strong and of royal bearing.

Hungarians and Slavs

The invasions had been renewed as soon as the death of Henry had become known to the Hungarians, who were flushed with the successes which they had won in a triumphant pillaging expedition into France and Italy. In fact, they had gotten plunder from as far as Aquitaine in the former country and Naples in the latter. The war against them was taken up with great spirit by Otto and after minor engagements they were finally routed at the river Lech, in 955. After this there was no great Hungarian invasion; but the Slavs to the northeast and east were a constant source of danger. The representatives of Otto attempted to check their advance, by slaughtering them when conquered and by planting in their territory German colonies. During his reign Otto won a number of victories against these Slavs and annexed a considerable portion of their territory, but he did not succeed in crushing them, as he had crushed the Hungarians.

When Henry the Fowler was crowned it is said that he rejected the anointing by the church, although the archbishop of Mainz had been anxious to participate in the coronation. Henry said, "Enough for me that I am raised so far above my forefathers as to be called and designated as king, through the grace of God and your devotion: let the unction and the diadem be reserved for better men than I am. I do not think myself worthy of

CHAP. XIV

Coronation of Otto

so great an honor." Otto took an entirely different position at the time of his coronation. The ceremony took place in the cathedral at Aachen. The archbishop of Mainz met him as he entered the church and hailed him as "the man chosen by God, formerly designated by our lord Henry, and now made king by all the princes." After the people had declared their adhesion to Otto, the archbishop gave to him in turn the various insignia of royalty. First the sword, saying, "Receive this sword and with it drive out all the enemies of Christ, heathens and evil Christians alike, by the divine authority granted to you by the power over the whole kingdom of the Franks, to the lasting peace of all Christians." Then, as he placed upon Otto the royal mantle, he said, "The border of this mantle, trailing upon the earth, is to remind you that however fiery your zeal for the faith may be, you are to endure until the end in preserving peace." Lastly with the scepter and the staff he charged the ruler, "Let these be to you a warning that you use a fatherly discipline towards all who are subject to you; and above all reach out the hand of pity to the ministers of God, to all widows and orphans, and may the oil of mercy never be wanting to your head, that you may be crowned with an eternal crown both in this life and the life to come." After he had received the various insignia, Otto participated in the service of the mass.[1]

Otto and the Clergy

This procedure at the coronation was significant of the position which Otto intended to maintain. He intended to use the clergy in order to check the growing power of the feudal nobles; but as the members of the clergy held fiefs or benefices, like the other nobles, they were required to perform all the feudal duties. On the other hand they were especially honored by the king and most of the administrative offices were given to bishops or abbots. In order to maintain his control over the church Otto used the same policy as he had done with regard to the duchies; his brother was made archbishop of Cologne and chancellor of the kingdom; and one of his sons was made archbishop of Mainz. In this way, while he strengthened the church, Otto intended that it should serve him.

The position which Otto had won for himself in Germany made him the natural object of appeal from Adelaide of Italy. She was the nineteen-year-old widow of one of the two rival kings in Italy and her husband's rival was now determined to marry her. From the prison into which he had thrown her to break her spirit she appealed to Otto for aid. The latter made a triumphant expedition into Italy, rescued and married the queen, in 951,

[1] See Emerton: Mediaeval Europe, p. 111. From Widukind.

but was unable to carry out his purpose of visiting Rome as he was recalled by rebellions in Germany. Ten years later he made a second expedition to Italy because he had been asked for aid by the discontented in Rome. The pope was an entirely unworthy man and had alienated most of the inhabitants of the city. No one had received the imperial title since the death of Berengar, in 924; now it seemed best to many that the office should be restored and Otto was the logical candidate. He was quite willing, and in 961 he went to Rome, and was recognized as emperor on February 2, 962; with him Adelaide was crowned as empress. After the coronation the Roman constitution of Otto and the so-called donation were drawn up and signed.[2] In these documents Otto renewed the grants of Pippin and Charlemagne, but at the same time stipulated that popes in the future should be canonically elected, and the pope-elect should not be consecrated until he had taken an oath "in the presence of our legates, or of our son, or of the general council."

Otto Becomes Emperor

The pope had joined in the summons of Otto because he had felt the need of protection. Soon after Otto left the city the pope again began to lead the dissolute life which had previously alienated his subjects. When Otto learned this, he returned to Rome and summoned a synod to try the pope. The latter was absent and made no defense against the charges of murder, perjury, robbery, and other grave crimes. As he had refused to return to Rome even under a safe conduct from Otto and denied the competence of the court, he was finally deposed in his absence. He seems to have taken the matter rather quietly, but when he received the message telling him of the action, he replid that if the members of the council attempted to elect any one else pope, he would excommunicate them. When the council sent a second messenger to him, the latter could not find him, as he had gone hunting. Under these circumstances another pope was elected in his place. From this time on, for about forty years, the choice of the pope was determined by the emperors, although the latter were careful to observe all the formalities.

Emperor and Pope

The empire of which Otto had been crowned emperor was thought to be, of course, the continuation of the old Roman Empire. Otto was regarded as the successor of Augustus and Trajan and Constantine and Charles the Great. But in reality the empire was something quite different from any that had existed before. The name by which it was later known, "the Roman Empire of the German Nation," was very fitting, because it was

"Roman Empire of the German Nation"

[2] This is now generally believed to be genuine, although it has been the subject of long controversies.

CHAP. XIV

really the union of the Roman imperial position with the kingship of Germany. Some of the lands included in it had lain outside of the Roman Empire. In comparison with the empire of Charles the Great it was much less extensive, including only Germany and about two-thirds of Italy. If to these there should be added the kingdoms which were more or less in subjection to Otto, the territorial extent would be greatly increased; but there would be little real addition to his power. In his ideals as emperor Otto also differed greatly from Charles; he did not think of himself as the representative of the divinity and as having a special duty to watch over the morals of his subjects. His empire was not as firmly organized as the Carolingian. It would have been impossible for him to employ *missi* and he did not attempt it; what could be done to weld the nation together by his own personality he accomplished, but that was all.

Results for Germany and Italy

The connection with Italy and Rome brought to the Germans a higher civilization than they had known before. It also brought about a political relation with the Italian peninsula which was destined to influence the course of history for many generations. It prevented either Germany or Italy from becoming a strong and united nation, as Germany exhausted her men and resources in the attempt to maintain the imperial power in Italy, and Italy was unable to develop a nationality of its own, because of its subjection to the foreign emperor.

Otto II, 973–983

The latter years of Otto the Great were busy ones, but contained few incidents which had a lasting influence upon the civilization of Europe. When Otto II succeeded, in 973, he devoted his attention mainly to Italy. He was a son of Adelaide, the Italian queen. He had received as good an education as could be obtained in Germany, and this was vastly better under Otto the Great than it ever had been before; for under his rule learning was made much of at the royal court. Consequently Otto II, when he became king at eighteen years of age, was filled with visions of the glory of Rome and with a desire to carry out the conquest of southern Italy which his father had begun; but in 982 he was disastrously defeated and escaped capture only by a lucky chance. He died the following year, twenty-eight years of age, and left a son who was only three years old.

Otto III, 983–1002

Fortunately Otto the Great had done his work so thoroughly that his grandson was recognized as the heir to the throne without serious opposition. This Otto was grandson of the Italian queen and son of a Greek princess, the daughter of the emperor Romanus. He had inherited all of the Byzantine ideas of the imperial power. Both the grandmother and the mother were

CHAP. XIV

learned and pious women, and they did all in their power to train the young boy for his task. His mother took it for granted that he was to be emperor and that she herself was the empress. As *Imperatrix Augusta* she controlled Italy until her son became of age in 996, that is, when he was sixteen years old. At that time he was as well educated as the best teachers had been able to make him; he knew Greek, Latin, and German; he praised himself for his Greek subtlety, in comparison with the German barbarism He had had as his tutor Gerbert, the most learned man of the age,[3] and soon became known as the " wonder of the world," because of his wide learning and great ambitions. His ideal was to have his capital at Rome, but he did not neglect the struggle against the Slav invaders, and he paid considerable attention to German administration. Yet his main interests centered in Rome, although he was usually ill when in Italy. His great ideal was his predecessor Charlemagne, and in the year 1000 he is said to have solemnly opened the tomb of the latter and to have looked with emotion upon the figure of the great emperor; from the finger of Charles he is said to have taken a ring which he always wore until his death.

Otto III and the Papacy

Almost as soon as he began to rule in person he had his cousin Bruno elevated to the papacy and the latter took the title of Gregory V. The election of Bruno marks a change in the history of the papacy. For two hundred and fifty years there had been only two popes who were not born in Rome or the immediate vicinity, but from this time on, although the Roman Church generally supplied most of the candidates, a pope might be chosen from any part of the Christian world. The change emphasized the universal character of the papacy and did much to restrict the power of the nobles in Rome. Gregory V immediately crowned Otto emperor, and the latter proceeded to put down the Roman noble Crescentius, who had been ruling the city for over ten years. He was taken and hanged and the rebellion ended. After the death of Gregory V, Otto selected Gerbert, his old tutor, who had previously been archbishop of Reims and archbishop of Ravenna. The latter took the name of Sylvester II, and seems to have hoped that Otto III would follow the example of Constantine and renew the latter's gift to a second Sylvester. Otto, however, had no intention of resigning control over the city, and a contest between the emperor and pope was averted only by their close friendship.

Otto proudly bore the titles of *Italicus, Saxonicus, Romanus, servus Apostolorum,* and *servus J. Christi.* And in reality he

[3] See Chapter XVI.

CHAP. XIV

gave almost his whole attention to Rome and his administration elsewhere suffered greatly. Invasions by the Danes and the Slavs again began to trouble Germany; the Hungarians refused tribute; France became independent of all German control; Italy was troubled by the pretensions of a rival claimant. When Otto died, in 1002, Germany was greatly weakened; and when Sylvester died, the following year, the papacy lost much of the strength which it had gained from the association of the German emperors and the Roman Church.

Death of Otto and of Gerbert

CHAPTER XV

THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

Elective or Hereditary Monarchy

UNDER the Ottos the German kingship had become practically hereditary; even the child Otto III had been recognized, without any real opposition, as the heir to the throne. But when he died without leaving offspring, there were three claimants and an election was necessary. Henry, duke of Bavaria, was the successful candidate and ruled until 1024. After his death, as there was no direct heir, there was again an election, which resulted in the choice of Conrad of Franconia. The throne was occupied by him and his descendants for over a hundred years and the old elective principle was apparently abandoned. But Conrad had been obliged to recognize it and had persuaded the leading noblemen to consent to his son's coronation when the latter was only ten years of age. After his son, his grandson and great-grandson secured the crown by hereditary right. This was due in part to the general tendency to regard all fiefs as hereditary.

Henry II, 1002–1024, and the Ecclesiastical Nobles

For feudalism was firmly established in Germany. The dukes, margraves, and archbishops were very powerful as almost independent rulers in their lands and as overlords of many vassals. The archbishops were also influential because of their position as officials of the church. Henry owed his election mainly to the support of the church. Throughout his reign his policy was to favor the church officials, give them immunities, and to use them as a counterpoise to the dukes and margraves. For this reason he was cordially supported by the church and later became known as Henry the Saint.[1] But he kept a firm control over the bishops and by their aid, and especially through the agency of the Cluniac monks, Henry was able to repress much of the feudal warfare and to restrain the nobles.

Policy of Conrad II, 1024–1039

Conrad II also owed his election to the support of the church, but he followed a very different policy from Henry. The latter, while using the bishops and abbots as a check upon the great lay nobles, had made the churchmen so powerful that they were now almost as much of a menace to the king's authority as the dukes and margraves were. Consequently Conrad decided to

[1] The reason usually assigned for the bestowal of the title "saint" is not borne out by the facts.

CHAP. XV

use the lesser nobility as a support against the great suzerains both lay and ecclesiastical. He favored the former and succeeded in establishing the hereditary character of the fiefs which these lesser nobles held. He was able to do this the more easily because the heredity of the greater fiefs had already become customary in Germany. He favored the creation of exempt abbeys, thus weakening the power of the bishops, although the latter were of his own choice and largely under his control. He also made the towns more of a factor in his kingdom by granting to them market and minting privileges. He fostered internal peace and a strict administration of justice which redounded especially to the advantage of the non-noble classes. Through the support of the petty nobles he was able to lessen the power of the dukes; he also persuaded the Bavarians, in 1027, and the Swabians, in 1038, to accept his son Henry as their duke. He began to build up a group of ministerials from men of the lower nobility who should be hereditary servants of the crown and should constitute the official class. Having such men in his employ enabled the king to dispense, to a great extent, with the services of the leading churchmen in his administration.

From the very first Conrad's policy caused discontent among the great nobles and a widespread rebellion followed. This was closely connected with, and in part caused by, the Burgundian succession. The kings of Burgundy had been unable to check the development of feudalism in their dominions and had gradually seen the power escaping from their hands. Rudolf III, the last of the Burgundian kings, had no children and was hard pressed by his rebellious vassals and also by the possibility of his land being absorbed by France. He had turned to Henry II for aid and had promised him the succession in Burgundy. Conrad contended that he, as king of Germany, had inherited the claim, but Rudolf denied any obligation. There were three other claimants, including Duke Ernest of Swabia. Rudolf was eventually compelled to accept Conrad as his heir, and after his death, in 1033, Burgundy was annexed to Germany.

Acquisition of Burgundy

The rebellion in Germany had been put down very quickly and all participants except Duke Ernest had returned to their allegiance. He submitted and was pardoned, but never became entirely loyal. Finally he again entered into open revolt; but Conrad's power had become so firmly established that Ernest got no assistance from the other nobles. Almost all of his own vassals, except Werner of Kyburg, sided with the king, and he ended his days as a highway robber, residing in the least accessible positions of the Black Forest, where he was slain in 1030.

Duke Ernest

Later generations looked back to him as the champion of the nobility against the monarchy, and he and his friend Werner became well-known characters in medieval literature.

Henry III, 1039–1056

When Henry III became king he was apparently in a stronger position than any of his predecessors. He had already been crowned king in both Germany and Burgundy; he was duke of Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia; Carinthia soon passed under his immediate lordship. On the west Lorraine formed a part of the German kingdom. On the east Poland and Bohemia were vassal states, and Germany was so strong that a revolt was soon put down. The king of Hungary was also forced to acknowledge Henry as his overlord. In the north, where conquest and Christianity went hand in hand, as in the days of Charles Martel and Charles the Great, Germany had been strengthened and its boundaries extended. In Italy alone the power of the German king was not as great as it had been. Henry II had been crowned king of Italy in 1004 and emperor in 1014, but he had possessed only a nominal authority in the peninsula. Conrad had crushed a rebellion in Lombardy and had strengthened his power by a law establishing the heredity of the fiefs of the lesser nobles, as he had done in Germany. But he had not succeeded in defeating Aribert, archbishop of Milan, who had defied his authority and had begun a second rebellion.

The Papacy, 1003–1046

The condition of the papacy was destined again to bring about a close association between the German kings and Italy. After the death of Otto III, the family of Crescentius had regained power in Rome for a time. In opposition to them the counts of Tusculum, descended from Marozia and Theodora, obtained control over both the city and the elections to the papacy. The first of this family to hold the papacy was Benedict VIII (1012–1024), an able and honest reformer who was strongly influenced by the Cluniac ideals. Next his brother, who had been count of Tusculum, secured the election and became pope as John XIX (1024–1033). After his death a third brother was the ruler in Rome, but, instead of taking the papacy himself, preferred to confer it upon his son, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, who became pope as Benedict IX. Not only was he unfit for the papacy because of his extreme youth, but, as he grew older, he became noted for his vicious conduct. A later pope, Victor III (1086–1087), wrote of him as a robber and a murderer, but shuddered to confess in full to what extremes his vices had gone. In the winter of 1044–1045, the people of Rome, furious at his excesses, drove him from the city and elected a new pope, Sylvester III. Benedict IX was soon restored by his partizans but, as he was

CHAP. XV

in constant danger, he sold the papal office to a member of the reform party who took the name of Gregory VI. It is eloquent of the degradation of the papacy that a reformer should take this desperate step to rescue the office from Benedict, and that other reformers, including Peter Damiani and the leading Cluniacs, should openly rejoice that "the dove with the olive branch had returned to the ark." But Benedict soon attempted to regain his position and Sylvester still claimed to be the rightful pope. Each had his partizans and it is said that in 1046 all three rivals were living in Rome, one at the Lateran, a second at St. Peter's, and the third at St. Maria Maggiore; and each was styling himself pope.

Such a state of affairs was intolerable and Henry III was summoned to Italy to straighten out matters. This was partly due to the fact that Henry had abandoned the policy of his predecessors and associated himself closely with the clerical party interested in the reform of the church and its emancipation from lay control. He had been led to do this by his marriage with Agnes of Aquitaine, a descendant of the founder of Cluny, who influenced her husband greatly. By some historians the decline of the medieval German empire is traced directly to Henry's abandonment of the Ottonian policy of controlling and using the church, which Conrad had so clearly followed. Henry was apparently blind to any danger in his change and allowed a degree of freedom on the part of his clerical vassals that was extraordinary. The abbot of Dijon refused to take the oath of fidelity because "it was contrary to God's word and Benedict's command." The bishop of Liége claimed in the king's court that Henry could not bring a bishop before his court for an ecclesiastical question, because in such matters the bishop owed obedience to the pope alone; and the other bishops agreed in this point of view. Such pleas would not have been allowed by Conrad. This may have induced Henry to accept the summons to Italy by which he might expect to get control over the papacy.

Henry III and the Reform Party

In 1046 Henry crossed the Alps with an army made up largely from contingents furnished by his clerical vassals. In Pavia a synod was held in which the practice of simony [2] was condemned and Henry promised to refrain from it in the future. Thereby he deprived the crown of a considerable source of its income, as the bishops and other high officials had been expected to pay for their nominations. At Sutri a council was held in December to which all three claimants to the papacy had been summoned.

Deposition of the Three Popes

[2] Simony was the act of buying or selling sacred offices or prerogatives. It takes its name from Simon Magus. See Acts, Chap. 8.

CHAP. XV

Gregory and Sylvester obeyed and were deposed because they confessed themselves guilty of simony. Benedict was not present, and was deposed by a council held at Rome a little later. Henry, as king of Germany, had no canonical right to interfere in papal elections, and asked the Roman nobles to choose a pope. Instead they conferred on him the office of patrician of Rome, which gave to him the chief voice in the choice of the pope. He selected the bishop of Bamberg, who as Clement II was consecrated on Christmas day and immediately crowned Henry and Agnes as emperor and empress. Clement died in October of the following year and rumor asserted that he had been poisoned by Benedict IX. The latter forced his way into Rome and again assumed the papacy. He was driven out eight months later and a second German pope, selected by Henry, ruled for twenty-three days and then died suddenly. Henry next selected the bishop of Toul and the latter consented on the condition that his choice should be approved by the Roman clergy and people. When he reached Rome in 1049 he was favorably received and became Pope Leo IX.

The German Popes

He was determined to reform the church and especially to root out simony and clerical concubinage. For these purposes he held many councils, but he soon realized that more far-reaching methods were essential in order to strike at the root of the difficulty; the clergy must be freed from all lay domination and power must be concentrated in the hands of the pope if the church was to be reformed.

Policy of Leo IX, 1049–1054

In 1049 Leo was invited to be present at the consecration of the church of St. Remi at Reims. He accepted the invitation and announced that he would at the same time hold a council. This irritated the French king, as it was generally held that no pope could hold a council in France without first consulting the king, which Leo IX had neglected to do. Consequently in order to frustrate the pope the king ordered all of his vassals to attend a feudal levy at the very time that the council was to be held. This placed the bishops and abbots in France in a very difficult position: they were ordered by the pope to attend the council; they were ordered by the king to attend the levy. The king hoped that his action would prevent the holding of the council, but Leo IX went on with his preparations without paying any attention to the king's act. At the appointed time the council was held and in addition to churchmen from other lands about one-third of the bishops and abbots from the king's territory attended. Those who were absent with the king were excommunicated by the pope. Then the latter took up the cases of simony and other

Council at Reims, 1049

CHAP. XV

crimes which were reported. Several of those who were present at the council and held high offices in the church were accused of very serious offenses. Leo did not push any of them to an extreme, even when the guilt seemed definitely known, but adjourned all of the cases to his own court at Rome. He acted in the same way with regard to the accusations made against the great nobles. By this policy he hoped to have the authority of the papacy fully recognized. He was able to accomplish so much because of the weakness of the French monarchy. In other attempts at reform he was aided by Henry III of Germany with whom he worked apparently in complete concord. He died in 1054 without having an opportunity to see the full effect of his act which had done so much to strengthen the power of the papacy.

This concord between the Empire and the papacy was to be rudely disturbed by the death of Henry III in 1056. His son and heir was Henry IV, a boy of about six years. During his minority rebellions were frequent in Germany and the great nobles attempted to regain the power which had been lost under the strong kings. The boy was in the possession of one party and then another, who strove for the power. He grew up headstrong and passionate, because he was flattered and unrestrained by those about him. When Henry attained his majority he attempted to make himself absolute ruler and directed his attention especially to Saxony, whose duke he held in captivity. He resided more frequently at Goslar and the Harzburg, both in Saxony, than anywhere else. To defray the expenses of his court he demanded unusual contributions from his clerical vassals. He confiscated the property of rebellious nobles and demanded from the tenants, many of whom were free peasants, services which were not in accordance with Saxon customs. He built castles to defend his possessions and garrisoned them with vassals from Swabia who exacted contributions from the neighboring lands. These oppressive measures and unusual demands led to wide-spread revolt in Saxony. The leaders demanded the release of their duke, the evacuation of the king's castles and other reforms. The other nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, did not support Henry, whose tendency toward absolutism they feared, and he was obliged to free the Saxon duke and submit to humiliating agreement with the Saxons. Under these circumstances he turned to the pope for aid and wrote a very humble letter in which he fully confessed his own sins and sought aid from Gregory: "Alas! Sinful and in misery, partly owing to the impulse of youthful temptation, partly owing to the freedom of our unrestrained and mighty power, partly also owing to the

Youth of Henry IV

seductive deception of those whose plans, we, too easily led, have followed, we have sinned against heaven and in your sight and are no more worthy to be called your son. For not only have we seized ecclesiastical property, but also we have sold the churches themselves to unworthy men, although infected with the poison of simony and entering not by peace but otherwise, and we have not defended them as we ought. And now, because we alone without your aid are not able to reform the churches, concerning these as moreover concerning all our affairs we earnestly seek at the same time both your aid and your advice; being most desirous to obey your commands in everything."

Hildebrand, Gregory VII, 1073–1085

The pope to whom Henry appealed was Gregory VII, or Hildebrand. Hildebrand was of humble birth and had received his education in a monastery. He had followed into exile Gregory VI, in memory of whom he later took the name of Gregory. He had resided at the monastery of Cluny and had become impressed with the reform ideals. He had accompanied Leo IX to Rome and from that time had continued in the service of the papacy. By his ability and piety he won prominence and was universally recognized as worthy of honor. He was strongly ascetic in his nature; e.g., he had, he says, given up eating onions because he found he liked their taste. This little detail is characteristic of the man. He was the heart and soul of the movements in the church toward reform and asceticism. After being the power behind the throne for many years he was suddenly elevated by acclamation to the papacy in 1073. His tumultuous election was contrary to the canons and violated the new law which he himself had aided in forming in 1059, when the pope, Nicholas II, had published a decree concerning elections to the papacy. By this decree the cardinal bishops were to take the lead and to elect with the assistance of the cardinal priests. After that the Roman clergy and people were to approach and consent to the election, but the laity were to have practically no voice; even the emperor or king was to have only a shadowy right of participation. The pope was to be chosen from the Roman Church, if possible. This decree was accepted by the German advisers to the king; but later an imperial forgery was promulgated by which a much larger place was given to the king. In spite of the nature of his election Gregory was recognized by Henry, who needed his aid.

Reforms: Sacerdotal Celibacy

In his attempts at reform Gregory had alienated a large part of the clergy, especially in southern Germany. At that time most of the priests were married, although such marriages were not in accordance with the canons. Still the custom was widespread and met with little, if any, opposition from the parishioners.

CHAP. XV

Gregory felt that a married priest could not give his whole service to the church as a man would who had no family ties. Moreover, to his ascetic spirit, the marriage of a priest seemed entirely wrong as well as contrary to the canon law. Consequently he ordered all the priests to give up their wives and children, and, when he found the priests unwilling to comply, he ordered that their parishioners should not recognize them as priests and should pay them no tithes.

Lay Investiture

In 1075, realizing his opportunity because of the weakness of Henry, Gregory took another step toward the reformation of the church and declared that there should be no lay investiture. The wording of the decree has not been preserved, but a later decree on the same subject reads: "Inasmuch as we have learned that, contrary to the establishments of the holy fathers, investiture with churches is, in many places, performed by lay persons; and that from this cause many disturbances arise in the church by which the Christian religion is trodden under foot: We decree that no one of the clergy shall receive investiture with a bishopric or abbey or church from the hand of the emperor or king or of any lay person, male or female. But if he shall presume to do so he shall clearly know that such investiture is bereft of apostolic authority, and that he himself should lie under excommunication until fitting satisfaction shall have been rendered."

Duties of the Clerical Officials

The church officials at that time held a twofold position: they were in the service both of the church and of the state. To the kings they owed feudal services for their lands; and it would have been impossible for the king to maintain his position if practically one-third of his kingdom which was held by the members of the church should have been taken away from his control. On the other hand it was essential that the members of the clergy should be freed from all lay control and be brought wholly under the authority of the church, if there was to be effective reform under the centralized power of the pope. The twofold duties made the contest almost inevitable and gave to each party in the coming struggle a position which from its own standpoint was unassailable.

Gregory's Letter to Henry, 1075

Gregory sent the decree concerning lay investiture and a letter to Henry. The ambassadors came to the court of the king just as he was celebrating a great triumph which he had won over the Saxons. For the first time the young monarch felt himself really supreme in Germany and he had gathered a brilliant assemblage to keep the Christmas festival with him. Under these circumstances the decree could not meet with his approval or assent

and his displeasure was greatly increased by the letter of the pope and the verbal message which the messengers brought. The letter began: "Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction: — that is if he be obedient to the apostolic chair as beseems a Christian king. Considering and carefully weighing with what strict judgment we shall have to render account for the ministry intrusted to us by St. Peter, chief of the apostles, it is with hesitation that we have sent unto thee the apostolic benediction."[3] The pope continued by pointing out to Henry his sins and the fact that he was wholly under the authority of St. Peter and St. Peter's successor, the pope. The pope told the king that he must not be puffed up by his recent victory over the Saxons and must bear in mind what happened to Saul after the victory which, by the prophet's order, he enjoyed; and how he was chidden by God when he boasted of his victory, not carrying out the commands of the same prophet; but what favor followed David for the merit of humility amid the distinction of valor.

Henry was intensely angry. While his letter of 1073, which has already been quoted in part, began, "To the most watchful and best beloved Lord Pope Gregory endowed from heaven with the apostolic dignity, Henry by the grace of God king of the Romans renders most faithfully due submission," the king's answer in January, 1076, began, "Henry, king not through usurpation but through the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, at present not pope but false monk." Continuing, the king asserted that Gregory had tried to set himself up wrongfully over the whole church and was attempting to assert an illegal authority over the German king. "For himself the true pope, Peter, also exclaims: 'Fear God, honor the king.' But thou dost not fear God, dost not honor in me his appointed one. Wherefore St. Paul, since he has not spared an angel of heaven if he shall have preached otherwise, has not excepted thee also who dost teach otherwise upon earth. For he says: 'If any one, either I or an angel of heaven, should preach a gospel other than that which has been preached to you, he shall be damned.' Thou, therefore, damned by this curse and by the judgment of all our bishops and by our own, descend and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another ascend the throne of St. Peter, who shall not practise violence under the cloak of religion, but

Henry Attempts to Depose Gregory

[3] This and some other passages are from translations in Henderson's Historical Documents of the Middle Ages. Some slight changes have been made in the translations.

CHAP. XV

shall teach the sound doctrine of St. Peter. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, do say unto thee, together with all our bishops: Down, down, to be damned throughout the ages."

At the same time the king forced the bishops who were present, some of whom were already under the papal ban, to write a letter which was addressed "to brother Hildebrand," in which they recounted various crimes with which they charged Gregory, and asserted that they would no longer recognize him as pope. The letters of Henry and of the bishops were carried to the pope and presented at a synod. The bold speech of the bearer exasperated all who were present and Gregory in person had to protect him in order to save his life. Immediately the pope proceeded to excommunicate Henry and to release his subjects from all obedience to him. As he said, "Confident of my integrity and authority, I now declare in the name of the omnipotent God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that Henry, son of the emperor Henry, is deprived of his kingdom in Germany and Italy; I do this by thy authority and in defense of the honor of thy church, because he has rebelled against it."

First Excommunication of Henry

At the same time the pope wrote a letter to the bishops and nobles of Germany setting forth his side of the case and seeking support. Because of the unpopularity of Henry and the hostility of Saxony, a formidable conspiracy was soon formed against the king. In order to counteract this Henry summoned a new national council, but very few of his subjects attended. Instead, the German princes held a meeting at Tribur, in October, 1076, and discussed what should be done, as they wanted to depose the king or at least to humble him. Henry was willing to agree to anything in his desperate position, provided he was not deprived of his kingdom. The assembly finally decided that Henry should live as a private citizen under guardianship at Spires, and unless he was freed by the pope from the ban of excommunication within one year he was to forfeit his throne. He was furthermore compelled to agree to submit to the pope. "In accordance with the advice of my subjects, I hereby promise to show henceforth fitting reverence and obedience to the apostolic office and to you, Pope Gregory. I further promise to make suitable reparation for any loss of honor which you or your office may have suffered through me. And since I have been accused of certain grave crimes, I will either clear myself by presenting proof of my innocence or by undergoing the ordeal or else I will do such penance as you may decide to be adequate for my fault."

Submission of Henry

While Henry was thus compelled to humble himself, he was busily planning how he might escape and regain his old position.

The pope had promised to take no action with regard to Henry until he met the German princes and they had decided together what should be done, but the pope, as a priest of God, was obliged to pardon any sinner who was sincerely repentant and promised to do suitable penance. Henry saw the weakness of the pope's position and took advantage of it. He escaped from the city of Spires and with a few faithful followers hastened to Italy. Gregory was already on his way to Germany, but when he heard of Henry's approach he retreated to the castle of Canossa, which belonged to one of his most faithful adherents, the countess Matilda of Tuscany. Thither Henry went in order to force a pardon from the pope. When he reached the village at the foot of the hill on which Canossa is situated, he found a number of his own bishops who had preceded him in order to obtain their forgiveness from the pope. After some delay Henry was successful and at the price of great personal humiliation won a diplomatic victory. The events were described by the pope in a letter which he wrote to the German princes, in order to excuse himself for having violated his oath to them: "Finally he came in person to Canossa, where we were staying, bringing with him only a small retinue and manifesting no hostile intentions. Once arrived, he presented himself at the gate of the castle barefoot and clad only in a wretched woolen garment, beseeching us with tears to grant him absolution and forgiveness. This he continued to do for three days, until all those about him were moved to compassion at his plight and interceded for him with tears and prayers. Indeed, they marveled at our hardness of heart, some even complaining that our action savored rather of heartless tyranny than of chastening severity. At length his persistent declarations of repentance and the supplications of all who were there with us overcame our reluctance, and we removed the excommunication from him and received him again into the bosom of the holy mother church."

Canossa

Although the pope insisted that the matter was not at all settled, yet Henry was a free man and his subjects were bound to obey him. He carefully prevented the pope from going to Germany and soon gained powerful support from the Lombards. Nevertheless his opponents in Germany met in 1077 and elected an anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia. But Rudolf found support only in Saxony, and his own subjects refused to obey him. A long and bloody struggle ensued during which Germany was devastated. Finally, in 1080, Gregory renewed the ban against Henry; but this time the excommunication had practically no effect; few of Henry's supporters left him. In fact, the tide had turned

Second Excommunication of Henry

CHAP. XV

strongly in the king's favor and most of the bishops and archbishops declared Gregory deposed and elected an anti-pope.

Continuance of the Struggle

The struggles which ensued, now that there were two rival kings and two rival popes, were exceedingly bloody. In all portions of Germany except Saxony, in northern Italy and in the city of Rome, the people were divided. In Germany Henry could count upon the support of the cities which he had especially favored and which were now very important; of the parish priests, except in Saxony, because of Gregory's attitude toward their marriage; and of many of the bishops. In opposition to the nobles who were against him he had put other men in their places so that each noble had to struggle against a rival claimant. In northern Italy, where bishops appointed by Henry were in power, the orthodox were on Henry's side and the numerous heretics against him. In the city of Rome the nobles aided Henry and the common people sided with the pope. Civil war, marked by the greatest atrocities, ravaged a large part of Germany. In 1080 a great and bloody battle was fought between Rudolf and Henry, in which the former lost his life, after having his right hand cut off in the fight. This was judged by many to be a decision from heaven in favor of Henry. A contemporary chronicler reports that Rudolf said as he was dying, holding up his mutilated arm, "Look, this is the hand with which I swore fealty to my king."

Free from his rival at home, Henry determined to drive Gregory out of Rome and to install his own pope. In 1081 he went to Italy to besiege Rome, but instead of taking it easily, as he had expected, he found that many months must be spent under its walls before he was able to conduct his anti-pope into the church of St. Peter's. The Roman nobles promised to secure him the imperial crown, either from Gregory VII, or, if the latter refused, from another pope who should be substituted in the place of Gregory. But Gregory refused absolutely and Henry was compelled to enter the city again at the head of an armed force; and on Easter Day, 1084, he and his queen were crowned by the anti-pope. Gregory VII was compelled by the hatred of the Roman nobles to withdraw from the city. The following year he died at Salerno and it is reported that his last words were, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

Last Years of Gregory

Last Years of Henry

Neither the coronation of Henry nor the death of Gregory made any real difference in the condition of affairs. Henry IV could not gain the support of Saxony; the duke of Bavaria was won over to the papal side by marriage with the countess Matilda

CHAP. XV

of Tuscany, who was over forty years old, while the bridegroom was seventeen; but the latter counted confidently upon receiving all Tuscany with his bride. Henry's wife and his oldest son turned against him in 1093. Until 1097 Henry's followers were in a desperate state, but were somewhat relieved when Welf of Bavaria repudiated the countess Matilda because he found that she had already bequeathed Tuscany to the papacy before their marriage. After the death of Conrad, the king's oldest son, Henry, the second son, who had been made king by his father, deserted him and once more civil war prevailed throughout Germany. Finally Henry IV was compelled to abdicate and died soon after, in 1106. His corpse was transferred from one temporary tomb to another, as he had died excommunicate, until after five years Henry V celebrated a temporary victory over the pope by solemnly burying the father whom he had hounded to death.

As soon as Henry IV died Henry V took practically the same position in regard to lay investiture that his father had done, and the strife was postponed only because the German king was occupied by wars against the Poles and the Bohemians. In 1110 the pope renewed the threat of excommunication against all who interfered with canonical elections, and the following year Henry crossed the Alps in order to extort his own terms from the pope. The latter at this time had very few supporters; the Normans, who had been the chief reliance in the past, were now busy in the Orient. Consequently, Pope Paschal proposed that the church should give up all its feudal possession in Germany which had been acquired since the time of Charles the Great, so that the bishops and priests should no longer be vassals; in return the king and lay lords were to give up the right of investiture. Under these conditions the pope agreed to crown Henry V as emperor. On the coronation day the pope's charter abandoning the church's possessions was first read in St. Peter's. Tumult broke out at once among the churchmen and the church was filled with riotous nobles and clergy. Henry, who had anticipated this, seized the pope and the cardinals and held them prisoners until the pope yielded and granted him the right of investiture. Henry received the imperial crown and was fully triumphant. It was then that he returned to Germany and buried his father.

Henry V, 1106–1125, and Paschal II, 1099–1118

Almost immediately the clergy began to besiege Paschal with letters and entreaties that he should repudiate his agreement, and finally this was accomplished in 1112 and Henry was excommunicated. Rebellion again broke out in Germany and events dragged on, with the election of an anti-pope, until finally in 1122 after

CHAP. XV

Concordat of Worms, 1122

long negotiation the concordat of Worms was agreed upon. By this contract the emperor gave up the right of investing members of the clergy with the ecclesiastical insignia, the ring and the staff. The church was free to elect its own officials, but in Germany all elections were to be held in the presence of the emperor or his representative and in case of disputed elections he was given some control in the decision. This meant practically that Henry had the determination of who should be the church officials in Germany. In Italy and Burgundy the members of the clergy were to hold elections and the emperor was to bestow the feudal insignia upon whomsoever they might choose. There has been much dispute concerning the question which won most by this compromise; each had won something, the pope rather more than the emperor; but the question was by no means settled. The conflict over investiture gave place to other phases of the conflict between the emperor and the papacy, mainly because it was realized that the question was practically insoluble as long as the officials of the church were also vassals of the king.

Some Results of the Struggle

The long struggle, together with the contemporary events, had had many important results. The elections to the papacy were no longer dictated by the German monarchs, and there was a division between the two powers which led to further strife. The lay nobles in Germany had attained a more important position, and from this time on played a rôle which weakened the powers of both the monarch and the church. The cities, especially in the Rhineland, had received many privileges which made them more independent of the bishops and brought them into direct relations to the king; this meant a gradual rise of a third estate into power. Possibly most important of all was the intellectual ferment caused by the contest. Each party had attempted to justify its position by arguments drawn from history, from the secular and canon laws, from scripture, and from custom. Many pamphlets had been written on both sides, appealing to public opinion. This was the beginning of political pamphleteering in the Middle Ages. All of this caused an eager study of history and law by many. The conflict of ideas led to a weakening of the tendency to follow blindly any authority, which had been so characteristic of the medieval man. There was some lessening of the respect for the ban of excommunication, which seemed to many to have been used wholly as a political weapon, and there were also more people aroused to the danger to the church from its worldly possessions.

CHAPTER XVI

FRANCE, 887–1108

BY the treaty of Verdun in 843 Charles the Bald received all of the West Frankish kingdom, extending from the North Sea to the river Ebro in the southwest and to the Mediterranean Sea in the southeast. On the west it was bounded by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south it had some protection from the Pyrenees; but on the east there was no such natural boundary. Not only was there a constant temptation to make conquests from the territory of Lotharingia, from which there were also attacks, but there were invasions from the south by the Saracens, and raids all along the western coast by the Northmen. To add to the difficulties of the ruler, there was no unity in the kingdom. Brittany and Aquitaine became vassal kingdoms, and thus over half of Charles' territories were taken away from his direct control. Even in what was left he had comparatively little power because of the rapid development of feudalism. Charles tried in vain to check his rebellious vassals by sending out *missi* and requiring all freemen to take an oath of fidelity to him as king. His capitularies show that he had the same exalted ideas of his power as Charles the Great. But the circumstances rendered most of his capitularies null and void and compelled him constantly to treat with his own vassals and make concessions to them. At times it was the invasion, or danger of invasion, by his brother, Lewis the German, with whom his vassals were plotting; at other times it was the incursions of the Northmen who were a constant menace and with whom occasionally the disaffected nobles united. In spite of their disloyalty and lack of obedience, Charles was unable to punish his counts or to deprive them of their offices, which they regarded as theirs by hereditary right.[1]

Kingdom of Charles the Bald, 843–881

When Charles was preparing for his expedition to Italy in 877, he summoned his nobles to Kiersy and asked from them guarantees of their own loyalty and also against usurpations by his son, whom he was leaving as regent. The nobles acted with great outward respect, but refused to give their advice upon every vital point which the king raised. Finally the king was compelled to

[1] See Chapter XI.

CHAP. XVI

act without the advice of his own vassals and promulgated the famous "capitulary of Kiersy," which he intended as a check upon his son's power. By it he allowed his son to make only temporary appointments of successors to any counts who might die during his absence, reserving the regular appointment for himself. But he recognized clearly the hereditary right of a son to succeed his father as count and, moreover, ordered that all the bishops, abbots, counts, and other tenants in chief should observe the same rule with regard to their vassals.[2]

Capitulary of Kiersy

Carolingians and Robertians

No king for centuries would be able to regain what Charles had lost, either in the territory actually under his control or in the power which he was able to exercise. Little, of course, could be done by Lewis "the Stammerer," the son of Charles, who ruled only two years, or by his sons, Lewis and Carloman, who divided the kingdom between them, but had to purchase the consent of their vassals by concessions of privileges. Then ensued the disastrous reign of Charles the Fat. After his abdication the nobles set aside the hereditary claims of Charles, the posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, who was only about nine years old, and chose Eudes, count of Paris, son and heir of Robert the Strong. He had been the hero in the defense of Paris in 886, and now "in beauty, size, physical strength and wisdom outshone all others."

Eudes, 888–898

With Eudes king and his brother Robert holding the counties of Paris, Anjou, Touraine, and Blois, there seemed little place left for Charles the Simple. But there were still enemies of the Robertians and partizans of the Carolingians, and among them were the archbishop of Reims, the duke of Aquitaine, the count of Flanders and other important noblemen, both lay and ecclesiastical. When Eudes, although successful at first, proved unable to defend the kingdom against the Northmen, a rebellion broke out. The archbishop of Reims crowned Charles in 893 while Eudes was absent on an expedition in Aquitaine. Both parties looked to Germany for aid. Arnulf, who succeeded Charles the Fat in Germany, had recognized Eudes at the time of his election, but in 894 was won over to aid Charles. A civil war lasted until 897, when Eudes gave a portion of the kingdom to his rival and probably promised him the succession.

Charles the Simple, 898–923

At all events, when he died, January 1, 898, Charles was unanimously chosen king. Robert, the brother of Eudes, who had

[2] Before this matter was understood, it was assumed that Charles by this decree introduced the right of hereditary succession in fiefs; instead of initiating the custom, the capitulary expressly recognizes that it was already established.

received, in addition to the lands enumerated above, the great abbey of St. Martin of Tours and other benefices, was the most powerful man in France, but he made no objection to the election of Charles. The strife between the Carolingians and the Robertians seemed at an end, but was to continue after a brief intermission to be the chief feature in the history of France until 987.

Their temporary concord probably was due to the dangers from the Northmen, who plundered impartially the lands of the king and of the great duke, burning the latter's abbey of St. Martin in 903. Seven years later Rollo laid siege to Chartres. Robert and others rushed to its aid; with the bishop, bearing the sacred relic, the Virgin's chemise, they attacked and routed the heathen. Charles seized the occasion to make a treaty with the invaders, at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, by which the Northmen agreed to become Christians and received part of the land which later became known as Normandy. They were also allowed to ravage Brittany without hindrance from the king. This treaty freed the rest of the kingdom from the raids of the Northmen and also proved of real advantage to the land ceded to them. They had long before been in practical possession of the country around Rouen and between that city and the coast, and had sacked and harried it. Now they protected it and founded monasteries in their zeal for their new religion. The neighbors long referred to the ruler as "the duke of the pirates," but the land flourished under his stern and just rule. Towns sprang up or were rebuilt, and later songs told of the ideal conditions of peace and honesty which prevailed throughout the land. Undoubtedly the songs exaggerated the blessings of the Norman rule; but probably property was more secure in this land of the pirates than anywhere else in the French possessions. In addition to becoming enthusiastic, if sometimes peculiar, Christians, the Northmen also became Frenchmen, and in the later Middle Ages they were the main agents in the spread of the French language and civilization. Although this grant of Normandy had been caused by the difficulties in which the king was involved, it was the greatest accomplishment of Charles, whom his contemporaries characterized as the "Stupid," or the "Simple."

Cession of Normandy 911

This name, however, seems unjust to him in many respects, and he was possibly the ablest king of France during the period between 878 and 987. At all events, he made the only great addition to French territory which was secured during this period. Lorraine, which seemed destined to be a bone of contention between Germany and France, had always been strongly devoted to the Carolingians and still retained memories of Charlemagne,

CHAP. XVI

Charles, King of Lorraine

whose favorite residences had been within its boundaries. When the German nobles elected Conrad, the duke of Franconia, as king, those in Lorraine preferred Charles and proclaimed him their king. This was in the same year as the successful treaty with Rollo. Freed from the "fury of the Northmen," Charles was able to take possession of his new kingdom, where he preferred to live, rather than in France. He was able to defend Lorraine against Conrad, and the latter's successor was obliged to recognize Charles as its king. But probably his preference for the new kingdom led to his downfall in the old; the French noblemen were alienated by his partiality for Lorraine, and especially for a low-born favorite from that land who was given great power and many monasteries. They revolted in 922 and chose Robert king.

The decisive battle was fought the following year near Soissons. Robert perished in the fight, but victory was snatched from the grasp of Charles by fresh bands under the leadership of Hugh, Robert's son. The latter, however, instead of seeking the kingship for himself, supported his brother-in-law, Rudolf of Burgundy, who was elected by the rebellious faction. Charles might still have overcome the rebel barons, but he was betrayed by one whom he trusted and was held prisoner until his death eight years later. His wife, the daughter of the king of England, fled with her two-year-old son, Louis, across the sea to seek refuge at her father's court. Rudolf was thus freed from his rivals but was not master of the kingdom. Lorraine was definitely lost, the Normans were opposed to him, and it was only after the death of Charles that Rudolf won a victory which removed the Norman peril; not until after the death of Rollo did his successor, William Longsword, do homage to King Rudolf. The Hungarians ravaged portions of France more than once in the first ten years of the reign. The nobles in the south refused to acknowledge Rudolf until after his victory over the Normans. Some of his own partizans deserted him. In fact, while the second half of his reign was less unfortunate than the first, Rudolf was never free from anxieties and enmities. In spite of some successes, the net result of his reign was a diminution of the royal domain and the increase of the power of the duke of Normandy, his strongest vassal.

Rudolf, 923–936

The Last Carolingians

After Rudolf's death three Carolingians were kings, but they owed their office less to their own strength and following than to the prudence of the head of the Robertian house. The latter was Hugh, called the Great, son of Robert and brother-in-law of Rudolf, and also uncle of Louis d'Outre-Mer, whom he sum-

CHAP. XVI

Louis IV, d'Outre-Mer, 936–954

moned from his refuge in England to be king of France. The latter was both able and proud. He chafed at the power and guardianship of Hugh, and the two soon became enemies and continued so as long as they lived. The king, without great territorial possessions, was the less powerful of the two, especially because Hugh was allied with Otto the Great of Germany, who invaded France in 940. Five years later Louis was captured and held prisoner by Hugh for a year. Then he owed his release mainly to the fact that he had gained the support of Otto the Great, whose sister he had married. How little power he really had may be judged from the humiliating scene in 948 when he was reduced to pleading his cause before an assembly of bishops, mainly from Germany and presided over by Otto the Great. He told them that he had only one city, Laon, and that this had been taken away from him by the trickery of Hugh the Great. "It was the only city in which I could shut myself up, the only one in which I could take shelter with my wife and children; what was to be done? I preferred life to the possession of the city; I yielded it and gained my freedom. Now shorn of my property, I beg the counsel of all. If the duke dares to deny what I say, I defy him to single combat." Moved by this appeal, Otto and the bishops compelled Hugh to give back the city and to do homage to his king.

Lothair, 954–986

Louis owed such power as he possessed to the support given him by Otto and the church. When he died in 954, his son Lothair was elected without opposition, as Hugh did not covet the kingship. The newly elected king was only thirteen, and Hugh was the all-powerful regent until his death in 956. Then Lothair fell under the dominion of Otto and his churchmen, especially Otto's brother, Bruno, the archbishop of Cologne, who gave the chief benefice in France, the archbishopric of Reims, to a bishop of Lorraine. As long as Otto the Great lived, Lothair was very submissive; he had to be. When Otto II succeeded, Lothair attempted to be independent and even to conquer Lorraine. He did get possession of Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, but had to retire in three days, as he was without provisions. In turn Otto invaded France and pitched his camp at Montmartre, which is now a part of Paris. In turn he was compelled to retreat. Lothair was now anxious for peace, and the two kings made an alliance, Otto promising support against Hugh Capet, the son of Hugh the Great and the hereditary enemy of the Carolingians. When Otto died in 983 and was succeeded by an infant of three years, Lothair supported the rebels in Germany with some success. This aroused the partizans of the Ottos in France, es-

CHAP. XVI

pecially the archbishop of Reims and his schoolmaster, Gerbert, who began to plot to substitute Hugh Capet as king. In the midst of their intrigues, Lothair died, in 986, and left as his heir a youth of nineteen who had already been consecrated as his associate in 979, but who ruled as king for only a little over a year after his father died.

Loss of the Royal Income

The last Carolingians were weak because they had parted with practically all of the royal domain. Income and army, the two main requisites for a strong kingship, depended almost wholly upon the possession of a great fief and the kings had none. In fact, when we study the conditions, we are surprised at the strength, not the weakness, of these kings. For their officials and vassals had been granted or had usurped the royal prerogatives and rights in their fiefs. The income of the early Carolingians had been derived mainly from their estates or what would now be called crown lands; these had been lost to the crown, partly by grants to buy or reward support of the king; partly by usurpation by the king's servants. Gifts from the nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, tribute from the free men, plunder from successful warfare, had all contributed to the revenues of Charles the Great; but his weaker descendants could not exact gifts or tribute and seldom won booty. Two-thirds of the fines levied in the courts of justice had belonged to the king, but the tenants in chief had received immunities or usurped the right of administering justice and kept all the fees. Tolls for the use of bridges or roads and various custom duties had formerly been levied by the kings; all of these had passed to the vassals and many new ones had been exacted. Even the right of minting money, a considerable source of revenue in the Middle Ages, was now shared by the king with many of his vassals. Bishops had frequently been granted the privilege of coining money and the counts and dukes had usurped the right, so that before the close of the tenth century there was a bewildering variety of coins in use in France, and a large proportion of these did not bear the effigy or name of the king.

No Royal Army

He was unable to prevent the usurpations of his royal power, because he had no effective army. For greater ease in administration Charlemagne had made each count responsible for the levying and equipment of troops in his county, and thereby the royal government had ceased to have direct relations with the great body of the fighting class. With the decline of the royal power the counts had become the real commanders of the troops from their counties and led them to

the king's army or not, just as they thought best for their own interests. If they did obey the royal summons, the custom was becoming more and more fixed that they owed the military service for only forty days; in such a period of time little could be accomplished. This was especially true because of the changes in warfare due to the rapid increase in the number of castles. Almost every feudal lord had one or more castles to which he retreated for protection when threatened by danger. If the king wished to reduce a rebellious vassal to submission, he was almost always obliged to capture the castle in which the vassal had taken refuge. There were relatively few battles, but many long sieges. Because of the lack of effective siege-machinery a castle had to be taken by surprise or else reduced by starvation; for the latter a period of forty days was rarely long enough. And when the king had captured a castle and burned it, as was the usual custom, it was very easy for the rebellious vassal to build another, for wood was the almost universal material used in building both the castles and the surrounding walls. Consequently even when the king was successful, there were few lasting advantages gained, as the king had no regular army with which he could follow up a victory. In the period of the last Carolingian kings, feudalism had apparently won a definite triumph over the monarchy, which seemed to be restricted to a feudal suzerainty.

France was saved from being permanently parceled out among a large number of feudal lords, constantly at strife with one another, by the activities and service of the Capetian rulers during several centuries. But no one could have imagined that any such result would follow the transfer of the crown to Hugh Capet, in 987. He was a great feudal lord, holding the duchy of France; his brother was the duke of Burgundy; the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine had married his sisters. He was shrewd, energetic, prudent, able. He had gradually attached to his own cause all the leading members of the clergy. When Lothair died, Hugh had been able to win the support of his widow, so that when Louis died, the Capetian was in a very strong position. On the other hand, the only representative of the Carolingian house, the duke of Lorraine, was in open strife with the widow of Lothair, and being a vassal of Otto, was not looked upon with favor by many of the French nobles. An electoral assembly met at Senlis. The archbishop of Reims took the lead in the discussion, saying, "We are not ignorant that Charles has some partizans who pretend that he ought to have the throne by right of birth. We reply that the throne is

CHAP. XVI

not acquired by hereditary right; no one ought to be raised to it who is not distinguished both by noble birth and wisdom." Thus the archbishop of Reims insisted upon the elective character of the French monarchy. The new house whose founder he was championing would later have to struggle against this theory of election. But at this time it profited Hugh Capet, who was unanimously elected as "king of the Aquitanians, of the Bretons, of the Danes, of the Goths, of the Spaniards and Gascons, and of the Gauls." Of course, in the above enumeration the Danes referred to lived in Normandy, and the Spaniards, Goths, and Gascons in the south of what is now France.

Election of Hugh, 987

The First Four Capetians. Hugh, 987–996. Robert, 996–1031

The first kings accomplished comparatively little. Hugh occupied the throne for only nine years and was successful in maintaining himself against the Carolingian claimant. He is a somewhat enigmatic personality; he seems to have been unable or unwilling to act energetically, and to have preferred cunning to valor, but, after he became king, his character appears in a more favorable light. No satisfactory description has been preserved of his personal appearance or habits. Of his son, Robert II, on the contrary, full descriptions are extant, which represent him as a man of attractive appearance, excellent manners, good education, and remarkable piety. He had been a pupil of Gerbert and had imbibed from him a love of books, a good knowledge of music, and an interest in theological studies. His biographers enlarge upon his charity, humility, purity, and piety, and describe miracles wrought in his honor. At the same time he was well trained in military science and showed himself an able commander when he was willing to undertake an expedition; e. g. he conquered the county of Burgundy after more than ten years of fighting. In spite of his piety he fell under the papal censure, because of an "incestuous" marriage. His first wife had been Rosala, or Susanne, of Flanders, who had been married before he was born, but now as the widow of the count of Flanders brought him an attractive dowry. This politic marriage lasted only a year; then Robert repudiated the bride and kept the dowry, Montreuil-sur-Mer. A few years later Robert, then twenty-three years of age, fell violently in love with Bertha, the wife of Eudes, count of Chartres, Tours, and Blois. She was about seven years older than Robert and was the mother of five children, but she aroused such a passion in the heart of the devout prince that he disregarded the wishes of his parents and braved the anathema of the church in order to possess her. Her husband died opportunely and complaisant bishops celebrated the marriage, in spite of the impediments

which made such a union "incestuous" in the eyes of the pope. For Robert had been the godfather of one of Bertha's children and thus held a spiritual relationship to her which was incompatible with marriage; and, in addition, Bertha and Robert had the same great-grandfather and consequently, according to canon law, were related in the third degree. But Robert kept Bertha, and even when, after years of strife, he had yielded and married another wife, he still remained attached to Bertha and she had great influence. But she had given the king no heir and consequently her successor's son, Henry, ruled after Robert. No contemporary described Henry's appearance or character; some chroniclers stated that he was a "valiant and active warrior," but this commonplace throws no light upon his personality. His relations with the papacy and with Normandy will be discussed later; in spite of his long reign and constant wars, there is nothing else important enough to record here, unless it is his marriage with Anne, daughter of the grand-duke Jaroslav, which marked the first alliance between France and Russia and caused Henry's son and successor to bear the Byzantine or Greek name of Philip. The latter, who ruled for almost half a century, has the sorriest reputation of these early Capetians. But this is due mainly to his troubles with the church, which will be recounted later, as will his relations with Normandy and his territorial acquisitions. Aside from these topics there is little to be said of his reign; his character might be defended, in part, against the harsh criticism of the clerks who wrote the history, —if it were worth while. These first four rulers of the new house were important mainly in laying a foundation for the future greatness of their line, and even in this respect they achieved comparatively little.

Henry, 1031–1060
Philip, 1060–1108

They were weak both in feudal possessions and royal authority. When Hugh the Great died in 956 Hugh Capet had inherited from him the counties of Paris, Orleans, Senlis, and Dreux, and in addition was the lay abbot of St. Martin's at Tours and of St. Germain des Prés, on the bank of the Seine in what is now a part of Paris. From these extensive holdings he granted many fiefs in order to gain adherents against the Carolingians, and he was compelled to allow his more important vassals to become practically independent, for fear lest they might transfer their allegiance to the king. Consequently, when he himself became king, he held only a comparatively small amount of land under his own immediate control and this land was scattered in what are now ten or a dozen departments of modern France. The Capetian was no longer one of the

Weakness of the Early Capetians

CHAP. XVI

greatest landholders in the kingdom, and several of those who had elected him had greater resources. He had succeeded Carolingians who had suffered the power to pass into the hands of the feudal lords and church dignitaries, a process in which Hugh himself had been active. How was he to mend the work and to build up his authority in opposition to both feudalism and the church? As king he inherited very little power. He was not able to make laws which were even nominally binding, for local customs had superseded national laws. Even for his own fiefs he could not make any ordinance without the consent of his vassals. These conditions controlled the activity of all the early Capetians. Henry seems to have had the least actual power of any of them, and in his reign his feudal vassals were practically independent. Philip began deliberately to strengthen his position by adding to the royal domain which had been "reduced to almost nothing by the carelessness of his predecessors." No opportunity was lost and his acquisitions were numerous and widely scattered. This policy was to be followed with great effect by his successors. But Philip's own weakness is well illustrated by the value he set upon his acquisition of Montlhéry, a castle only a few miles from Paris, which he finally captured toward the end of his reign. "Guard this tower carefully," he said to his heir, "it has made me old before my time; the wickedness and perfidy of those who held it have never left me a moment of rest." Thus this "glorious king" had trembled before the power of a robber baron. Theoretically the monarch still had the same prestige as the early Carolingians, and almost everywhere in France charters were still dated by the year of his reign. As a matter of fact his authority was restricted by the power of his great vassals and by the church.

The Great Fiefs

In studying a map of France for any date in the eleventh century the great number of independent fiefs is the striking feature; but if a map for another date is taken, the change in the numbers and extent of the fiefs is the most noticeable fact; for there was no stability and a map can be accurate, if at all, only for a given moment in that century. But certain great fiefs stand out and were constant factors, although with frequent changes in boundaries and power. First were the duchies: Normandy, which will be discussed in the following paragraph; Burgundy, which was usually in the possession of one of the Capetians, either the brother of the king or the king himself; Aquitaine, the largest of all the fiefs; Brittany, which in its isolation seems scarcely a part of the kingdom and long remained a sad, desolate, rude land, its inhabitants preserving their old customs, costumes, and character-

istics. Then there were the great counties: Flanders, with its advantageous position for commerce; Blois and Champagne, which made it difficult for the king to add to his domain on the south or east, as Flanders and Normandy did on the north and west; Anjou, which was so strong through its rich lands in the valley of the Loire; Toulouse and Barcelona, in the far south, with idioms, customs, and civilization far different from those in the north. In the south too was the duchy of Gascony, not really a part of the kingdom until its annexation in the middle of the eleventh century swelled the power of Aquitaine. Within the confines of the royal domain, or the duchies, or the counties, were a third great class of feudatories: the bishops who were also counts. The episcopal city was frequently under the authority of the bishop, and the kings found it expedient to favor him as a possible check to the power of the lay count. Sometimes kings went farther and gave a whole county to a bishop in whose election they had a voice and sometimes a determining part. Thus the Carolingians had given to the archbishop the county of Reims and to the bishop the county of Langres. The Capetians were equally liberal, or politic, and granted counties to the bishops of Laon, Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon. These bishop-counts later became the six ecclesiastical peers of France. In addition, other bishops, e. g. of Paris, and many abbots were given lands and feudal power, partly from piety, partly from custom, but also at times as a deliberate policy in order to build up a rival to the local feudatory.

Relations with Normandy

The most important vassal was the duke of Normandy. His land had prospered in the tenth century and he had become more and more valuable as an ally of the French king and more and more dangerous as a potential enemy. For he controlled the lower course of the Seine and thus could prevent any commerce by this river. But the Norman dukes long remained faithful vassals of the Capetians. Richard the Fearless, the son and successor of William Longsword, had married Emma, the daughter of Hugh the Great. Richard II, surnamed the Good, helped King Robert in his conquest of Burgundy. His grandson, Robert the Devil, sided with Henry I in his war against his mother and brother at the beginning of his reign and contributed in no small degree to the king's success. When he started on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, from which he never returned, Robert asked Henry to recognize his bastard, William, the son of the tanner's daughter of Falaise. At the time of his father's death, in 1035, William was about eight years old, and until he reached his majority he was protected by the king against rebels among

CHAP. XVI

his own vassals. A decisive battle at Val-es-Dunes, near Caen, was fought in 1047 and won for William by the assistance and personal prowess of the king. But William's ability, ambition, and constantly increasing power soon led to a change in the king's attitude, and from this time on the Capetians usually did all in their power to weaken the dukes of Normandy. They encouraged rebellious vassals in Normandy, aided the dukes' sons in revolts, and occasionally fought battles themselves. Henry was twice defeated by William and each time had to make an unfavorable peace. William's power was increased by his marriage with Matilda, daughter of the count of Flanders, and by successful wars, especially by the conquest of England. The last took place during the minority of Philip, when Baldwin of Flanders, William's father-in-law, was regent of the kingdom, and the latter did nothing to hinder this undertaking which was fraught with so much potential danger to the French monarchy. When Philip took the government into his own hands, he did all that he could to embarrass the successive dukes, but with little success, except on one occasion when he received a considerable bribe from William the Conqueror on condition that he should no longer assist the latter's son, Robert Curthose, in his rebellion. The struggle with the powerful dukes, who were usually also kings of England, was a legacy which would determine many lines of Capetian policy for the next hundred years.

Moreover, while the kings remained at home, comparatively powerless, the great nobles were adding to their power by conquest abroad. In Spain, for example, the Normans, Aquitanians, and others won glory and booty in fighting against the Mussulmans. In Italy and Sicily the Normans acquired in about sixty years (1016–1078) a great extent of territory which was to become in the following century the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

The Two Sicilies

In 1016 some Normans returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land stopped at Salerno, where they were begged by the people to assist them against the Saracens, who were attacking them. The Normans soon won the victory and were urged to remain. The rich gifts and offers of the Salernitans did not tempt the pilgrims, who said that they had fought only "for the love of God"; but the news which they carried home led many adventurers to seek their fortunes in southern Italy. There the diversity among the inhabitants, Greeks, Italians, Lombards, and Saracens, made it easy for the Normans to secure a foothold. Soon little bands were holding strong positions from which they plundered indiscriminately both infidel and Christian. The latter made reprisals and killed many of the Normans, but more flocked to the scene

of booty. The most famous of the leaders were the three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, William Bras-de-fer, Roger and Robert Guiscard. The last made himself very formidable. He was "a blond Hercules, a model of manly beauty, with eyes flashing fire." At first from his rocky eyrie he plundered the passers by, thus getting weapons and supplies. Then he made raids, driving off flocks and herds, and holding prisoners for ransom. By these means and by the accession of other adventurers, he became strong enough to capture castles and cities, to conquer Campania, Apulia, and Calabria. Pope Leo IX became alarmed and put himself at the head of an army of Italians and Germans to crush the adventurer. But at Civitate, in 1053, he was completely defeated and fell into the hands of the Normans. The latter professed sorrow and begged him to lay upon them a penance "equal to the sin they had committed" in warring against him. Thus began the association between the papacy and the Normans of southern Italy. In 1059 the pope Nicholas II recognized Robert as duke of the lands which he had conquered or might conquer, the latter became the pope's vassal and promised him support. Sicily was soon conquered from the Saracens; on the main land the important cities of Amalfi (1073) and Naples (1078) were acquired. The attack on the Byzantine Empire by Robert Guiscard will be described in a later chapter.

What chance had the Capetians against such vassals? Hugh, the first of the line, was only a feudal lord who had received the title of king without any material accession of power to enable him to support his regal estate. But he and his successors used their position as kings to make their feudal overlordships more effective; and at the same time their suzerainty, to make the royalty more powerful. They seem to have had a dim conception of the double rôle they filled and the possibilities it contained. The policy of the Capetian house for the next three hundred years might be summed up as the realization of the union of the anointed kingship and the feudal overlordship. The support of the clergy was absolutely essential and they were usually able to secure it, even at times when they were in opposition to the papacy. The monarchy was elective, but each king had his own son crowned during his own life-time when he was able to dictate the election. By great good fortune each king had a son to succeed him, for a period of over three centuries. Moreover there were only two minorities and in most cases each monarch ruled for a long term of years. From 987 to 1314 there were only eleven kings, so that the average length of the reigns was almost thirty years. They avoided as far as possible placing

Policy of Early Capetians

CHAP. XVI

authority in the hands of powerful nobles and chose as their agents men of humble birth who would be obedient to them. The officials were generally selected from the members of the clergy who, because of the vow of celibacy, could not found families which might become a source of danger.

Early Relations with the Church

Hugh, as already noted, was lay abbot of great monastic foundations. He was always generous to the church, and in his coronation oath had promised to maintain the canonical privileges of the clergy and to defend them as far as was in his power. But he got into trouble with the papacy by degrading the archbishop of Reims, who had been in rebellion against him, and substituting Gerbert. The pope refused to recognize his right to depose an archbishop; Hugh kept the archbishop a prisoner and forbade his bishops to go to Rome or to papal councils and most of his bishops supported him. Robert was a pupil of Gerbert, loved theological studies, and was noted for his charity, purity, and piety, but he chose his own bishops and, if necessary, used force to seat his candidate, when the canonical electors were recalcitrant. The pope allowed him to do this. When he made his uncanonical marriage with Bertha, he attempted to win the pope's consent by giving up Gerbert, releasing the former archbishop and restoring to him his see. But the pope excommunicated him; and he had to make his submission, at least in form. Later he showed his piety by burning heretics at Orleans. Both Hugh and Robert, in spite of their high-handed procedure, were favorable to the reform of the clergy.

Reforms: Institutions of Peace

Cluny was engaged in a valiant attempt to reform the lives of the monks and the conditions in the monasteries. Both Hugh and Robert aided in this. The clergy also wanted to place some checks upon the constant feudal wars which were devastating the land, and in particular injuring the property of the church; after various attempts they inaugurated the Peace of God, which was received enthusiastically by the masses. An idea of its purport may be gathered from some of the provisions of the oath which Robert was asked to swear in 1023: viz., that he would not attack members of the clergy who did not carry weapons; that he would not carry off ox, cow or any other beast of burden; that he would not seize a peasant man or woman or merchants, or take away their property; that in war he would not destroy or burn houses or vineyards. Every one who took the oath was expected to become a member of the league to enforce the peace, and to aid the clergy, merchants, and peasants against oppressors. To supplement this protection accorded to certain classes, the church added the Truce of God, which should prevent all fighting

at certain times. This was first instituted in 1027 for the bishopric of Elne,[3] where all fighting was interdicted from the ninth hour on Saturday till the first hour on Monday. The idea spread in the south of France and in 1041, from a council held at Nice, several bishops and the abbot of Cluny wrote to the clergy of Italy, asking them to adopt the Truce from Wednesday evening till Monday morning. "Thursday was sacred because of the ascension of Christ, Friday because of the passion, Saturday because of the adoration at the tomb, Sunday because of the resurrection." Soon whole sections of the year were added: Advent until the Octave of Epiphany, from Septuagesima Sunday till the Octave of Easter, the week of Pentecost, the fasts of the four seasons, all the festivals of the Virgin, of St. John the Baptist, St. Martin, and others. The French king favored these institutions of peace, but they had very little success, as the new ideals were contrary to the whole tenor of feudal life, and there was no power strong enough to enforce the decrees of either the Peace of God or the Truce of God.

Celibacy; Against Simony and Lay Investiture

The kings were no less favorable to the attempts of the church to reform its own members, by enforcing celibacy for all secular as well as for the regular clergy. But this met with a determined resistance from many of the canons and priests and some of the bishops who had wives and children. Their opposition was reinforced when the church attempted also to check simony and thus interfered with the income of the kings and great nobles. The decree against lay investiture added to the strength of the opposition, but there was no great struggle in France such as there was in Germany. King Henry's unsuccessful opposition to the holding of a council at Reims has already been noted. Philip's later opposition to the pope was of little more avail, although he was supported by many of the bishops. In particular, after his marriage with Bertrada of Montfort, he was weakened by his excommunication and by the general knowledge that it was deserved. But he practised simony openly and unblushingly. On one occasion an unsuccessful candidate for a bishopric reproached Philip for having sold the office to his rival. Philip advised him to have his rival degraded for simony and then perhaps he might get the office. But finally after much turmoil in many parts of France, when Paschal II became pope, Philip showed himself ready to compromise and be reconciled with the pope. He did penance and outwardly gave signs of submission and the pope appeared satisfied. The king no longer gave the investiture with the ring and the staff, and

[3] On the Mediterranean, close to Spain.

CHAP. XVI

no longer received feudal homage from the bishops. But he still had the faithful support of the bishops in his dominion, who still took the oath of fidelity, and he was on excellent terms with the pope.

The real interest of the history of France in the eleventh century is not to be found in the policies of the kings, but in the activities of the various classes of the population. Something has been said about the expeditions of the nobles outside of France. Those who remained in the country were very frequently to be found on the highway: going to the court of their suzerain to render homage, obeying the summons to war, or attempting to avenge some injury or to increase their fortunes by attacking their neighbors. Private warfare was general, and caused great suffering to the peasants. The members of the clergy were also compelled to travel: the bishop to the churches in his diocese, the priests to receive instructions from their bishops, members of all ranks to attend the frequent councils. Some were obliged to go to Rome to prosecute appeals or answer for their conduct to the papal curia, many went to some one or other of the schools in France to improve their education The merchants were constantly traveling, both within the country and to other lands far and near. Medieval trade was conducted by men who went in person to the place where they could secure their wares, and then carried these from place to place until they had succeeded in disposing of them. The agricultural peasants felt the impetus to leave their homes when they were oppressed by the ravages which accompanied the private wars; then, in the hope of improving their condition or of escaping starvation, some fled to the growing towns. Others sought to better themselves by going to the *villes neuves,* or new cities, of which more will be said later. Men of all classes undertook pilgrimages to the shrine of some saint, to Rome, or even to the Holy Land. The mobility of the population was much greater than has been generally supposed and opportunity for advancement lay open to any one, even the son of a serf, provided he had ability.

Mobility of the Population

Gerbert

The career of Gerbert, although his was a very exceptional one, shows what was possible. He was born just before the middle of the tenth century, the son of a poor peasant. His natural ability came to the attention of the monks and secured his entrance to their school at Aurillac, where he soon distinguished himself. Some years later the duke of the Spanish March happened to come to Aurillac on a pilgrimage and was induced by the abbot to take Gerbert back with him to study. The latter spent about three years in Spain acquiring the mathematical

CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Early Kingdoms

NO contemporary accounts of the German conquest of Britain have been preserved. We are compelled to construct a narrative from the meager notes of Roman annalists and from the writings of men who lived from a hundred to four hundred years later. Naturally there has been much controversy, and very few definite statements can be made. Probably the invasions continued for a century or longer; the Angles settling on the east coast from the Firth of Forth as far south as the river Stour, and gradually extending their conquests half way across the island; the Saxons holding most of the land to the south of the Angles; the Jutes occupying modern Kent, the Isle of Wight, a little strip on the opposite coast, and, at the end of the sixth century, the extreme southeast. The natives still held the extreme southwest and all north of Bristol Channel — about half of the whole island. But there was no unity either among the invaders or the natives; there may have been a score of petty kingdoms, native and German, of which possibly a dozen were founded by the latter. Gradually some kingdoms became more definitely established, and the more important were known as Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex — the so-called heptarchy. But this name is misleading, as the number and extent of the kingdoms varied. Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex were the strongest, and each in turn became the most powerful.

Early Institutions

The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes probably either brought with them their wives and children, their flocks and herds, or sent back for them after conquering a foothold in the land. These tribes had been remote from Roman civilization, and were apparently still in the state of barbarism described by Tacitus in the *Germania*. There has been much controversy as to the extent to which they exterminated the native peoples. Undoubtedly the slaughter was great, and many Britons fled to the west, but many were held as slaves. Some Celtic words for household articles crept into the language of the conquerors, but in most respects the newcomers held to their own customs; they disliked to live in the cities or walled towns which they found, preferring the woods and the

CHAP. XVII

open country. Many of the old centers of population were destroyed or fell into ruins, and while a few may have survived, e. g. London, they were entirely insignificant. The Anglo-Saxons were not traders, but farmers, each living on his own; consequently they allowed roads to go unrepaired and the bridges to crumble away. They dwelt in small villages, cultivating the land and practising a few rude handicrafts. A freeman seems usually to have had a hide of land, i. e. approximately one hundred and twenty scattered acre strips, of which one-third to one-half was allowed to lie fallow each year. They raised horses, cattle, sheep, poultry, and, most important of all, hogs, which got their own living in the forests. Barley was the chief grain crop. They made butter, cheese, beer, and mead; but much of their food was obtained by hunting or fishing. Their political institutions, too, were similar to those described by Tacitus. A freeman was a warrior and felt very independent; the king had obtained somewhat more authority during the wars of conquest, and was surrounded by his chosen followers, who were gradually evolving into an aristocratic class; bondsmen or slaves were probably more numerous than in the days before the migration. The invaders were still pagans and the kings boasted of their descent from Odin, the god of war. They had some poems and songs which were put into written form soon after they came into contact with the Roman writing in Britain; the most noted of these is the story of Beowulf, the slayer of dragons.

The capital event of the seventh century in English history was the conversion of the barbarians to Christianity, partly by the efforts of St. Augustine and his associates, partly by monks from Ireland. This and the decision to follow the Roman customs rather than the Irish have already been described. Soon after the decision had been made, Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek monk, was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury by the pope, and to him was due the unification of the English Church under the leadership of Rome. He had found some of the sees vacant because of the ravages of the plague, and these he filled with men of his own choice. Four years after his arrival at Canterbury he held "the first council properly so called of the English Church," and ordered that councils should be held annually. He gradually increased the number of bishoprics from seven to fifteen, all under the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. These bishoprics were usually located in villages or monasteries; in this way Theodore hoped that the bishops might be kept untainted by the world. He was conscious of the need of a better educated clergy and in the school of Canterbury provided for teaching in Greek, scrip-

Organization of the Church

tural subjects, and Gregorian music, as well as the ordinary branches of the trivium and quadrivium. He was very zealous in his efforts to raise the standard of morality among both clergy and laity. Although he was comparatively an old man when he first landed in England, for over twenty years he worked steadily and vigorously until death ended his labors in 690, when he was eighty-eight years of age. The national church which he organized is his most enduring monument.

The school at Canterbury was not the only one; in fact, there were many others — how many we do not know — at various monastic centers; for the Rule of Benedict, with its provisions for study, had been introduced into England by Wilfrith, sometime bishop of York, a contemporary of Theodore, and learning was being eagerly sought after. One of these schools, Jarrow, has been made famous by the residence there of the greatest scholar of the age, Bede. The events of his life may be recounted very briefly: when seven years old he was sent to school in the monastery at Wearmouth; at nineteen he became a deacon; at thirty, a priest; he spent his life at Wearmouth and Jarrow. "There is no evidence that he ever wandered from the banks of the Wear further than to York, which he visited shortly before his death," in 735. Bede would have resented such a summary of the "events" of his life; the events to him were the acquisition of some new knowledge, the receipt of a document which he could use in his history, the discovery of a promising student among those whom he was teaching. He said, "I have always taken delight in learning, teaching, and writing." His achievements in these three lines were remarkable: he mastered all the learning of his age; he taught six hundred monks besides many laymen; he wrote more than forty separate works, of which *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* is the best known. For this he sought information from every possible source, papal letters from the archives at Rome, records from Canterbury, "writings and traditions of our ancestors," accounts of contemporaries. As the result of his labors, it is the most important work on the early history of England. Among his contemporaries, Bede's many commentaries on the scriptures were highly esteemed. But "the father of English learning" was too much of a teacher to be content with writing only for the learned; he wrote lives of saints, a martyrology, a book of hymns; in his last days he translated the *Gospel of John* into the vernacular, so that all might understand it. He worked to the very end of his life, and one of his pupils has left a touching account of the sick man eager to complete his task, and, when it was ended, chanting

Bede

CHAP. XVII

Glory to God. He who was "first among English scholars, first among English theologians, first among English historians," has been called in modern times "the Venerable Bede."

English Missionaries

Inspired possibly by the example of the Irish, the English churchmen were very active in missionary work. Because of their similarity in race and customs, they were especially successful among the Germans on the continent. The work of Willibrord, Boniface, and others who had been trained in England has already been mentioned. Some of the archbishops of Canterbury were instrumental in correcting abuses in the Gallic Church and thus aided in raising it to a position that made it later a source of inspiration and reform for England. Alcuin[1] and the other scholars worked under the Carolingians and did much to spread the fame of English schools and learning. In the eighth century the English Church seemed destined to have a bright future.

Growth of Unity

In political matters, too, this period seemed to show marked advance. In place of the petty kingdoms with their constant internal strife, larger units emerged. In the seventh century, Northumbria was the most powerful kingdom and its rulers were recognized, to some extent, as holding sway over almost all of England as well as part of Scotland. It was in Northumbria that the great scholars and missionaries were trained, the literary works written, the libraries gathered. Northumbria also took the lead in commerce at this time. But toward the close of the century it met with disastrous defeats and the supremacy passed to Mercia, which retained it throughout almost the whole of the eighth century. It was especially fortunate in being under the rule of two able kings, Æthelbald and Offa, for fourscore years, from 716 to 796. The latter conquered the Welsh, driving them farther westward, and erected a defense along the new frontier, "Offa's Dyke," which became practically a permanent boundary between England and Wales. At the beginning of the ninth century Eggert, king of Wessex, who had lived for thirteen years at the court of Charlemagne, increased his power by conquests until, in 830, he forced all England to recognize his overlordship. But this seeming unity had been brought about by constant fighting which had greatly weakened all the English, and had not achieved a real union of the various peoples.

Consequently England was too weak to meet the strain when it was exposed to renewed invasions by the Danes. In 787 came "three ships of the Northmen from the land of robbers." "These were the first ships of the Danish men that sought the

[1] See Chapter X.

land of the English nation." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from which these quotations are taken, recounts, six years later, that "the harrowing inroads of heathen men made lamentable havoc in the church of God in Holy-island, by rapine and slaughter," but the following year it was able to record a victory over them, with the slaughter of some of their leaders and many of the boats' crews. There is no other certain mention of the Danes in the Chronicle until 832, when "heathen men overran the island of Sheppey," but after that entries are frequent. In 837 the Chronicle begins to speak of them as "the army"; alternate victories and defeats are recorded, but it is clear that the number of the invaders was steadily increasing and the attacks were more terrifying. In 851 "the heathen now for the first time remained over winter in the Isle of Thanet." "The same year came three hundred and fifty ships into the mouth of the Thames," but the men of Wessex "made the greatest slaughter of the heathen army that we have ever heard reported to this present day." In spite of this victory, that year may be taken as a turning point in the history of the invasions; from that time many of the Danes wintered on the coast and they no longer made sporadic forays in small bands. In 865 "the army" overran Kent; the next year they "fixed their winter-quarters in East Anglia and the inhabitants made peace with them." In 868 they wintered in Mercia; the following year, in York; in 870 they overran Mercia and destroyed all the monasteries. In 871 nine general battles were fought south of the Thames, nine earls and one king were slain and "the West Saxons made peace with the army." These meager notices from the Chronicle are eloquent of the ever present danger and of the weakness of the opposition. Fortunately, in 880 most of the army went oversea to ravage France. In the meantime many Danes had settled in the north and east and had gradually established there their customs and laws so that about half of England was in their possession and was known as the Danelaw.

When Alfred came to the throne the Danes were successful almost everywhere and met with no general resistance, as we have seen. Every one lost heart, "all but Alfred the King," as the Chronicle states. He succeeded his brother in Wessex in 871 and his first task was to rouse his subjects to resistance against the Danes. After many failures he defeated them in 878 in the battle of Ethandun; their king and many of his followers accepted baptism. The withdrawal of "the army" to plunder in France gave Alfred the opportunity to strengthen his kingdom of Wessex and, in particular, to build a fleet for better protection when

CHAP. XVII

the invaders should return. This they did in 893, and Alfred was able to beat them off. In the meantime, in 886, he had made the treaty of Wedmore with those resident in England by which the boundaries of the Danelaw were defined and all the south and west of England was under the authority of Wessex.

Alfred's Work

Alfred won his position by his successes in war, but he is best known for his achievements in peace. He was fond of learning and was intensely interested in education, possibly because, "through the carelessness of his upbringers, he abode even unto his twelfth year, unable so much as to say his letters." From his own words we get a vivid picture of the decline of education that had been caused by the Danish inroads. "So clean was learning fallen off among the English Folk, that few there were on this side Humber that could understand the Service in English, or even turn an errand-writing from Latin into English. And not many were there, I ween, beyond the Humber. So few they were that I cannot bethink me of so much as one south of Thames, when first I took the kingdom." He at once set to work to improve conditions. He gathered learned scholars from abroad to his court. "Never suffered he an unlettered man to hold any ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever." He fostered monasteries, which became centers of teaching. He translated several works into English; among these were Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, the *History of the World* by Orosius, and the *Consolations of Philosophy* by Boëthius. He gathered together, revised, and published the laws of his predecessors. The code begins with a free rendering of the Ten Commandments, and some of the laws from Exodus, followed by material from the New Testament. This is characteristic of Alfred, who was very religious and felt that the Biblical precepts were as important for his people as the laws enacted by his predecessors. A noteworthy fact in his code was the omission of any distinctions between the English and the Welsh which had been present in the earlier laws; he was trying to bring all under one set of laws. He was so great and so much beloved that later ages falsely ascribed many achievements to him; this would have grieved him if he could have foreseen it, for one of the titles he most thoroughly deserved was "Alfred the Truth-Lover."

The Making of England

His descendants during the next half century found their most difficult task in the continuation of Alfred's struggle against the Danes. They were successful because they were able to build upon the foundation which he had laid so firmly. For, partly as a result of the war against a common foe and partly through Alfred's legislative and other work, Englishmen were more united

than ever before, and there was less probability of their again being divided among a number of rival kingdoms. But the Danes still held all of the north and seized every favorable opportunity to make raids upon the south. Gradually the successive kings conquered the Danish lands; while victories like Brunanburh made a greater impression upon the contemporaries, the most successful policy was that of building fortifications within the enemy's territory, from which the surrounding country could be conquered. This policy was carried on especially by Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd, "the Lady of the Mercians," of whom we know very little; but that little has caused her to be called "the most remarkable woman of the whole Anglo-Saxon era." Her brother Edward and the latter's son Æthelstan reduced the Danelaw to submission more easily because it was divided between several rival rulers and did not receive aid from oversea. But parts revolted repeatedly until the reign of Edgar the Peaceful (959–975). At his coronation, which was delayed until 973, Edgar was recognized as the king of all England and six or eight kings from Wales and Scotland acknowledged him as their overlord. Much earlier than this the growing prestige of the English kings had been shown by the extent to which other monarchs sought to form marriage alliances with them. Three of Æthelstan's sisters married kings, Charles the Simple of France, Otto the Great of Germany, and Louis of Provence, while a fourth was the wife of Hugh the Great of France. Through these continental connections the English court became a place of refuge for royalty or nobility in distress. Of these refugees the best known was Louis d'Outre-Mer, whose reign in France has already been described.

Reform of the Church. Dunstan

The closer connection with France aided in a much needed reform of the church, which was in a large part the work of Dunstan, the commanding figure in the second half of the tenth century. He was educated at the monastery of Glastonbury and through his uncles, who were bishops, he became one of the group of boys at Æthelstan's court. His associates found the dreamy youth, devoted to study, little to their liking and, by an accusation of dabbling in magic, procured his banishment from the court. It is of interest to recall that Dunstan was a contemporary of Gerbert, whose devotion to study brought upon him the same suspicion. The former was not as learned a scholar, but was more given to dreams and visions; many were the presages of misfortune vouchsafed to him. He was also a skilled worker in metals, making organs and a chime of bells, as well as rings. He was especially skilled in harping and illuminating. Mature

CHAP. XVII

men and high-born ladies found in him a genial companion. He became abbot of Glastonbury at a very early age and after a banishment, which did him credit, he returned to become bishop of Worcester and of London, and finally primate of England, without resigning the other two sees. Instances of pluralities were only too common in England in this and the following century. As archbishop of Canterbury he was known as "the soul of the reign" and is supposed to have been the most potent factor in political matters. But he is best remembered for the church reform with which he is associated. At Glastonbury he surrounded himself with pupils, one of whom, Æthelwald, afterwards came to be known as "Father of the Monks." For then there was little real monasticism in England, and the property of the monasteries was mainly in the hands of canons who were married, or of lay sisters who had not taken perpetual vows. As the Benedictine discipline was almost unknown in England, monks were sent to Fleury in France to learn it, and by them it was reintroduced. New monasteries were founded and old establishments were taken away from the married canons. Dunstan seems to have been less severe in his reforms than his associates and probably the more successful on this account.

Anglo-Saxon Institutions

He was a West Saxon, but did not hesitate to appoint Danes to bishoprics and other high offices. In fact, in his day the two races had been assimilated to a great degree and Anglo-Saxon institutions prevailed throughout England. The Danelaw, like the rest of the kingdom, had been divided into shires under ealdormen, or earls, and shire-reeves, or sheriffs; shires and dioceses were co-extensive, and ealdormen and bishops, together with the sheriffs, presided over the shire-mots, or courts. But these met usually only twice a year; most of the business was done in the hundred-mot, because the hundred was the most important administrative division. Its origin is unknown and it is supposed to have been indefinitely old, but it is first mentioned by name in the tenth century. Even then, in what had been the Danelaw, the corresponding division was known as a wapentake. In its court, held every four weeks, most of the cases, whether civil, criminal, or ecclesiastical, were tried. Probably the court was composed mainly of landholders, both lay and ecclesiastical, or their representatives, and was presided over by the sheriff or one of his subordinates. In case of lack of evidence compurgation was the most usual method of proof; ordeals were slowly creeping into use. There was a possibility of appeal to the shire-mot if a freeman could not get justice, but most cases were settled in

the hundred court. The hundreds were usually made up of villages surrounded by the open fields, or arable lands, the forests or wastes.[2] Apart from the hundreds, but included in the shires, were the boroughs or towns, fortified places, occupied by a population mainly engaged in agriculture, but also by some merchants; the boroughs were the sites of the markets where trade was carried on, and had their own courts. These divisions have been described before speaking of the king and his council, because the local units and local courts were the ones which most closely affected the life of the people and the prosperity of the realm. For the king, although his powers had increased greatly, had little control over local matters, and was regarded mainly as the war-chief and keeper of the peace. With the advice and aid of his witan, or council of wise men, he issued laws which were sometimes obeyed, appointed bishops and other high officials, and levied taxes.

The first tax to be so levied was the Danegeld, in 991. For toward the end of the tenth century the Northmen again began to make inroads upon the south of England. These raids met with little effective opposition because the king, Ethelred the Ill-Counseled, was incompetent, the monastic reform had aroused bitter opposition and internal strife, and the northern lands, the old Danelaw, were disaffected. Ethelred and his witan thought that it was easier to buy off the invaders than to fight them; the Northmen willingly took the money and went away, only to return in the near future to levy more blackmail. No real resistance was attempted and civil strife continued even when the enemy was harrying the land. It would be of little advantage to follow the dreary tale, recounting successive inroads of the Danes and the ever increasing payments of Danegeld. Finally in 1013, King Sweyn of Denmark landed in the north and received its submission; there was a little resistance in the south, but he was soon recognized as king. Ethelred, who had married Emma, the sister of the duke of Normandy, fled to that country. When Sweyn died after a few months, Ethelred returned, but he had learned nothing from experience. The evil conditions continued and the nobles seem to have been more intent upon private feuds than common defense. In 1016 Canute, the son of Sweyn, returned to England and was well on his way to the conquest of the whole land when Ethelred died. His son, Edmund Ironsides, fought bravely, although frequently hindered by treachery, until

Conquest by the Danes

[2] The activities of village life in the later centuries are better known to us and will be described in Chapter XXVII.

CHAP. XVII

Canute proposed terms of peace which he felt obliged to accept. He lived only a few months longer, dying in 1017, and then Canute became king of all England.

Canute, 1017–1035

His reign gave to the country a welcome respite from her sufferings. While the Danish sources tell of many a cruel deed and of his ruthlessness in destroying any obstacle in his path, the English chroniclers praise him and have very few unfavorable comments. This is due to the fact that Canute strove to give good government, following Anglo-Saxon precedents, humored his subjects, and appointed Englishmen to offices. At first many of the principal positions had been given to his Danish followers, but at his death every conspicuous post in England was filled by an Englishman. He had felt obliged to banish or put to death many of the leading nobles, but Canute "when he had struck down one member of a powerful family hastened to disarm the hostility of the clan by showing marked distinction to some other scion of the house." In order to strengthen his claim to the throne he had married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, who was apparently very willing to remain queen, without much regard as to who might be king. The cares of his empire (for Canute was king of Denmark, Norway, and other lands) and a long pilgrimage to Rome did not interfere with his attention to English affairs. He made few, if any, innovations, but endeavored to restore conditions as they were in the days of Edgar the Peaceful. He was especially friendly to the church and consequently won its hearty support. His sons, who succeeded him, had little of their father's ability and after their death, the nation, strengthened by the just rule of Canute, gladly saw the kingdom bestowed upon the son of Emma and Ethelred, Edward, later called the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor, 1042–1066

He had grown up in Normandy and had learned to prefer Normans and Norman ways. He was not a man of real strength of character, but was obstinate in his opinions. He brought many Normans to England and not only preferred them as associates, but also gave to them many important offices, including earldoms and bishoprics. This naturally caused discontent among the English, but they were so busy with their own rivalries that they did not unite against the foreign favorites. Earl Godwin, who had been Canute's most trusted official, was the chief English leader and increased his power by marrying his daughter Edith to Edward. For several years he and his sons sought to rule England; the other native leaders and Edward's foreign favorites were hostile to them, so that, in 1051, when Godwin refused to obey an unjust order given by Edward, the coalition of his enemies compelled him to go into exile. Then the Norman influence

became supreme at the English court; Duke William, who was Edward's first cousin, paid him a visit and was probably promised the succession to the throne, for the king was childless and treated Edith as a daughter, not as a wife. The promise may have become known among the English; for, in the following year, when Godwin and his sons attacked England, they had comparatively little difficulty and found the people mainly favorable to them, so that they recovered all their property and gradually added to their possessions until all but one of the earldoms were held by members of Godwin's family. After his death, his son Harold succeeded to his power and was recognized by Edward, on his death-bed, as the successor to the throne. On the following day he was elected king by the witan.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

CHAP. XVIII

Duke William

WHEN William paid his visit to Edward the Confessor in 1051, he was a young man who had already achieved much, in spite of many obstacles. As his mother was a tanner's daughter, he had no family connections upon whom he could count when he became duke. This happened while he was a mere child, as his father had died while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1035. "The Bastard," as he was commonly called until he won a more glorious title, grew up amid turbulent vassals and frequent revolts. In 1047, as has been already related, he crushed rebellion by a brilliant victory and after that established peace and order in his duchy. He did much to reform the church in Normandy and selected able men for its higher officials; chief among these was Lanfranc of Pavia, who made the monastery of Bec a noted center of learning. He won victories over his suzerain, the French king, and the count of Anjou, so that he was able to annex Maine to his fiefs. Secure in his own territory, he counted upon succeeding Edward in England.

King Harold

Conditions had changed since the latter had promised William the succession. The family of Godwin had regained its power and Harold, its head, was the most influential man in England. Consequently when Edward died Harold was chosen king on the following day, and crowned in the new Westminster Abbey. But he was not the ruler of a united land. Mercia and Northumbria were held by the brothers, Edwin and Morkere, whose family had long been the chief rival to that of Godwin. Harold had hoped to win their friendship. When in 1065 his brother Tostig, earl of Northumbria, had been driven out by a revolt, he induced Edward to give the earldom to Morkere. But the two brothers, while accepting favors from Harold, felt no loyalty to him. When he was elected king, he could count upon no support from the lands which they ruled. In fact, Wessex was the only part of England which was ready to obey Harold; everywhere else there was jealousy of the new ruler who was not a descendant of the old royal family.

When William heard of Harold's election, he gave way to a furious outburst of anger; but his native shrewdness soon re-

CHAP. XVIII

asserted itself and he began to plan how he might obtain the English crown. He based his contention upon Edward's promise and the claim that he was his heir through relationship. In addition he accused Harold of perjury. Some years before, Harold had been shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy and had fallen into William's hands. Just what happened is uncertain, but Harold probably secured his release by an oath to help William obtain the English kingdom. At all events the latter accused him of perjury and sought the pope's aid for his claims. The pope was the more willing to assist the duke because Godwin and Harold had expelled a Norman archbishop of Canterbury, and installed Stigand, an Englishman, who had obtained the pallium from an anti-pope. Consequently the pope, already well disposed toward William because of the ecclesiastical reforms in Normandy, sent a consecrated banner as a symbol of his favor.

William's Claims

"The duke rejoiced greatly at receiving the banner and the license which the pope gave him. He got together carpenters, smiths, and other workmen, so that great stir was seen at all the ports of Normandy, in the collecting of wood and materials, cutting of planks, framing of ships and boats, stretching sails, and rearing masts with great pains and at great cost. They spent all one summer and autumn in fitting up the fleet." As his vassals were not obliged to follow him on an oversea expedition, which would necessarily last longer than they were bound to serve him by their feudal obligations, he had to offer great inducements to secure men. "There was no knight in the land, no good sergeant, archer, nor peasant of stout heart and of age for battle, that the duke did not summon to go with him to England, promising rents to the vassals, and honors to the barons." "The fame of the Norman duke soon went forth through many lands,— how he meant to cross the sea against Harold, who had taken England from him Then soldiers came flocking to him, one by one, two by two, four by four, by fives, by sixes, sevens and eights, nines and tens; and he retained them all, giving them much and promising more. Many came by agreement made by them beforehand; many bargained for lands, if they should win England; some required pay, allowances and gifts; and the duke was often obliged to give at once to those who could not wait the result." Hundreds of ships gathered, but they had to wait for a favorable wind, which was slow in rising.

Gathering of the Host

Harold, warned of William's preparations, gathered such forces as he could from the part of England that was loyal to him and awaited the invasion. But the time dragged on and he could not hold his army together. It included the house-carls, who

CHAP. XVIII

were a band of personal followers mainly Scandinavians, the thegns, who owed military service, and the fyrd or militia composed of farmers, who came when summoned, but grew restive as the attack was delayed and in September began to go home to gather their crops. Just then came the news that Harold's brother Tostig with the aid of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, had landed in Northumbria. Tostig wanted to reconquer his former lands; Harold Hardrada, as heir to Canute, set up a claim to the crown of England. Edwin and Morkere were defeated; York yielded; Harold hastened to the succor with his house-carls and thegns. By forced marches he reached Stamford Bridge, where he surprised the enemy, who were divided, part on one bank of the Derwent and part on the other. Both Tostig and Harold Hardrada were killed in the battle and the English won a complete victory.

Stamford Bridge

In the meantime the wind had shifted and William's fleet had been able to sail across the channel and land at Pevensey. When Harold learned this, he hurried back to meet him, but with very insufficient forces. Edwin and Morkere furnished no aid, and apparently felt no gratitude for their rescue. Harold had to depend almost entirely upon his personal following of house-carls and thegns, together with hasty levies from Wessex. He felt it necessary to act upon the defensive and established himself on the hill of Senlac, a few miles north of Hastings. There on October 14, 1066, was fought the decisive battle. The struggle raged for nine hours. The Normans, although much better armed and well supplied with cavalry and archers, were unable to break through the shield-wall of the English. The house-carls, wielding two-handed Danish axes, stood firm about Harold and the standard. Their position on a steep hill gave the English an advantage. But William was a skilful tactician and had a well-disciplined army. A feigned flight by the Normans led some of the English to break from their ranks in order to pursue the fleeing enemy. The duke sent a cavalry force to cut off the pursuers from the house-carls, who remained firm upon the hill; then it was easy for the Normans, turning from flight to attack, to overcome the light-armed English troops who had been pursuing them. But it was a very different matter to overcome the picked troops about Harold. They held out till evening, till Harold and his brothers had fallen, and sold their lives dearly. On the spot which they had defended so bravely, William later erected Battle Abbey, as a thank offering for his victory.

Battle of Hastings

The battle was won and Harold was dead, but the land was not conquered. The witan at London, with Edwin and Mor-

kere, elected Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside; but he was not crowned. William wanted the crown and proceeded to force his own election from the witan by showing the powerlessness of his opponents and his own strength. He marched, ravaging as he went, through Kent and Sussex, burned Southwark, thence proceeded westward, crossed the Thames and took his position to the north of London, so that it was not possible for the city to obtain aid from the unconquered territory on that side. The Londoners realized the hopelessness of resistance and the leading men with Edgar at their head went out to meet William and offer him submission. He was crowned on Christmas day, 1066, with all the usual formalities. A little later Edwin and Morkere made their submission. In the spring William felt obliged to go to Normandy to look after the administration of the duchy and did not return until the end of the year. During his absence there were rebellions caused by the tyranny of the regents, so that William on his return had to undertake the thorough subjugation of the land. This task was not completed until 1072, but by 1070 practically the whole of England had been conquered. The most serious opposition came from the North, where there were two successive uprisings, the second aided by a Danish fleet which carried off much booty. William determined to punish the inhabitants so thoroughly that no one would dare to attempt any rebellion in the future. He laid waste the whole Vale of York, burning everything. "So great a famine arose that, since necessity forced them, they ate the flesh of human beings, horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever usage shrinks from; so severe was it that some sold themselves into perpetual slavery, provided only they might in any way sustain their wretched lives. It was horrible to see the dead bodies decaying in the houses, in the open spaces, and on the streets. The mass decaying with horrible stench, swarmed with worms. Nor was any one left to bury the dead, for all were wiped out either by sword or famine, or had departed from their homes on account of hunger. In the meantime the land was destitute of cultivators, and a broad wilderness existed for nine years. Between York and Durham nowhere was there an inhabited village, while the dens of wild beasts and robbers caused terror to travelers." After this severity there was no more opposition, except for a revolt in the fens around Ely, where Hereward, who became the hero of ballads, gathered a desperate band and was joined by Morkere, once more in rebellion, although he had been repeatedly pardoned. William found it a more difficult task to capture Ely than to harry York, but Hereward was finally dislodged by

The Conquest of England

CHAP. XVIII

treachery and fled to the Bruneswald, where he lived as an outlaw until William induced him by very favorable terms to yield. With him all resistance ended. The country had never been united against William; all the rebellions had been local and it had been comparatively easy to crush each in turn, as there was no national feeling.

By the election William claimed to be the national king, in succession to Edward the Confessor, whose laws and customs he professed to follow. He regarded Harold as a usurper and all who had aided him as rebels. Consequently all their lands were forfeited. As a matter of fact he was a conqueror, and this conditioned all of his policy; hence, while he claimed to observe the good old customs, many of the regulations were along new lines, dictated by the necessities of his position. He was obliged to fulfil his promises to those who had fought for him, but it was also essential not to goad the English to desperation by taking everything from them. As land was the great object of wealth and desire, and also practically the only means by which he could assure himself of a body of vassals, he parceled it out liberally to his followers, as he conquered each section of England. The conquest was only gradual, and consequently, although the grants to his most important vassals were very extensive, these were widely scattered and no noble obtained a large compact fief which might become a territorial power dangerous to the king. This result has often been attributed to a deliberate policy on William's part; it seems more probable that it was due to the piecemeal conquest and occupation. Some of the English were allowed to keep their lands, but these were comparatively few and their holdings were usually only a small portion of their former possessions. Some English heiresses were obliged to marry Normal vassals. Any suspicion of treason or any pretext which might make a legal case was used to deprive the English of their holdings; the most fortunate were able to keep their lands by paying a large fine, and becoming vassals. Military tenure became universal; the amount of service was not determined by the value of the land, but was fixed arbitrarily when the grant was made. In all, William could summon about five thousand knights to his army.

Policy of William

Local Administration

In the local administration William interfered very little, but his policy gradually brought about some changes. He restricted the power of the Norman earls, who were appointive, by making the sheriffs the important administrative officials, as the latter were wholly dependent upon the king's pleasure and could be dismissed at any time. The towns suffered severely at first and

some were destroyed, but these were soon rebuilt and became more populous and prosperous. The conquest stimulated trade with Normandy, and many Norman merchants and Jews went to England and settled in the boroughs. William gave to London a charter of a brevity tantalizing to us, granting that all the burgesses should be "law-worthy, as they were in the days of King Edward," and apparently made no change in their status. The same was probably true of the less important towns, but the increase in commerce and the king's favor to Norman merchants and Jews were gradually raising them to a position of much greater relative importance.

William and the Church

The changes in the church were many and far-reaching. There was urgent need of reform, for the work of Dunstan and his friends had proved of slight lasting value; and, except among the monks, there was little to distinguish the clergy from the laymen in education, morals, or manners. William had accepted in Normandy some of the ideas of Cluny, in fact all that did not interfere with his own prerogatives; he had been assisted in his conquest by the pope's favor; he welcomed the opportunity to strengthen his hold upon England by substituting for the native bishops new incumbents who would owe their positions to him; consequently he entered zealously into plans for the reform of the church. Lanfranc, who was made archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, was the chief agent in ecclesiastical matters, and supported William's policy very cordially. The king strengthened the jurisdiction of the church by an edict ordering that bishops should not try ecclesiastical cases in the hundred courts, "nor bring to the judgment of secular men a cause which concerns the rule of souls." This resulted in the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, wholly under the control of the church, whereas before such cases had been tried in the regular hundred courts where laymen had an important voice in the decisions. The power and prestige of the bishops were also enhanced because their residences were moved from the villages in which they had been located and fixed in important towns, which were thereafter known as cities. The most important reform, which affected all classes of the secular clergy, was the insistence upon celibacy. This had been the canonical rule but had seldom been observed. Gregory VII urged its enforcement; William and Lanfrance complied in part, but avoided the difficulties which ensued elsewhere by arranging that priests and deacons should not be allowed to marry in the future, but that no one who was already wedded should be compelled to put away his wife. In other respects the king showed his independence

CHAP. XVIII

of the pope. "I refused to do fealty, nor will I; because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors." A compromise, or rather a postponement of the issue, was arranged about the question of lay investiture, to which William clung. Gregory probably felt it useless to push troublesome questions, because the king was willing to yield in some matters and was sincerely interested in church reform.

Central Government

In spite of the changes which he necessarily made, William was conservative. "The great council," which he summoned to learn his will or to give advice, was very similar in its composition to the witanagemot of the Anglo-Saxon kings. It included the bishops, the most important abbots, and the chief landholders, and was called together usually at the three great church festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. The meetings were more formal and the members had less influence than under Edward the Confessor. Its duties were mainly judicial. In addition, William had always at his court a smaller body, of lawyers and ecclesiastics, known as the *curia regis,* to assist in matters of administration. At first the duties were not at all differentiated and the *curia* had a great variety of tasks to perform; later, under other kings, committees from the *curia* were designated for special purposes. When William was obliged to leave the kingdom, he appointed a justiciar to act as regent and chose for this purpose an ecclesiastic.

Laws

In legal matters the king made few innovations. He declared: "I command that all men have and hold the laws of Edward with those additions which I have ordained for the advantage of the English people." Among these additions were wager of battle and curfew. The first had long been in use on the continent, but not in England; the second was a police regulation to prevent conflagrations and required that all fires should either be extinguished or covered over (*couvre-feu*) at nightfall. The hundred courts continued to try cases, but new manorial courts were established by the Norman landholders which took much of the business from them, so that, having their functions lessened by this and also by the withdrawal of ecclesiastical cases, they had little to do.

Finances and Domesday

All the changes which have been mentioned were for the purpose of better administration, in which William was especially interested. The most important administrative matter, next to keeping good order, was the collection of an ample revenue, to which William attended zealously. He had kept for himself many manors, from which he obtained produce and income; he levied the usual feudal dues from his vassals; he had a portion

of all court fines; he levied the Danegeld three times and made it a heavy assessment. In order to find out just how much he could secure from his kingdom, he ordered a great survey to be made, the famous Domesday, in 1086. He sent commissioners into each shire to question sworn jurors, including the priest, the reeve, and six villeins from each township. The questions were the name of the manor, who held it under King Edward, who holds it now; how many hides does it contain; how many plows; how many villeins, cotters, slaves, freemen, socmen; how much of woodland, of meadow, of pasture; how many mills and fish-ponds; how much land has been added or taken away; what was the value in the time of King Edward; what is the value now; how much each freeman and socman holds. "So narrowly he let spear it out that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is a shame to tell, though he thought it no shame to do — was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in the accounts." This survey is our most important source of information for the conditions and for the changes which had taken place; it gives much information about the resources of the different parts of England and the industries which were carried on, about the social classes and local customs, and a host of other details. Unfortunately as it is preserved it is incomplete, omitting the northern shires and a number of towns, including London; and, as it was drawn up for William's information and not for ours, there are many subjects which are obscure at the present day, so that it raises almost as many questions as it answers. But there is no equally valuable mine of information for any other country in Europe.

This survey was very much disliked by his subjects, but the most unpopular thing that William did was the extension of the forest lands for hunting, and especially the making of the New Forest, for which he condemned much land near Winchester and destroyed such hamlets as were included in its limits. He allowed no one to hunt in any royal forest without a license and ordered the punishment of blinding for any one who killed a deer, for "he loved the tall deer as though he were their father." Popular tradition soon told how the New Forest was accursed.

The New Forest

Yet, after the conquest was completed, there was only one serious revolt, the rising of the earls in 1075, which was easily crushed. By means of castles held by his barons, William held in awe the people of each district; through the national fyrd which he could summon he had a check on his own vassals. In 1086 he took a new step "which was to have a great importance in the future" by summoning "all the landholders of substance

Means of Control

CHAP. XVIII

in England, whose vassals soever they were," "and they all submitted to him, and became his men and swore oaths of allegiance that they would be faithful to him against all others." This Salisbury oath created a form of feudalism very different from the French, where the vassal owed service only to his immediate lord and was not at all bound to obey the king.

Results of the Conquest

Much has already been said about the results of the conquest, and the later history will make these results more clear; here it is necessary merely to summarize some of the more important effects in order to make it easier to understand the later events. Almost all of the leading offices in England, whether lay or ecclesiastical, were held by Normans, and almost all of the land was included in Norman fiefs; the merchants in the towns were either Normans or other foreigners, the mass of Englishmen were in villeinage; consequently there was a great division in rank and power between natives and foreigners. The upper class used the Norman French language, and although English, the language of the bulk of the population, gradually triumphed, it had become a very different language, with a large admixture of French words. In the same way, the civilization changed; while English customs remained as the substratum, French fashions came in, in architecture, in literature, in all that affected the life of the upper classes, whether lay or clerical. In short, England had been forced from its connection with the Scandinavian North, and had been brought into intimate connection with the continent of Europe, especially the French lands, with which for more than a century it was closely united.

Death of William

This was the work of William. He met his death in France, in 1087, as the result of a fall from his horse. On his deathbed he released from prison the last son of Godwin and several other Englishmen, as well as some Normans, who had long been incarcerated. He pardoned all his enemies and arranged for the succession to the duchy of Normandy and to the kingdom of England, and then died peacefully. It is eloquent of the customs of his age that no one of his family or friends was with him when he died, and that the servants plundered the death-room, even stripping the corpse.

His Character

What manner of man was he? Much can be judged from his acts, but possibly the best characterization was given by one of the English chroniclers who knew him well. "King William was a very wise and a great man, and more honored and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will." "Amongst other things, the good order that

William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosomful of gold, unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him." "So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will." "Truly there was much trouble in these times, and a very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king also was of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver, and this either with or without right and with little need. He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain." "The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked naught of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live, or would keep their lands, or would hold their possessions, or would be maintained in their rights." Possibly the good monk was somewhat prejudiced, but probably William himself would have been willing to have his character thus portrayed.

CHAPTER XIX

SARACEN CIVILIZATION

CHAP. XIX

Rise of the Abbasids

THE last Ommiad rulers at Damascus were not able to retrieve the failures at Poitiers and Constantinople.[1] Although they did wage successful war against the Byzantine Empire, and raids into Gaul did continue for some years, they were continually being weakened by disaffections and rebellions among their subjects. The descendants of Ali had many partizans who held up to execration the irreligious conduct and the luxury of the Ommiads, whose family had secured the caliphate through the slaughter of the most faithful followers of the prophet. Repeated attempts at rebellion were crushed and the Fatimites, who claimed to be descendants of Ali and Fatima,[2] were not able to overthrow the caliphate; but the Abbasids, descendants of the uncle of Mohammed, profited by the general disaffection and, after winning two battles against the last Ommiad, established Abu'l Abbas upon the throne.

He took the name of al Saffah (the Bloody), which he well deserved, for after the second victory over the Ommiad caliph, he hunted out relentlessly each male Ommiad and had him put to death. Of the whole family only one or possibly two escaped; one may have led an obscure existence and founded a petty dynasty in the southeast of Arabia; one, after many vicissitudes, became the ruler in Spain. There in 752 he established the emirate of Cordova. By his success Spain was wrested from the power of the Abbasid caliphs; this was the first real break in the unity of Islam. The Ommiads had ruled over all the followers of the Prophet; their successors the Abbasids did not; the power of Islam was gradually sapped by the revolt and withdrawal of one portion of the caliphate after another. But no other loss was so important for the history of Europe as the revolution in Spain which isolated the Mussulmans there and made them a less dangerous foe to the Christian tribesmen, who were able gradually to recover the whole of the peninsula; but this reconquest was not completed for over seven hundred years, and consequently will be described elsewhere.

Ommiad Emirate in Spain

[1] See Chapter IX at end.

[2] Daughter of Mohammed.

CHAP. XIX

The Ommiads still had many partizans at Damascus, so that it seemed prudent for the Abbasids to move their capital to the east, where their Persian followers would be nearer; their victory was a Persian victory and the Arabs were no longer the dominant people. After a short residence elsewhere, the site of Bagdad was decided upon as the future capital, and there between 762 and 766 A. D. was built a round city with a double wall. One hundred thousand workmen were employed to expedite the work. This was an excellent situation, as it was in the middle of a fertile country and protected by its situation between the two rivers. Bagdad soon increased in size and population, and became renowned as second only to Constantinople in splendor.

Bagdad

This was especially true in the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid, 786-809, the hero of *A Thousand and One Nights*. Even before he became caliph he had led a victorious army to Scutari and had extorted tribute from the Byzantine Empire. Whenever the annual payment was withheld, he made a new expedition into Greek lands and forced the emperor to terms. Haroun was extremely active and a great traveler, making the pilgrimage to Mecca nine times, and visiting distant portions of his caliphate. Among his subjects he was renowned as the just (al Rashid), in spite of the well-known slaughter of the Barmecides; for the justice which he administered to the poor was proverbial, and the latter delighted to tell how the great caliph wandered about in disguise at night in order to see how his subjects in the capital lived and were treated. The *Thousand and One Nights* has made him one of the best known characters in history, and, allowing for the natural exaggeration, presents a remarkable picture of the civilization at Bagdad and the habits and pursuits of its inhabitants.

Haroun-al-Rashid

A noteworthy change had taken place. The early history of Islam, after the death of the Prophet, is little more than a chronicle of warfare and conquest. At Bagdad under Haroun, as is clearly evident from the tales in the *Arabian Nights*, there was little zest for fighting and the people were engaged in commerce, travel, and other peaceful pursuits. They were addicted to pleasure, and religion exercised very little restraint upon their conduct. They had come under the influence of the older civilizations in the lands which they had conquered, especially in Persia, and had become willing pupils of the Greek traditions in philosophy and science. The most marked trait in their culture, however, is its composite character. They borrowed or adapted from all the peoples with whom they had come into contact. It has been well said that they overran the domains of

Change in Ideals

CHAP. XIX

science as rapidly as they had conquered the kingdoms of the earth. They were tolerant and no longer willed that conquered men should either become Mohammedans or else be exterminated. They had always kept many of the conquered women as concubines or slaves, and the offspring were usually more tolerant than the fathers. Both Jews and Christians were welcome at the court of the caliph and some held confidential positions about his person. Many others found employment in the cities and carried on trades and even learned professions.

Luxury

The followers of the Prophet had departed widely from the habits of the early Arabs. The caliph's income, which came in from the subject lands and from tributes, was enormous, and was spent with lavish hands. The golden stream flowed into the laps of the courtiers and highly paid officials and trickled down to the populace. In place of the old-time frugality extravagance was now the fashion. It showed itself in the food, the clothing, the buildings, in reckless expenditures of every kind. Noted princes prepared cook-books filled with receipts for costly dishes and piquant sauces. Wine was drunk, in spite of the prohibitions of the Koran. Many other beverages were concocted and snow was brought from the mountains to cool them. In exercising their ingenuity in the manufacture of new kinds of incense and perfumes to tickle their jaded senses, the Moslems were wonderfully fertile. A similar evolution had taken place in their clothing. In place of the one homespun garment of the earlier days men now wore several, of cotton, woolen, linen, or silken stuffs, all richly dyed. Red and yellow were the favorite colors. The women were even more gorgeously clad than the men and often their dresses were adorned with gold thread and many jewels. To repeat the accounts which have been handed down by the chroniclers would merely recall the luxurious garments portrayed in the tales of Scheherazade. In fact, she does not appear to have had much talent for invention in this field, as even the richest dresses which she described seem commonplace after some of the accounts given by Arab historians. The palaces of the caliphs were wonderfully magnificent and almost resembled those described by Beckford in his *Vathek*. Many of the wealthy citizens possessed costly houses, filled with expensive furniture, sometimes cooled by snow in summer and heated in winter. All opened upon flower gardens and orchards, carefully watered and tended. These palaces were usually built in a style which combined Byzantine and Persian forms. We can form some idea of their appearance from the Alcazar at Seville and the Alhambra in Granada, which are of a later date and seem to hold a place in-

termediate between the palaces of the most extravagant caliphs and the less extensive ones built by their subjects. The gardens were an important feature, as the Mohammedans were fond of flowers and eagerly sought rare varieties.

Agriculture

They had introduced and acclimatized not only flowers, but also many kinds of vegetables and fruits. The list of those with which Europe and America have been enriched through their agency would be a very long one. For they were especially interested in agriculture, as some of their sayings show: "He who plants, he who sows, he who makes the earth bring forth food suited to man and beast performs an oblation of which account will be kept in heaven." "It is one of the duties of the government to make the canals necessary for the cultivation of the soil." They had learned the methods practised in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. They studied the treatises which had been handed down and themselves wrote new and more scientific works on the use of manure and irrigation, on grafting, on the importance of allowing the land to lie fallow, on plant diseases and insect pests. Wherever they found a new vegetable, a beautiful flower, or an edible fruit, they attempted to grow it in their gardens and thence to transplant it to other lands. They were especially fond of carrying the products of their old homes to the new countries which they had conquered. Abderrahman introduced from Syria into Spain a palm-sprout which he had carefully tended. The palm-trees in Spain and Portugal still bear witness to the love of his old surroundings which the homesick monarch felt. The list of the vegetable products which the Arabs gathered in their wanderings would be a long one and in many cases it is uncertain where these were found. From India probably they got rice, sugar-cane, oranges and turmeric; from Egypt, papyrus and cassia; from Syria, apricots, peaches, and lemons; from Persia, the silk-worm and the mulberry tree. Bananas grew in Arabia itself. In some cases the country mentioned was not the original home, but seems to have been the place where the Arabs found the product. At all events they carried all of these to Sicily and Spain. In addition, they introduced into these countries cotton, pomegranates, saffron, madder, sumach, camomile, roses and other flowers, including the convolvulus or morning glory, and very many other products of the vegetable world.[3]

The ease with which the plants were carried from one country

[3] This subject has not been thoroughly studied; some of the statements above may be proved to be incorrect by further research. But there can be no doubt of the great debt which we owe to the agricultural zeal of the Arabs.

CHAP. XIX

Commerce

to another is indicative of the freedom of intercourse between all parts of the Moslem world. This was especially important in facilitating commerce, which was not burdened by tolls, restrictions, and different monetary systems, as in Europe. Moreover, the merchant's calling held a higher place in the public estimation than in feudal lands. Mohammed had been a merchant and naturally no one could lose caste by following his example. Bagdad was exceptionally well-placed for commerce, as it was the center of many trade routes. Not far distant was Bassora (Basra) and to its harbor came the vessels which traded with the ports of Arabia, the Red Sea, India and China; even Chinese junks came thither, although most of the traffic was in the hands of the Moslems. Besides these water routes goods were carried overland by caravans which traversed Asia, visited the Black Sea and Mediterranean ports, skirted along the north coast of Africa and even penetrated far into its interior. At a much later date, when the Mohammedan commerce was no longer so unrestricted, Richard the Lion-Hearted captured a caravan, and a partial list of the wares which it carried is given by a western chronicler. These included spices, gold and silver, silken mantles, purple and scarlet robes, arms and weapons, coats of mail, costly cushions, pavilions, tents, biscuits, pastry, conserves, medicines, basins, chess-boards, silver dishes and candelabra, sugar, and many other articles. The caravan is said to have been composed of 4700 camels, besides countless mules and asses In the days of the early Abbasids each city had its bazaar, or merchants' quarter, and in the great centers were to be found porcelain, silks, lacquer and tea from China; spices, drugs, pearls and precious stones from India and the islands in the Indian Ocean; black slaves, ivory and gold-dust from Africa; white slaves, honey, wax and furs from the distant Scandinavian countries. The extent of the commerce with Europe is attested not only by the products found in the Moslem countries, but also by the hoards of Arabic coins which have been dug up in Russia, Sweden, Germany, and other parts of Europe. A single find at Mainz included over 15,000 coins. One of the best known tales in the *Thousand and One Nights* recounts the adventures of Sindbad the Sailor. It has long been recognized that the account of his wanderings is based upon actual reports of voyages made by Moslem merchants, and many of the places which he was said to have visited have been identified and his descriptions have been shown to be, in some instances, remarkably accurate.[4] His method of carrying on trade and the wares in which he dealt

[4] See Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geography, Vol. I, pp. 438–450.

were characteristic of the commerce in the days of Haroun-al-Rashid.

The Moslems acted as carriers and many of the wares in which they traded were produced by others. But there were also many articles manufactured in Mohammedan countries, and the number increased steadily, to satisfy the demands of trade. At first, most of the work was done by Jews or Christians, but gradually the people in some districts would devote themselves in large part to making some one specialty. Iron was mined in both Arabia and Persia and some localities soon obtained a well-deserved reputation for producing many varieties of iron and steel goods, especially weapons and armor. In the early period Damascus and Toledo had not as yet become famous for their swords; but both straight and curved ones were made in other parts of the Moslem world and had won a great reputation. Excellent cross-bows were being made and the breast-plates were considered the best in the world. Also steel mirrors, for then steel and not glass was used for this purpose, were exported far and wide. In other branches of iron work, as well as in goods made from other metals found in Arabia, there were many products. The goldsmiths were famous and found ample employment in catering to the prevailing love of luxury and adornment. For the same reason the makers of fine clothes and other products of the loom amassed wealth. Many rich and handsome stuffs were made. The caliph employed a large number of workmen to make robes of honor, of which he always kept a store for gifts to ambassadors or to subjects whom he wished to reward. These were frequently marvels of fine workmanship and cost almost incredible sums of money. Rugs were made in great numbers and were used for wall-decorations and to shut out drafts, as well as for carpets. In summer straw mats were in demand instead of rugs, and these often were adorned with complicated figures and most extravagant workmanship. Naturally, tents were in common use and these afforded an opportunity for lavish display. They were frequently of immense size and great height. Syria was noted for its manufacture of glass, especially glassware ornamented with gold, and many costly pieces were made. Some caliphs made extensive collections of fine specimens. Another article which was exported widely was paper, made from papyrus or cotton. Workmen were brought to Asia from Egypt, where this manufacture had been carried on for centuries. The Moslems soon excelled in the production of paper as well as in making inks and in the binding of books. They refined sugar, which they exported as far as China and in which they preserved fruits

Manufacturing

CHAP. XIX

with such skill that these also became far-famed articles of export. Finally we may mention the perfumes, of which there was a very large variety. These were in great demand, both in the Moslem world and outside.

Science

Many of these manufactures, e. g. glass-making, would have been impossible without some scientific knowledge. In this the Arabs had been the pupils of the Greeks, but had also learned much from others, and in turn themselves contributed to its advance. Some of them held that "the ink of science is of more value than the blood of the martyr." It is not possible here to go through the whole range of the sciences which they studied and in which they were the leaders during the Middle Ages; only a few examples can be given. Medicine in the days of Haroun was practised almost exclusively by non-Moslems, especially Christians of Oriental origin and Jews; but later many others, including Indians and Persians and finally Arabs, became noted in this field. The doctors were then paid exclusively according to results and received no fees except when the patients were cured. They specialized and the oculists seem to have been peculiarly successful. But a good practitioner in any line might secure an ample income, and even an almost fabulous one if he was the caliph's physician. Galen and Hippocrates were the great authorities, but the doctors were not content to be mere imitators and some added to the store of medical lore; e. g., Rhazed, in the second half of the ninth century, won fame by his treatise on smallpox.

Chemistry

In the development of chemistry they seem to have been more independent; and, if they did not lay the foundations of the science, they did very much to improve it. "They first invented and named the alembic for the purpose of distillation, analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines." But much of their study deserves the name of alchemy rather than chemistry, as they were chiefly interested in the search for the philosopher's stone, which would transmute base metals into gold, and in the discovery of the elixir of life, which would make a man eternally youthful.

Mathematics and Astronomy

In mathematics, in which they followed Ptolemy, they won a deserved fame which is attested by our use of the term "Arabic figures." It is still uncertain to what extent this popular usage is justified, but it is certain that the figures themselves are older than the Moslem civilization. The case is clearer for algebra, for which we have borrowed the name from the Arabic.

CHAP. XIX

The *Treatise on Algebra* composed by Mohammed ibn Mousa, under the reign of Haroun's grandson, in 820 A.D., later came into use in the Christian world and was not superseded until the sixteenth century Arab scholars in the ninth and tenth centuries did much to develop the study of spherical trigonometry. They founded observatories and attempted, in the first half of the ninth century, to measure the size of the earth. But in astronomy they sought especially astrological knowledge and their actual achievements in many phases of this science were, for the most part, by-products of their more engrossing pursuit of astrology as a guide for present action and as a key to the future.

It was possible for the scholars to carry on these scientific pursuits because of the esteem in which education was held. Some early proverbs illustrate the Arab feeling: "He dies not who gives life to learning"; "The world is sustained by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the good, and the valor of the brave."

Education and Literature

Mohammed had told his followers, "Seek knowledge even in China." Several of the Abbasid and other caliphs were renowned for their patronage of learning. Institutions which may be roughly differentiated as schools, colleges and universities were established by their liberality. Benjamin of Tudela found twenty schools in Alexandria. In these institutions the boys studied grammar, rhetoric, history, mathematics, astronomy and other sciences, and as a crowning feature theology, with which law was closely associated. The Moslems had very early imbibed a great zeal for the study of theology, partly from the Christian controversialists who were so numerous in Syria. The political divisions encouraged, and were in part based upon, divergences in theological beliefs. The Koran was the text for their grammatical studies. The history which aroused their interest was mainly religious history. Their system of law was based upon the Koran and depended upon its interpretation. Everything united to give theology the place of honor in their educational system, although many students and literary men were more or less irreverent and devoted themselves to other branches. The universities were founded in connection with mosques and were equipped with libraries. In fact, there were a great many extensive libraries formed in various parts of the Moslem world. Arab Spain is said to have had seventy public libraries. Most of the figures as to their size come from later times and are open to suspicion. As examples we may cite one at Tripoli which contained 100,000 volumes and another in Spain which possessed 400,000. The earlier libraries consisted largely of translations of

CHAP. XIX

the Greek works from which the Arabs derived so much of their knowledge; later on, they themselves became copious authors. Private individuals sometimes had extensive collections of books; one claimed that it would take four hundred camels to carry his library. The volumes, however, contained then much less than an average volume does to-day and many were probably like the books of Cæsar in their length. It should also be remembered that scholars and particularly poets were held in high esteem and their works were eagerly cherished. The caliphs and their chief officials would reward a neatly turned verse or a witty answer by magnificent gifts, frequently of gold, but probably more usually of robes of honor. One poet is said to have received so many gifts of the latter kind that when his property was inventoried after his death it contained "a hundred complete suits of dress, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbans."

Travelers

This poet must have traveled from center to center to have accumulated such a store. But there was nothing unusual in this, for there was much traveling in the Moslem world. The officials and agents of the caliphs had to make long journeys because of the extent of the caliphate. For their convenience much was done which aided other travelers. Then, too, embassies were sent to distant lands; presents were sent to the ruler of China in the East and to Emperors in the far West. The merchants, as has already been stated, traveled far and wide. Many scholars went from one country to another to pursue their studies; for they believed that "Allah makes easy the way to paradise for him who travels to learn." Explorers were sent out by the caliphs in the ninth century to ascertain the truth of stories which they had heard, or to report on the characteristics of distant lands. Doctors were accustomed to collect, if possible, their own drugs and medicines and, consequently, had to go where these were to be found.

Geography

Works on geography were composed by travelers and others. One writer lived at Bassora and collected all the facts and anecdotes that he could learn from the merchants who frequented that port. As a rule the geographers followed the Greek traditions as to the size and form of the earth and its divisions, but they made corrections and additions. In particular, they made maps which may be described as excellent for their time, and especially so when their productions are contrasted with the ignorance and crudity shown in the maps made by the Christians. But their works were confined almost wholly to Moslem lands and they lacked in concision and order. They described not merely the geography but everything else of interest which they had learned.

CHAP. XIX

Their books have been happily described as a mixture of "a book of cities, or a gazetteer, and a book of marvels, or a collection of natural history, folk-lore, and fairy stories." There were many such works composed, from the ninth century onward; naturally the later ones were usually better than the earlier. One of the best was the work of al Mukadassi of Jerusalem, who was born in 946 A D. For more than a score of years he journeyed through all the lands of the Moslems. Then he attempted to give a systematic account of all the countries which he had visited and of the manners and peculiarities of all the various nations. He had read widely, but his work was original to a great extent and was based chiefly upon his own observations. Such travelers were sure of a welcome everywhere and together with the other scholars and the merchants did much to unify the Moslem world.

Division and Decline

There was need of such a unifying influence, for political unity disappeared; the process of its decay is plainly visible in the reigns of the grandson and great-grandson of Haroun, at a time when rapid progress was being made in many branches of science and other learning. As we look back it is very easy to see many reasons for the decline, and in some respects its causes were very similar to those of the decline of the old Roman Empire, or to those which brought about the fall of the Merovingians and the Carolingians. But there were also causes which were peculiar to the Moslem world. Early caliphs possessed great power and their executive functions embraced religious, political and legal activities. To exercise such powers wisely over an empire of such enormous extent, including peoples of so many different nationalities, a very strong man was needed. Such men are very rare in any age and any society, but were particularly lacking under the conditions of luxurious and voluptuous living which prevailed in Bagdad. Life in the harem sapped the vigor and blunted the powers of the Mohammedan rulers. Then, too, there was no fixed rule of succession and palace intrigues were constant. The prize was so great that it tempted many. Caliphs attempted to ward off this danger by having a favorite son recognized as successor during their own lifetime, but frequently their wishes were thwarted. They could not depend upon the loyalty of the governors of provinces, particularly because the latter had been given too much power. In order to save trouble and expense they had been made practically absolute in their provinces, being allowed to collect the taxes, out of which they had to pay the soldiers and provide for the other administrative expenses; the only requirement was that they should send the caliph each year a fixed sum. Consequently rulers in

CHAP. XIX

distant provinces revolted and no longer sent the annual payment. In many cases it was impossible to reduce such rebels to submission. As has been stated, Spain had become independent under an Ommiad. Africa revolted. Nearer home, even in Persia itself, some parts passed from the caliph's control. Religious enthusiasm had been the only bond which held the people together, and this was no longer potent. Religious dissensions played a large rôle in the decay; for there were many sects and often the leader of a sect was able to get a local following and to pose as a champion of one or another of the peoples gathered together into this unwieldy empire. Even in his own capital the caliph did not feel safe, and in place of the Arabs, who had been the real military backbone of the caliphate, formed a body-guard of Turks. Its commander, like a pretorian prefect or a mayor of the palace, soon became the all-powerful master of his nominal chief. The caliph at Bagdad came to be little more than the head of the religion, and even in this his position was not undisputed. For in 929 A.D. the ruler of Mohammedan Spain took the title of caliph. In the same century the Fatimite leader in Africa conquered the head of another sect who had already assumed the title, and in turn became caliph. Later he conquered Egypt and transferred his capital to Cairo, so that in the tenth century there were three caliphs, residing, respectively, at Bagdad, Cordova, and Cairo.

The Fallen Caliph

Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who had traveled widely in the last half of the twelfth century, was at Bagdad and has left a description of the position the caliph then held. "All Mohammedan kings acknowledge him, and he holds the same dignity over them which the pope enjoys over the Christians. He understands all languages, is well versed in the Mosaic law, and reads and writes the Hebrew tongue. He enjoys nothing but what he earns by the labor of his own hands, and therefore manufactures coverlets, which he stamps with his seal, and which his officers sell in the public market; these articles are purchased by the nobles of the land, and from their produce his necessities are provided. The caliph is an excellent man, trustworthy and kind-hearted towards every one, but generally invisible to the Mohammedans. . . . The caliph leaves his palace but once every year, namely at the time of the feast called Ramadan; on this occasion many visitors assemble from distant parts, in order to have an opportunity of beholding his countenance. He then bestrides the royal mule, dressed in kingly robes, which are composed of gold and silver cloth. On his head he wears a turban, ornamented with precious stones of inestimable value. . . . He is saluted loudly by the as-

sembled crowd, who cry: 'Blessed art thou, our lord and king.' . . . The procession moves on into the court of the mosque, where the caliph mounts a wooden pulpit and expounds the law. . . . The caliph never leaves his palace again for a whole year."

While the caliph had lost his power the religion of Islam had gained in strength. Although various sects had made converts, especially among the learned, the great mass of people at Bagdad had never been affected by religious speculations, which they were too ignorant to understand. The scholar might assert that "doubt is the foundation of all human knowledge," and caliphs might assert that "the Koran was created"; the great mass remained orthodox. By the middle of the ninth century the caliph, in order to win support against his internal foes, decreed as the state dogma that the Koran was divinely inspired and must be followed absolutely. Orthodoxy became more firmly fixed; a belief in rigid predestination prevailed; and "the dead letter of the Koran sapped all progress among the faithful." This point of view gradually prevailed throughout the Moslem world; but Cordova was the last caliphate to be affected, and in Spain progress and freedom of thought continued longer than elsewhere. Intolerance did not gain a strong foothold; learned scholars flourished; artists still dared to violate the precepts of the Koran. The court of the lions in the Alhambra is the most striking illustration, for to a strict believer "images and pictures representing living creatures are contrary to law." In this respect as in many others some Moslems in Spain refused to be bound by the letter of the Koran and study was not confined so exclusively to theology as elsewhere.

Orthodoxy

The Moslem civilization is of importance to us chiefly for its influence upon our ancestors. The first striking example of this influence was in the days of Charles the Great, to whom Haroun-al-Rashid sent as presents: an elephant, a magnificent tent, costly silken garments — probably these were robes of honor — perfumes, balsam, two great brass candelabra, and a brass water-clock, constructed with much mechanical ingenuity. This is said to have been the first water-clock in the west of Europe. These gifts are recorded by a contemporary western chronicler and excited his admiration. Some probably served as models for western workmen. The Christians in Spain learned much from their Moslem neighbors and, in turn, passed on some of this knowledge. It is significant that Gerbert was sent to Spain to study mathematics. In southern Italy and Sicily the Normans came into contact with both Moslem and Byzantine civilizations and profited greatly. But it was especially during the crusades that the Chris-

Influence on Christians

CHAP. XIX

tians learned to know the Moslem achievements and derived the greatest amount of knowledge from them; this will be treated later. For the plants which were introduced by the Arabs Europe is especially indebted and many of these have been transplanted to America. Knowledge was also gained, as has already been indicated for some fields. Medicine was long under the sway of the Arab authors. Avicenna, who lived from 980 to 1037, had more than a hundred treatises ascribed to him and from the twelfth to the seventeenth century was the chief guide for all medical studies in the universities of Europe.

Words from Arabic

One of the surest proofs of the extent of the influence of the Moslem civilization is furnished by the words which the European languages have borrowed from the Arabic. Sometimes a product and name came together; sometimes the new knowledge was designated by the Arabic term. If we omit all words borrowed from the Arabic which were of Greek origin, as e. g. alchemy, alembic, carat, elixir, talisman; or of Persian origin, as e. g. azure, calabash, candy; the English language has taken from the Arabic: alcohol, alcove, algebra, alkali, artichoke, azimuth, benzine, caraway, cipher, civet, coffee, cotton, jasper, lute, mate (in chess), mattress, mohair, myrrh, nitre, ogive, racket (i. e. bat), saffron, senna, sherbet, sofa, sumach, syrup, zenith, zero, and many more.[5]

[5] See Skeat, Principles of English Etymology, Second Series (Oxford, 1891), from whom all of these examples have been taken.

CHAPTER XX

BYZANTINE EMPIRE TO 1095

Character of Byzantine History

GIBBON described Byzantine history as "a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery." The great authority of his name, and similar opinions expressed by Voltaire, Montesquieu and Taine, caused this judgment to be generally adopted until the middle of the last century. "Byzantine" even yet is too frequently used as a term of opprobrium. The scholars now recognize the great services which the Byzantine Empire performed and the debt which we owe to it. They realize that for eight centuries law, literature, art, industry, and commerce were carried on at Constantinople; and that this city not merely preserved the remnants of the classical civilization, but also made it possible, by her victories, for the West to develop until it was in a position to absorb this older culture. They have learned that the most important feature of the Byzantine Empire is "its constant vitality and power of revival," "its marvelous recuperative energy," until the period of decline in the eleventh century.

Position of Constantinople

In a consideration of the sources of its strength, the position of its capital must be placed first. Byzantium had had a memorable history, extending over almost a thousand years, before Constantine chose it for his residence. Its position made it practically impregnable. On the north, east, and south it is surrounded by water; and the approach on either north or south is by a long, narrow channel that can be easily defended. On the west, the land side, a wall was built across the peninsula, about four miles in length; later, a second wall was built farther to the west. Its position also made Constantinople admirably adapted to be the capital of the Roman Empire. It was in Europe, but close to Asia, and not far from Egypt. By the Black Sea, which is five times the size of Lake Superior and has more than 2000 miles of coast, it could draw upon the resources of all the tributary basin to the north, as well as upon the riches of Asia Minor. It has a magnificent land-locked harbor, with deep water so that large vessels can unload at the wharves.

Commerce

This harbor was the center of an active commerce. For several centuries Constantinople was the greatest trading port in the Christian world and also maintained relations with the Saracens.

CHAP. XX

The furs, honey and wax, brought from the North by Russian merchants, were exchanged for the spices, drugs, and precious stones from the Orient, which were brought by Byzantine vessels from Alexandria. Merchants from many lands resorted to Constantinople, but most of the traffic on the sea was carried in Byzantine vessels until the eleventh century. This commerce was burdened with heavy tolls which furnished a large revenue to the government. But the profits were so great that the merchants became rich and the city prospered, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. Later, when Constantinople had lost its monopoly of sea trade, the wealth of its merchants excited the wonder even of Benjamin of Tudela, who had seen Bagdad. He tells of the great stir and bustle which prevailed at Constantinople in consequence of the gathering of many merchants from Babylon, Mesopotamia, Media, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Russia, Hungary, Lombardy, Spain, and other countries. He said the Greeks were extremely wealthy; "they dress in garments of silk, ornamented with gold and other costly materials; they ride upon horses, and in their appearance they are like princes." This wealth was another source of strength to the Byzantine Empire.

Army and Navy

It was also a constant temptation to other powers and the emperors needed a strong army and a large navy to defend their possessions. After the great defeat at Hadrianople the Roman army had been strengthened and in particular the cavalry was made the most important arm of the service. But troops of all kinds were enrolled from different peoples, both within and without the Empire, each with its distinctive weapons. Gradually a strong military force was provided whose main strength came from the peoples of Asia Minor, under their own leaders, and consequently the danger from the excessive employment of Germans as soldiers was avoided. Weapons were improved, Greek fire came into use, the science of strategy was carefully studied. Emperors wrote text-books on tactics and the conduct of war. The Byzantine armies were the best equipped in the world and were usually under efficient officers. The navy too was well organized and did good service.

Centralized Government

In other medieval empires and kingdoms the army was usually the real power and on it the rulers had to depend in order to maintain their position. At Constantinople there was a centralized government of civil officials which controlled the state. They had inherited from the old Roman Empire its organizing capacity and the various governmental functions were divided among different bureaus, each with a large staff of well-trained clerks. Men from many nations found a career in these offices and served

for long periods of years. Even when an emperor was assassinated and a new family came into power it mattered little to most of the officials, especially the rank and file, and the business of the bureau went on as before. A few of the chiefs might be killed or displaced, but the less prominent, on whom the routine business of the bureau depended, would be undisturbed. This well-organized, centralized administration carried on the government from generation to generation and stabilized the Byzantine Empire.

Law and Order

In spite of dynastic changes and occasional scenes of violence and riot, law and order ruled in Constantinople. These were essential for commerce and the merchants were always on the side of the *de facto* government. Moreover the emperor was interested from a selfish standpoint, if nothing more, in the preservation of good order and the maintenance of just private law; his income depended upon these conditions. The *Corpus Juris* of Justinian was gradually modified and had to be translated into Greek, as few of the people could understand Latin. Two of the later emperors published codes, in Greek, to meet the needs of the time and to make clear what were the existing statutes. Law had an orderly development at Constantinople; and even the emperor, although absolute in so many spheres, had to submit to its rule. The people were fond of recounting how Justinian had been unable to seize illegally land which belonged to humble artisans and the devices or compromises to which he had been obliged to submit, in order not to violate the majesty of the law.

The law was territorial, not personal as was the case in western Europe. All the inhabitants of the Empire were tried by a uniform system. A Russian, a Varangian, a Persian, an Italian, who lived at Constantinople was no longer under his native code, but was subject to Roman law. The number of such foreigners was very great. For the Empire drew into its service men from very many nations and willingly allowed merchants from distant lands to settle in its capital. Often chiefs of barbarous tribes were enticed to serve the emperor and sometimes against their fellow tribesmen. The old Roman maxim of "Divide and command" was still heeded and it was easier to avert danger of attack by this means than by any other. Tribute was frequently paid to barbarians and many entered within the boundaries of the Empire, with or without the consent of the government. Fortunately the number in the early centuries was never too great and the Empire gradually absorbed and assimilated them. In this way the vacant lands were again brought under cultivation, de-

Absorption of Foreigners

CHAP. XX

cline in population was checked, and the emperor's treasury and army were kept filled.

Unity of Empire

The absorption and assimilation were the more easy because the Empire was cosmopolitan. Although the Greek people probably formed not more than a bare majority of the population, Greek was the universal language. Justinian was the last emperor who spoke Latin as his mother tongue. A half century after his death Latin was understood by only a small number of the people and had been superseded by Greek. Besides language, religion was a bond of union for all the people, and the Byzantine Empire was peculiarly bound up with the church, which used Greek in its liturgy. Moreover, the tradition of the old Roman Empire, the *one* Empire, still haunted the thoughts of men and they still called themselves Romans, and thought of the emperor as the head of the Roman Christian world. "The Byzantine Empire was not the political expression of a nation; it was an artificial creation, governing twenty different nationalities, and uniting them all by this formula; one ruler, one faith. Its pride was a purely fictitious belief, the heritage of Rome; but it had a real bond of strength: religious unity."

External Foes: Germans

It was fortunate that there were so many sources of strength, for the Empire was beset by foes and many of its provinces were lost. First the Germans, as we have seen, overran most of the West, and founded kingdoms: the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in Britain; the Franks in Gaul; the Visigoths in Spain; the Vandals in Africa; the Ostrogoths in Italy; to mention only the most prominent. Then came the first example of the "marvelous recuperative energy" peculiar to the Byzantine Empire. The generals of Justinian reconquered Africa, Italy, and part of Spain. Under his successors the Spanish possessions were lost and most of Italy fell into the hands of the Lombards. It is interesting to recall, as Oman does, that the whole peninsula of Italy never again was governed by one ruler until 1870. "Justinian had no successor till Victor Emmanuel."

Persians

Justinian was prevented from carrying out his plan to reconquer all the West from the Germans by danger on the other frontiers and especially by war with the rulers of Persia. Persia and Rome were inveterate enemies, as there was no sharply defined boundary between the two empires and each coveted the rich lands held by the other. Soon after Justinian's accession, Kobad, the Persian king, had again declared war. Belisarius was so successful that, on Kobad's death, three years later, Chosroes, his successor, was glad to make peace, and to wait until he himself was firmly seated on the throne and a more favorable oppor-

tunity presented itself. Justinian's war against the Ostrogoths offered this opportunity, and in 540 A.D. Chosroes invaded northern Syria, and sacked Antioch, carrying its citizens into captivity. Belisarius was recalled from Italy and for several years each foe ravaged the other's territory. A truce, and later peace, was agreed upon, on condition that the Byzantines should pay a nominal tribute. Justin II, who succeeded Justinian, refused to pay, and war broke out again in 572. For about twenty years it dragged on indecisively, weakening both empires. The rise of a usurper in Persia led the emperor Maurice to aid the rightful heir, another Chosroes, to regain his throne. In gratitude Chosroes made peace as soon as he had crushed the usurper When Maurice was deposed by Phocas, in 602, Chosroes declared war upon the latter, taking as his pretext the murder of his friend and benefactor. For almost twenty years the Persians were successful, conquering Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. In 614 they captured Jerusalem, slew the Christians in the city, and carried off the "true cross." This was the most dangerous crisis the Byzantine Empire had experienced; but again its "vitality and power of revival" were in evidence. Heraclius had deposed Phocas and now determined to lead the army in person, a thing which no emperor since Theodosius had done. All the churches in the capital sent their ornaments and every kind of treasure to be minted into money for the service of the state. The dole of grain, which Constantine had established for the populace, was suspended and the people, without murmuring, flocked to enlist. Finally in 622 Heraclius could take the field against the enemy and in six successive campaigns humbled Persia. Chosroes' son revolted, and putting his father to death sought peace. Heraclius consented, and the conditions were that the Persians should withdraw from all their conquests, should return all captives, should pay an indemnity, and should give back the "true cross." Heraclius had restored the empire.

Avars

His delay in attacking the Persians had been due to trouble with the Avars on the north. They were nomads who had been driven out of Asia by the Turks and had settled in southern Russia. They, as well as the other barbarians on the northern border of the Empire, received presents from Justinian, who used each tribe as a menace or check to some other, constantly stirring up strife among them. "So long as the barbarians destroyed each other," wrote a contemporary, "the emperor was always victor without drawing his sword, no matter what was the end of the struggle." But this was a dangerous policy; there was always a chance that the barbarians might attempt to kill the

CHAP. XX

goose that laid the golden egg. In fact, the Avars did make a raid into the Empire just before Justinian died. Justin refused to continue the payment to them and thus provoked war, which continued with short intermissions. Heraclius, after a show of force, had to buy them off, before he was free to attack Persia. In 626 the Avars and Persians joined in a siege of Constantinople, but this failed. While the Avars long remained dangerous to the Empire, they were never again so great a menace.

Slavs

Closely associated with the Avars, in the minds of the Byzantines, were the Slavs. These peoples were unwarlike and were repeatedly held in subjection by one conqueror after another. Many were seized and sold as slaves; many had to support nomads who made their winter quarters among them, eating their grain and violating their women. They were originally a light-haired blond people and the dark skin and hair of many Slavs is attributed to this constant intermixture of nomad blood. Their sad plight led them to dwell amid swamps, in the depths of the forests, in inaccessible places; when suddenly attacked, we are told that they dived under water and, lying upon their backs on the bottom, breathed through long reeds which projected as if growing naturally. They are said to have fought desperately when forced to defend themselves, but never to have taken the offensive except when under the command of a foreigner. This was frequently their lot. But fleeing from the Avars who held them in serfdom, or seeking better homes, Slavs were constantly filtering into the Empire. Sometimes they fought for the Avars, under compulsion, being placed in the front rank to bear the brunt of the attack. Consequently the Byzantine chroniclers did not always distinguish clearly between the two. But while the Avars made raids the Slavs settled, gradually replacing the older population, which had been reduced by war, pestilence, and famine, until they formed the vast majority in some sections of the Empire. Under Samo, a Frank, a strong Slavic kingdom was founded, and at this time and later when under alien leadership they were a redoubtable foe.

Arabs

While the Avars and Slavs were menacing the Empire the Arabs suddenly fell upon it and wrested from it the largest part of its lands. The end of the reign of Heraclius saw the Empire reduced to almost as great straits as it had experienced at the time when he became emperor. The long Persian wars had exhausted both antagonists so that the Moslems had little difficulty in their early conquests. Their internal dissensions gave Constantinople a breathing spell. But afterwards, twice in a half century, it had to withstand a siege, for six months in 673, and

still longer in 717–718. The second failure was the most important check that the Mohammedans had ever experienced and effectually prevented their great plans of conquest. Constantinople was "the bulwark of Europe." But it had to pay dearly for its frontier position and saw its provinces and islands fall under the dominion of the enemy.

Other Foes

If this were a history of the Byzantine Empire, it would be necessary to give a long list of the external foes and to tell of dangers from Bulgarians, Russians, and many others. Repeatedly the Empire was threatened, often it was reduced to dire straits; always until the thirteenth century it maintained itself, giving proof of its vitality. There were glorious epochs; in the tenth century, when Crete and other lands were reconquered from the Saracens; in the early eleventh, when Basil earned his grim title of "slayer of the Bulgarians." The Empire seems to have been at its best when confronted with the greatest dangers.

Internal Weakness: No Rule of Succession

At other times, and frequently even when endangered by external foes, Constantinople was weakened by internal dissensions and the bad policies of the government. One fact, upon which historians of the Byzantine Empire have always dwelt, was that there was no fixed rule of succession. They have described the assassinations, mutilations and depositions of the emperors. They have emphasized the conditions which permitted a barbarous leader, a drunken groom, or a favorite of the empress to seize the imperial office. They have compiled figures to show how many emperors met what might be called elsewhere an unnatural end. Undoubtedly there is some truth in these strictures and the lack of a definite system of heredity or selection did at times weaken the Empire and precipitate civil war. But it must also be noted that such revolutions usually occurred when the ruler was weak or vicious and that the successor was frequently a man of real ability and proved to be the savior of the state. The fact that the imperial office was a possible goal for any strong man, regardless of race or condition, gave to the Empire many of its ablest rulers.

The Church

The position of the church in the Empire was at once a source of strength and a source of weakness to the state. It was the former because it was a bond of unity and also because the emperor was unquestionably the head of the church. The patriarch was but a minister and a servant of the emperor; there was no investiture struggle nor any similar contest. The emperor, even when a rebel upstart who had secured the throne by murder, was an object of sacred reverence to the populace, until he in turn was dethroned. But this servile position was detrimental to

CHAP. XX

the Orthodox Church, which never took the place held in the west of Europe by the Roman Catholic Church. It had no great regenerating influence on the people; it was not the leader in education; it could not exercise any real control over a guilty ruler; it lacked virility and the power of growth. The Eastern monks played no such rôle as their Western brothers. While it is impossible to write the history of the Middle Ages in the West without giving the church the center of the stage, in Byzantine history it appears mainly as an adjunct to the emperor.

The people were interested in theological questions to a much greater degree than in the west of Europe, and frequently those disaffected politically espoused a doctrinal cause obnoxious to the emperor. Often they were able to show their opposition to a ruler or to his ministers only by taking up some controverted point in theology or by cheering the jockeys of the opposition color in the hippodrome, as these were the only safe methods of criticism. At times, the emperor imposed his will upon the church to establish some theological doctrine which was repugnant to the beliefs and habits of a large part of the subjects. Then serious trouble arose. The most noted instance was the iconoclastic struggle. In the capital, images, in the shape of both statues and pictures, adorned the churches and were held in great reverence by the masses. Apparently in Asia Minor and Syria there was a large number of Christians who had been affected by the teachings of Islam concerning idols and thought it their duty to discard all such representations of saints or of divinity. After Leo the Armenian had beaten off the Saracens in 718, he attempted the even more difficult task of ridding the churches of all images. This aroused great opposition; riots broke out; some of the emperor's officials, when attempting to remove an image of Christ, were killed by a mob; the emperor executed some of the leaders and called upon the army to enforce his policy throughout the Empire. The monks were the leaders of the Iconodules, or slaves to images, as the Iconoclasts called them, and suffered some persecution. The struggle lasted for over a century, during which time most of the emperors were Iconoclasts and the officials sided with them. But the people clung to the images, and finally the empress, Theodora, acting as guardian for her son, brought about a change of imperial policy, deposed the iconoclastic patriarch who had been her husband's appointee, and decreed the restoration of images. But the outcome was a partial compromise, as after that the icons were always pictures, and statues were no longer venerated in the churches.

Iconoclasm

This long struggle showed the power of the people in Constan-

tinople. While the majority of the population in the Asiatic themes had apparently sided with the iconoclastic emperor, the citizens in the capital, aside from the high office-holders both in church and state, had been opposed. The army had been on the imperial side. But the people had finally carried the day. The emperors always had to humor the populace. Constantine had granted a dole of grain and had arranged for races and games in the hippodrome — the old Roman policy of giving *panem et circenses*. The factions were allowed great freedom in the hippodrome, as is evident from the account of the events which led up to the Nika riot under Justinian. The members of the factions were at times enrolled as soldiers to defend the city. The great plague in 542 had swept away many of the people; we are told that 5000 persons a day died in Constantinople. But the population was recruited again and consisted of representatives of many nations. The occupations which attracted them seem to have been commerce and industry, the governmental offices and the positions in the church, both of which were very numerous. All of these occupations were essential to the prosperity of the Empire and the people engaged in them and living at the capital exercised an influence which was usually silent, but decisive upon the policy of the emperors. The murmurs of the populace might compel an emperor to dismiss an unpopular minister or even to take a colleague who was desired by the people. The fact that offices, even the highest, might be aspired to by a man of ability, was a constant incentive to many a boy of humble rank. And those who rose to prominence in the imperial service remained in touch, through their relatives, with popular opinion.

Power of People

There was a decided difference between the capital and the provinces. In the latter, apart from the commercial centers, feudalism became more and more dominant, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. The causes were similar to those which had built up the power of the nobles in the West during the fourth and fifth centuries. The small proprietors needed protection and commended themselves to the powerful. Great estates were formed and were increased by confiscations, until they sometimes embraced almost the whole of a province. The heads of the estates raised armies which served under their leadership. They became more and more dangerous to the emperor until finally in the eleventh century the great families of Asia Minor took possession of the imperial office. This feudalism, which differed in many respects from the western, has not been thoroughly treated; here, as in so many other fields of Byzantine history, it is necessary to be very cautious about generalizations, as much intensive

Feudalism

CHAP. XX

study is still needed. In fact, in almost every phase of the economic or social life of the Byzantine Empire scholars can find subjects which will repay the most careful work.

The emperors had aided in the growth of these great estates because at first they made the problem of securing funds more easy, as the head of the estate could be held responsible for the taxes due from all the people dwelling upon it. Justinian had drawn heavily upon the treasury for his great wars and many buildings, so that the Empire was almost exhausted. But his successors, especially in times of crisis, had to find new methods of wringing money from the people. The ordinary direct taxes were the land tax and the hearth tax; the latter was a fixed sum from each household. In addition there were taxes on inheritances, judicial fines, and customs duties. The last were very important and were frequently heavy, but they do not seem to have burdened commerce, as the merchants continued to prosper. The land tax caused the greatest difficulty and was frequently manipulated to aid monasteries or to check the growth of the power of the feudal lords. Religious institutions, including monasteries, hospitals and orphanages, were at times exempt from all taxation. The result was a rapid growth of such institutions and the monasteries in particular acquired great estates on which the people paid no hearth tax. Consequently some emperors felt it necessary to restrict the alienation of property to monasteries and even to force the monks to relinquish a part of their holdings. They took similar action to restrain the growth of large lay estates and the power of their possessors. But the latter were too strong and their support was often too necessary to the emperor, so that the attempts to use taxation as a weapon had little result. They only emphasized the differences between the commercial and industrial capital and the feudal provinces.

Taxation

As these differences became more pronounced they led to a policy which was fraught with peril. Too many of the emperors, when not confronted with actual danger from a strong external foe, neglected the army, fearing to give too much power into the hands of the local nobles who led their own troops. They employed mercenaries, Varangians and men from the border tribes, in preference to calling upon the natives of Asia Minor who had been so efficient under their feudal lords. The people of the capital were unmilitary in their tastes and influenced the imperial policy. This was especially true after the death of Basil, "slayer of the Bulgarians," in 1025. There seemed then little danger from the caliphate, which was so weak, or from the border tribes on the north which were impressed by the victory over the Bul-

Lack of Preparedness

garians. Consequently the army was neglected and the peace-loving Constantinople held sway. This was fatal. For this period was the one in which the decline was most evident and when the Empire was to be subjected to greater disasters than it had experienced for centuries.

Schism

Soon after the middle of the eleventh century a series of events occurred which make an epoch in Byzantine history. First, the consummation of the break between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. Relations between the two had been strained for centuries, ever since the time when Gregory the Great had protested against the use by the patriarch of the title "Ecumenical Bishop," to which he opposed his own title of *servus servorum Dei*. At the time of the iconoclastic decree of Leo the Isaurian, the pope called a council, which anathematized all who should refuse to reverence images. Consequently, the emperor decreed that the dioceses in southern Italy should no longer be under the jurisdiction of the pope, but under the patriarch. During the period of iconoclastic emperors the popes were opposed to their authority. Soon after the strife ended came the struggle between Ignatius and Photius for the patriarchate, when the former appealed to the pope and won his support, in opposition to the emperor. In consequence of this the Synod of Constantinople in 867 accused the Roman Church of heresy, especially denouncing the enforced celibacy of the priests and the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeded both from the Father and from the Son; the latter they declared "a heresy so awful as to deserve a thousand anathemas." Attempts were made to patch up the differences, but neither of the churches was willing to make real concessions and there was much rivalry concerning missions to the Bulgarians and Slavs, as each church tried to enroll these peoples in their own fold. Finally the patriarch shut the Latin churches and convents in Constantinople and brought matters to an issue. Each church excommunicated the other and the schism became final in 1054. After this there was a hostile feeling in the West and some historians have thought that Pope Urban's main interest in preaching the crusade was the desire to bring the Greek Church under the authority of the Roman.

Rise of Comneni

The second decisive event was the transference of the imperial office to the heads of the great aristocratic families in Asia Minor, which resulted in the dominance of the Comneni. With them the Oriental influence became stronger, despotism became more marked, and a series of disasters showed the decline of the Empire. The carefully organized administrative bureaus seem to have been neglected and the power apparently passed into the hands of

CHAP. XX

untrained favorites. Commerce was gradually diverted from Byzantine vessels to the ships of the rising Italian seaports; the emperor's income was lessened.

Seljuks

The most disastrous event, however, was the advance of the Seljukian Turks. They had occupied Bagdad in 1055 and were pressing steadily westward. They subjugated Armenia and Georgia and then attacked the Empire itself. At Manzikert, in 1071, they won a great victory and captured the emperor. They soon had possession of all the interior of Asia Minor and in 1074 a new emperor had to make a disgraceful treaty by which he abandoned to the Turks all that they had conquered, and a Turkish general established himself at Nicæa.

Alexius

Conditions seemed desperate, but the Empire was not yet exhausted, and under Alexius Comnenus, who became emperor in 1081, showed more of its old vitality. He struggled against the Turks and by the death of their ruler in 1092 was freed from his greatest danger, as Turkish leaders set up independent principalities and quarreled among themselves, instead of joining in war against Alexius. He was attacked by the Norman Robert Guiscard, who, going over from southern Italy, captured Durazzo and for almost four years waged war successfully, conquering many places and making ready to attack Constantinople. His death in 1085 and the contest between his sons in Italy averted this danger from the Empire, which had been in desperate straits. The Patzinaks on the north repeatedly raided the Empire and in conjunction with the Turks attempted to besiege Constantinople. In 1091 Alexius finally won a victory over them and slaughtered many thousands of men, women, and children, so that the greater part of the nation was destroyed and the remainder forced to furnish soldiers for the imperial army. The first ten years of Alexius' reign had been years of almost uninterrupted conflict and he had been obliged to seize property of the church in order to hire mercenaries. In the army which fought against Robert Guiscard at Durazzo were Normans, Franks, English, Germans, Russians, Bulgarians, Armenians, Turks, and men from other nations. These hirelings were frequently treacherous and deserted to the emperor's foes. Alexius in turn bribed the followers of his opponents and used all the resources of tricky diplomacy to protect himself. Finally, in 1092, as a result of his strenuous efforts and a great good fortune in the death of his most dangerous antagonists, he obtained a breathing spell in which to strengthen his empire. But, as this had lost most of its territories, he desired as soon as possible to reconquer some of its Asiatic possessions; and the strife among the Turks seemed to furnish a

favorable opportunity. In order to utilize this he needed troops and these he sought, as often before, from the Christian states in the West. The result will be discussed in the next chapter.

Before ending this chapter on the Byzantine Empire it is important to note its influence on the general history of Europe. The whole eastern half of Europe owes its civilization to new Rome and not to old Rome. Russia and the Balkan states came under the influence of Constantinople and derived from it their religion and many of their customs. On the western countries its influence was less marked, but still very important. From its earliest days the new capital of the Empire had had many connections with the west of Europe. These became less frequent after the days of Charlemagne, with whom Byzantine emperors had exchanged presents and embassies. But there were associations through the papacy, through commerce, and because of the Greek possessions in southern Italy. Otto the Great obtained a Greek princess as the bride of his son and she brought in her train Greek attendants and Greek fashions which impressed the imagination of the Germans. In times of need the Byzantines had sought aid from the West. During the period of the crusades the intercourse was to be much greater and the more advanced civilization was destined to exert a more powerful influence upon the westerners, even although the latter were usually hostile.

Influence of the Byzantine Empire

The conservatism which was the most marked characteristic of the Byzantine civilization preserved much of the classical literature and learning. In no sphere of thought or action was there a sharp break with the past. Law, government, military science, art, slowly evolved, constantly building upon the older traditions. Even in religion there was no such great change as we are apt to imagine must take place when Christianity supersedes paganism. As Hatch has pointed out, Greek influence profoundly modified the original ideas and ideals of Christianity. The Byzantines with their love and study of the old Greek classics imbibed many of the pagan points of view. Just as they interpreted the Bible allegorically the preachers explained the fall of Troy as a moral allegory. Plato was made into a precursor of Christ. Michael Psellos, one of the most influential leaders in the eleventh century, had learned the Iliad by heart and when profoundly moved by the death of his sister vented his grief in verses which show no trace of Christian influence, but are filled with pagan feeling. The fact that there had been no such break with the past as occurred in the West enabled Constantinople to perform its greatest service as a storehouse of classical traditions and learning until the West had reached a

Conservatism

CHAP. XX

maturity of thought which led it to desire such mental pabulum. The western scholars drew upon this hoard for centuries, at first hesitatingly, then with confidence, until the time came in the days of the "Renaissance" when they made almost a fetich of Homer.

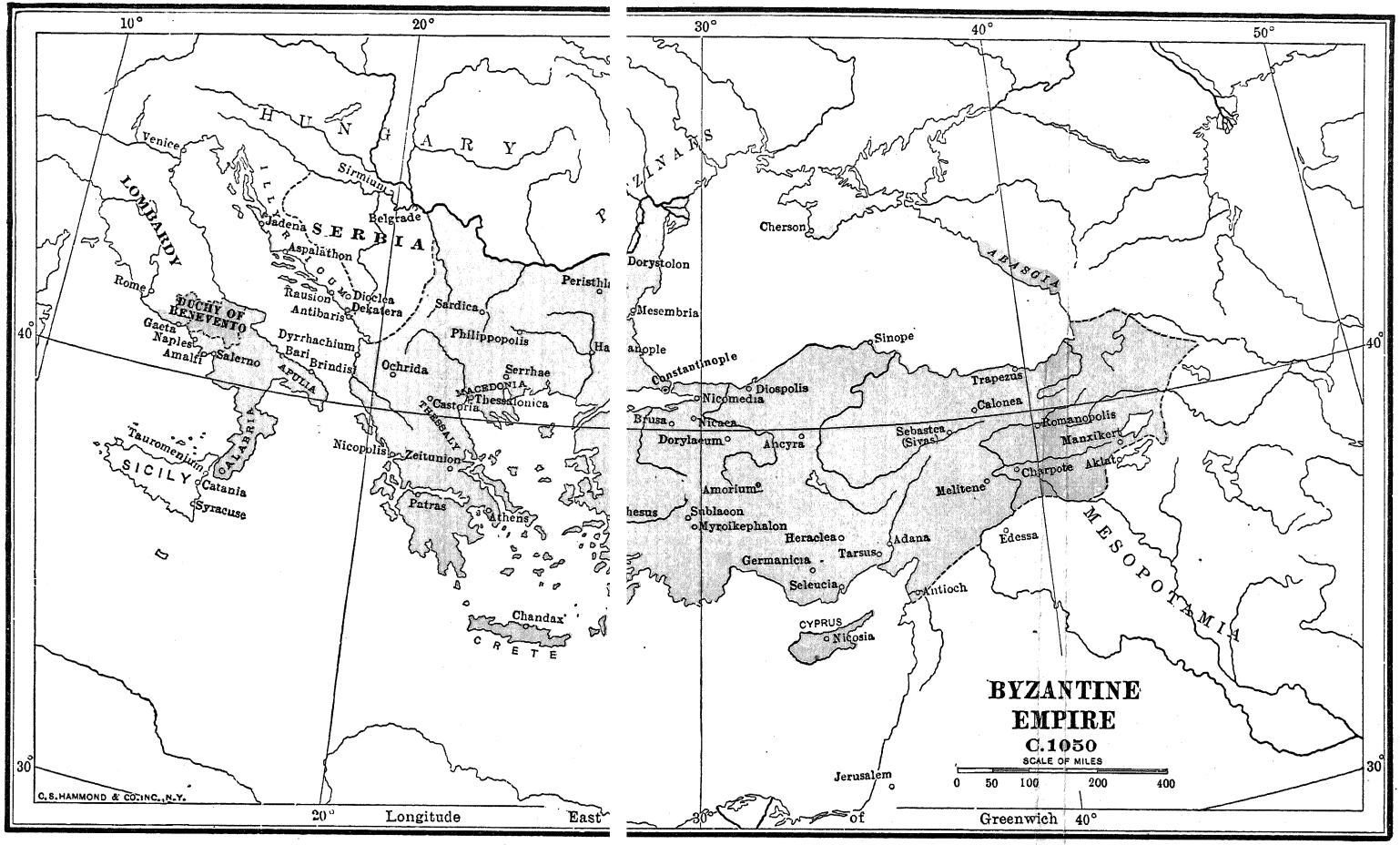
Learning and authorship were held in high renown at Constantinpole. Naturally dwelling upon the past glories, as was their conservative tendency, the scholars were to a great extent compilers and merely handed down the works of the great men of antiquity. By this means the learning of Greece was preserved, for their own use, for the Arabs, and later for the modern world. We owe much of our knowledge to the epitomes and compilations in vogue among the Byzantines. Emperors were patrons of literature and also authors. Reference has already been made to their works on military science and law. Constantine VII, in the tenth century, among other writings, prepared a treatise on the administration of the Empire, to which we owe much of our information, and also one on the ceremonies and court functions. It is very interesting to see how the etiquette of the Byzantine court influenced western usages and to compare the pompous ceremonial which surrounded a Louis XIV of France with the customs described by the tenth-century Byzantine emperor.

Literature

The influence might be traced along very many lines, but possibly it was the most striking in the various fields of art. Passing over the jewelry, ivory work, enamels, embroidery, and many minor arts, in architecture and painting the debt to Byzantium is enormous. Justinian was a great builder and his chief work was S. Sophia, "the fairest church in all the world," to quote a western medieval writer. With this judgment Ferguson agrees, declaring that internally it is "the most perfect and beautiful church ever yet erected by any Christian people." It served as a model for many medieval churches in Italy and southern France, and its influence can be traced to-day in almost every Christian country. Equally marked is the importance of Byzantine painting. In the first half of the last century a painter's hand-book, which dates from the eleventh century or earlier, was discovered in a Byzantine monastery. It contained practical rules for the artists and designs for representations of Biblical and sacred scenes. "Here, in fact, in an old monkish practice-book, are the types of sacred art as we find it in sculpture, mosaic, fresco, metal, and illuminated work from the sixth to the sixteenth century, and from Syria to Ireland, throughout the Christian world." [1]

Art

[1] Harrison, Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages (London, 1900), p. 60.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Amalfi
Salerno
Rausion
Diocletea
Dekatera
Antibaris
Dyrrhachium
Bari
Brindisi
APULIA
Ochrida
Sardica
Philippopolis
Serrhae
MACEDONIA
Thessalonica
Castoria
THESSALY
Nicopolis
Zeitunion
Tauromenium
CALABRIA
SICILY
Catania
Syracuse
Patras
Athens
Chandax
CRETE
Cherson
ZIKHS
ABASGIA
Dorystolon
Mesembria
Sinope
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Diospolis
Trapezus
Calonea
Brusa
Nicaea
Dorylaeum
Ancyra
Sebastea (Sivas)
Romanopolis
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Charpote
Akiat
Amorium
Melitene
Sublaeon
Myroikephalon
Heraclea
Adana
Edessa
Tarsus
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Seleucia
Antioch
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CYPRUS
Nicosia
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CHAPTER XXI

CRUSADES TO 1187

THE investiture struggle was still dragging on, but in 1095 Urban II held a strong position. Henry IV of Germany and the anti-pope whom he had set up were both virtually powerless; the other monarchs had recognized Urban as the rightful pope. He had summoned a council to meet at Piacenza on March 1 to consider reforms, and thither came, we are told, four thousand of the clergy and thirty thousand of the laity. In addition, an embassy from Alexius Comnenus was present to beg that the pope and all Christians would aid the emperor against the pagans. Urban urged this, and many are said to have promised to go to the assistance of Alexius. This appeal was destined to result in a vast undertaking of which Alexius had never dreamed. Urban grasped the opportunity to place himself at the head of a movement which, under his leadership, would bring prestige to the papacy, and might restore unity to the Church. He knew that the conditions in the west were ripe for such a project.

Appeal of Alexius

It was a period of unrest. Wars and conquests had been undertaken, and to gain followers the leaders had offered great inducements. In order to obtain troops for the conquest of England, William had advertised widely and had promised rewards contingent upon his success. Many a needy adventurer acquired rich holdings in England; many a dispossessed Englishman sought to retrieve his fortunes by service in the Varangian Guard at Constantinople. In southern Italy and Sicily Norman adventurers had conquered the Saracens and built up great fiefs. Not content with what he had already acquired Robert Guiscard had attempted the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. In Spain the Christians in the north were steadily pressing upon the Moslems, and occasionally winning from them a town with the surrounding country; this was the period in which the Cid flourished. In Germany and northern Italy the investiture struggle with its long-continued war brought misery to many, but gave to a few the opportunity for sudden promotion and unexpected fortune. In addition to these large enterprises,

CHAP. XXI

wars between the feudal lords were constant. Some fought to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors; others fought to avenge injuries; in fact, fighting was for many the best loved sport, and any pretext was good. But the zest for combat was keenest when there was likelihood of obtaining booty in some form.

Love of Fighting

Asceticism

The spirit of unrest also manifested itself in a strong tendency toward asceticism. This had always been an ingredient of medieval Christianity, and it now became more marked than ever. Men were much interested in the life after death, and believed that a life of suffering on earth would profit them in the hereafter. With the movement toward reformation of the Church in the eleventh century asceticism became much more pronounced. Individuals were lauded for their self-denial and self-torture. Legends of the saints dwelt lovingly upon marvelous incidents of mortification of the flesh. Sinners were urged to atone for their past misdeeds by a life of self-abnegation, and many entered monasteries. New monastic orders, embodying stricter discipline and greater asceticism, were founded toward the close of the eleventh and in the beginning of the twelfth century, and soon enrolled a great number of converts. Religious leaders like Peter Damiani and popes like Gregory VII lent their influence to the increase in the practice of asceticism. The people, as a rule, admired those who were noted for extreme asceticism, and themselves submitted to fasting and other forms of privation to atone for their sins and to insure salvation in the next world. One of the reforms of the Council of Piacenza was the regulation of the "fasts of the four seasons." It is apparent that many men were disturbed over their spiritual condition and were ready to undertake some pious task, even if it involved a change in their life, so great was their unrest and dissatisfaction with their condition.

Pilgrimages.

Pilgrimages were especially favored as a form of penance. Sometimes the goal was the shrine of some local saint; for serious offenses the guilty might be commanded to go to Rome; but the supreme penance for the most heinous crimes, such as incest, the burning of a church, or the infraction of the truce of God, was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Ever since Helena, the mother of Constantine, had discovered the true cross, that city had been the great goal for pilgrims. Accounts of the journey thither were eagerly treasured and the number of pilgrims increased. Of the pilgrimages to Jerusalem that have been recorded there were six in the eighth century, twelve in the ninth, sixteen in the tenth, and one hundred and seventeen in the eleventh, before the beginning

of the crusades. Moreover, in this last century greater vogue was given to this form of penance by the example of the German bishops who, with seven thousand followers, are said to have set out for Jerusalem in 1065, and by the pilgrimages of nobles, as, for example, Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, who made the pilgrimage at least three times, or the father of William the Conqueror, Duke Robert of Normandy. The latter set out bare-footed on the long journey. When he had to pass through a city, he sent his followers ahead so that he might himself, unprotected, suffer insults from those who were ignorant of his station. When a gatekeeper struck him, he received the blow cheerfully, as a favor from heaven; "This stroke is dearer to me than the best city of my dukedom." Accounts of such pilgrimages did much to enhance the interest in the land where Christ lived, and the desire to "worship where His feet have stood."

Elsewhere attention will be called to other ways in which the unrest asserted itself; e. g., in the increased activity of merchants, in the journeyings of students to centers of learning, in the peasants' desire to better their lot. Pope Urban was conscious of these conditions, and laid his plans carefully for the initiation of a movement that should free the Holy Land from the hands of the pagans; for his purpose had grown to embrace much more than a mere project to aid Alexius. He had consulted with leaders in southern France, and had called a council to meet at Clermont in Auvergne. There no building could hold the throngs whom the rumor of some great undertaking had brought together. There, in the open air, on November 25, 1095, Urban delivered the most effective oration recorded in history.

Council of Clermont

Speech of Urban

The pope began by praising the valor of the Franks and recalling to them the great deeds of their ancestors. Then he spoke of the necessity of aiding their brethren in the East, of the appeals for help that had come so frequently because of the victorious advance of the Turks. He dwelt at length upon the sufferings that were inflicted upon the Christians and upon the desecration of the holy places. He gave examples of cruelty, and aroused deep emotion in his hearers by pointing out the manner in which the places they held most sacred were being defiled. Then emphasizing the special sanctity of Jerusalem, he declared that this was God's own work, that, for all who participated, the journey itself would take the place of all other penance. He urged them to engage in righteous warfare instead of wasting their strength and imperiling their souls by civil strife at home. He pointed out the evil conditions in France which reduced many to starvation, and compared with this the opportunity

CHAP. XXI

for acquiring homes in a land flowing with milk and honey, and for securing at the same time eternal rewards. He urged them not to let any ties prevent them from entering upon this holy undertaking in which they would march with Christ as their leader. This speech aroused the utmost enthusiasm. Thousands pressed forward to take the cross. Urban seems to have been surprised at his own success, and found it necessary to attempt to check the excessive enthusiasm by ordering that women should not go without the consent of their husbands, that priests and monks should not join the movement without the approbation of their superiors, and that old men and children should remain at home. But he was powerless to stay the flood that he had set in motion. When ambassadors arrived on the following day to say that Raymond of Toulouse, the most powerful count in France, had taken the cross, success seemed assured.

Peter the Hermit

After Clermont, Urban preached the crusade in other places, and his example was followed by many. The most successful was Peter the Hermit, to whom the whole movement was formerly attributed. It has been proved that Peter had never been in Jerusalem and that his preaching began only after the Council of Clermont. But this in no way lessens his actual achievement. He went through a large part of France, mounted upon a mule, and preaching wherever he could find an audience. His arms and feet were bare; he ate sparingly of the food that was set before him; he preached repentance; and he soon came to be regarded popularly as a saint. "Even the hairs were snatched from his mule to be preserved as relics." Throngs of people surrounded him, and by the time he reached Cologne, in March, 1096, thousands had determined to follow him on his crusade.

The First Bands

The pope had set August 15, 1096, as the date for departure, but the people whom Peter had aroused were impatient to start. Two bands, each numbering some thousands, set out in the spring and marched across Germany, through Hungary and Bulgaria, and down to Constantinople. The first had a remarkably successful march, and aroused little hostility; the second, which Peter led, was not so orderly, and became involved in fighting with the Bulgarians, so that many pilgrims were killed or enslaved. When the bands arrived at Constantinople, the emperor advised them to remain until the main army came up, as the danger would be great if they went into the enemy's country. Unfortunately, some were unruly and proved themselves undesirable visitors; it is said that some even stole lead from the roof of a church in order to sell it. Alexius soon wished to be

rid of them, and furnished vessels to convey them across the Hellespont. There, after a few weeks, they aroused the wrath of the Turks by their plundering expeditions and were exterminated. Other expeditions followed later under the leadership of adventurers. Some plundered the Jews. All were unruly, and no one of them succeeded in reaching Constantinople. Because of the ill deeds of these later bands and the lack of success of Peter, it has been the habit to speak contemptuously of the "peasants' crusade," a misleading name under which all these first movements have been grouped.

In the summer and autumn of 1096 the real hosts began their march. Count Raymond of Toulouse is said to have had one hundred thousand men. He is said to have been "as fanatical as a monk and as land-greedy as a Norman." With him went Bishop Adhemar of Puy, who had been the first to take the cross at the Council at Clermont and had been made the papal legate. He is described by a contemporary as

Facilis ad omne bonum
Et gracilis ad equitandum.

He was to be the means of maintaining peace in the army. From Flanders and Lorraine went Godfrey of Bouillon, an honest man and a hard fighter. His position later at the head of the government in the holy city won for him great prestige, and led many to ascribe to him the leadership of the whole movement. With him went his brother Baldwin and the latter's wife. From Normandy went Duke Robert, able, but rash and improvident. In order to acquire means for his journey he had pledged his duchy to his brother for ten thousand marks; the latter is said to have secured twice this amount from the first year's income. Also from the north of France went Hugh the Great, the brother of the king, who surrounded himself with a number of other tall knights, all clad in shining armor. From central France went Stephen of Blois, who may have been the wealthiest man who took part in the movement; for he had married the daughter of the king of England, and is said to have owned a castle for each day in the year. From southern Italy went the Norman Bohemond and his kinsman Tancred. Bohemond was the shrewdest of all the leaders. Tancred was unscrupulous and not at all the ideal hero he was later considered to have been.

The Leaders

These were the chief leaders, and around them gathered all who chose to take part in the movement. Men came from the uttermost islands, and indicated by signs their desire to take part in the crusade. All were gladly received, and the armies grew con-

CHAP. XXI

stantly as they proceeded on their way. A vivid account has been left of their start, written by one of the participants: "Then the husband announced to his wife the exact time of his return, assuring her that if he lived he would return to his country and to her at the end of three years. He commended her to the Lord, gave her a kiss, and promised to come back to her. But the wife, who feared that she would never see him again, overcome with grief, was unable to stand, fell almost lifeless to the ground, and wept over her dear one whom she was losing in life, as if he were already dead. He then, as if he had no pity — and nevertheless he was filled with pity — and was not moved by the lamentations of his wife or children or friends — and yet he was secretly moved — departed with mind firmly set upon his purpose. The sadness was for those who remained, the joy for those who departed. What more can we say? 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes.'"

The Start

The March

Before they set out the leaders made their plans to meet in Constantinople. They went by different routes. Godfrey followed the so-called road of Charles the Great up the Rhine, through southern Germany, then through Hungary and Bulgaria, to the Greek empire. Count Raymond marched through northern Italy, around the head of the Adriatic, and across Greece. Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Hugh the Great, and Bohemond all crossed over from Italy to Greece by vessels, but at different times. All made their march successfully. Godfrey met with little hindrance until, believing that the Greek emperor had proved treacherous, he began to make reprisals by plundering. Count Raymond had some difficulty among the mountaineers, and was compelled to terrify them into submission by his cruelty. His chronicler tells us that the army was greatly annoyed by the fog, which was so thick that it could be cut with a knife. Bohemond had no trouble in maintaining order as long as he was with his army.

The real difficulties came from the emperor's attitude. He had desired aid, but had not expected to have any such armies turned loose upon his empire. Gibbon has compared his plight to that of the "shepherd who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his cottage was swept away by the inundation." Such was the fate that Alexius feared. He had formerly been at war with Bohemond and his father Robert. He feared now that the crusaders would attempt to seize his capital. At the same time he wished to make use of them. Consequently he endeavored by cunning, by violence, or by

CHAP. XXI

Alexius and the Leaders

bribery to win each individual over to his cause. Hugh the Great was the first to reach the boundaries of the Greek empire. He had previously sent a message to the emperor which the latter's daughter, Anna Comnena, says was very insolent. The emperor was waiting for his coming; and when the vessel in which Hugh was journeying was thrown upon the shore and wrecked, Hugh was received by the emperor's official and conducted to Constantinople. But he was not entirely free. The news that Hugh was in prison came to Godfrey and caused him to begin his plundering. Finally the emperor succeeded in making terms with both Hugh and Godfrey, and assured himself of their alliance. Bohemond was easily won over by bribery. Raymond refused to take an oath to the emperor, but finally consented to a modified form, because of his intense hatred of Bohemond, a hatred that he shared with Alexius. All of the leaders were finally brought to take an oath that if they should conquer cities that had once belonged to the Greek empire, they would restore these to the emperor, and the emperor in turn promised that he would aid them in their crusade.

The first military undertaking was against the city of Nicæa, where all the army finally gathered in the summer of 1097. The crusaders invested the city, and, with the aid of boats that were sent overland by the emperor, brought it to the point of surrender. Just as the crusaders were rejoicing that they would soon be sacking the city and wreaking their will upon the inhabitants, they saw the emperor's flag waving from a city tower. The inhabitants had preferred to surrender to him rather than to suffer the barbarities of a sack. The emperor gave money freely to the leaders, and, as a chronicler derisively described it, some brass coins to the common people. Consequently they departed, "some with kindly feelings and others with different emotions." Stephen of Blois wrote home exultingly to his wife that the emperor had given him more money than he got with her dowry.

Capture of Nicæa

The march from Nicæa to Antioch proved long and dangerous. On the 4th of July they fought and eventually won the battle of Dorylæum; but victory was snatched from defeat only by the heroism of the leaders. On the march through the mountains they suffered from heat and thirst, so that many died. Their beasts of burden perished, and dogs were pressed into the service to carry the packs. They made a long delay among the Armenians in order to secure aid from the latter. Baldwin left the army in order to secure Edessa. Finally, late in the year 1098, the others reached the great city of Antioch.

March to Antioch

CHAP. XXI

The capture of this city was an arduous task, for they were not able to invest it completely. Moreover, the discipline was bad and the army was improvident. In the first week of the siege they ate up most of their provisions and wasted their food in riotous living. They then repented humbly for their sins, sent away the evil women from the army, and sought the aid of the Lord. There seemed little chance of their eventual success; but Bohemond was planning to obtain the city, which he coveted for a principality. He persuaded the other leaders to agree that whoever captured it should have it. He had bribed an Armenian who had command of one of the towers, so that when the agreement was reached the traitor let down a rope ladder, and Bohemond and his men were soon on the city walls. They opened the gates, and Antioch was captured.

Capture of Antioch

The army, now that they had ample provisions in the city, devoted the first few days to feasting and excesses. They did not even attempt to capture the citadel, which was still held by the Turks. When Kerbogha appeared and invested the city, they were caught. They soon exhausted their provisions, and famine set in. Peter the Hermit and others attempted to run away by letting themselves down from the city walls by ropes. They were called contemptuously the "rope-dancers." Peter was captured and brought back; Stephen of Blois made good his escape and, going northward, met the Greek emperor, who was hastening down with an army. When Alexius learned the desperate position the crusaders were in, he retreated and left them to their fate. During this time a certain peasant, Peter Bartholomew, had a vision in which Christ appeared to him and told him that the holy lance was buried in a church in Antioch. This lance was the one that had pierced the Saviour's side as He hung upon the cross. The peasant went first to Bishop Adhemar, who would not believe his story. Then he went to Count Raymond, who was credulous. They dug in the appointed place, and at dusk, when only a few were present, the lance was produced by the man who had had the vision. Most of the leaders seem to have felt that the whole thing was a fraud; but after due deliberation they decided that it was worth while to use the lance to arouse enthusiasm. Consequently they marched out against the enemy, Bishop Adhemar bearing the holy lance. They surprised and routed Kerbogha and almost annihilated his army.

The Holy Lance

Bohemond was left in charge of the city, and the army proceeded to take possession of other places. "Each one thought only of his own advantage, and no one cared for the common good." Each leader was intent only upon what he might secure

for himself, and there was no zeal for going to Jerusalem. Disputes broke out, and the holy lance formed the pretext for many. Count Raymond still believed in it; but the other leaders, after having used it in their time of need, were now skeptical Bishop Adhemar had died, and there was no one to keep peace. Finally the man who had had the vision was compelled to undergo the ordeal by fire in order to prove his assertions. Raymond's chaplain who believed in the genuineness of the lance gives the following account of the ordeal. "The leaders and the people to the number of fifty thousand came together; the priests were there also with bare feet, clothed in ecclesiastical garments. The invocation was made: 'If Omnipotent God has spoken to this man face to face, and the blessed Andrew has shown him our Lord's lance while he was keeping his vigil, let him go through the fire unharmed. But if it is false, let him be burned, together with the lance which he is to carry in his hand.' And all responded on bended knees, 'Amen.' The fire was growing so hot that the flames shot up thirty cubits high into the air, and scarcely any one dared approach it. Then Peter Bartholomew, clothed only in his tunic and kneeling before the bishop of Albar called God to witness that he had seen Him face to face on the cross, and that he had heard from Him those words above written. . . . Then, when the bishop had placed the lance in his hand, he kneeled and made the sign of the cross, and entered the fire with the lance, firm and unterrified. For an instant's time he paused in the midst of the flames, and then by the grace of God passed through. . . . But when Peter emerged from the fire so that neither his tunic was burned nor even the thin cloth with which the lance was wrapped up had shown any sign of damage, the whole people received him after he had made over them the sign of the cross with the lance in his hand, and cried, 'God aid us!' All the people, I say, threw themselves upon him and dragged him to the ground and trampled on him, each one wishing to get a piece of his garment, and each thinking him near some one else. And so he received three or four wounds in the legs, where the flesh was torn away, his back was injured and his sides bruised. Peter had died on the spot, as we believe, had not Raymond Pelet, a brave and noble soldier, broken through the wild crowd with a band of friends and rescued him at the peril of their lives. . . . After this Peter died in peace at the hour appointed to him by God, and journeyed to the Lord; and he was buried in the place where he had carried the lance of the Lord through the fire."

Finally Raymond was compelled to lead his followers to Jeru-

CHAP. XXI

salem, for they threatened to go without him if he did not do so. Some of the other leaders accompanied him; but Stephen had gone home, Bohemond was in Antioch, and Baldwin in Edessa. The army, which was said to number twenty thousand, arrived before Jerusalem on June 7, 1099. At first they hoped that the walls of Jerusalem would fall as the walls of Jericho had done, and they marched barefoot around the city, blowing their horns. Finally, by desperate valor, they succeeded in storming the city, which fell into their hands on July 15. They proceeded to make an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants — all ages and both sexes. The princes wrote home exultingly to the pope: "And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

Capture of Jerusalem

Having captured the city, the question of its disposal was uppermost. The members of the clergy insisted that no ruler ought to be chosen for the holy city, but that it should be church property. As the papal legate had died and no one had been appointed in his place, the clergy had no leader, and their wishes were not heeded. One week after the capture of the city the nobles met to choose a ruler. Raymond was offered the kingship, but declined, saying that he was unwilling to wear a crown of gold where our Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. Finally Godfrey was chosen with the title "baron and defender of the Holy Sepulcher." In this way a conflict between the clerical and lay parties was avoided.

Election of Godfrey

When Godfrey died the following summer, the patriarch attempted to call Bohemond to his assistance; but Bohemond had just been taken prisoner by the Moslems. Since on his death-bed Godfrey had designated his brother as his heir, messengers were sent by Godfrey's party to Baldwin, and he, "grieving somewhat at his brother's death, but rejoicing much more over the inheritance," set out for Jerusalem. At first he was not recognized as king by the patriarch; but he showed himself a man of real ability, and on Christmas day, 1100, he was crowned. The coronation took place not in Jerusalem but at Bethlehem, and it was not until the trouble with the patriarch had ended that Baldwin took the title "king of Jerusalem." As the inhabitants had been massacred when the city had been captured, the new rulers found it necessary to gain the good will of the natives in order to repopulate it. Baldwin offered privileges and freedom of trade to all without distinction of race or creed. Men who

King Baldwin

themselves came from different nations were forced to live in close association with the natives, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Saracens and others.

This was due to the nature of the country. The greatest length of the Christian holdings at any time, from the extreme north in Edessa to the extreme southern point, was somewhat more than five hundred miles; the breadth was in many places less than fifty miles. The country may be divided into four zones. On the border of the Mediterranean there is in some places a fertile plain a few miles in width; in other places the sea beats against the rocky coast. To the eastward is a mountainous country with many springs and offering some good land for farming. Beyond the mountains is the valley of the Jordan, a depressed trough, a land of great fertility. To the eastward of this, mountains and deserts; on the slopes of the mountains there were occasionally villages and some important places. The Christians never succeeded in conquering all of this country. The Mohammedans always held strongholds in the mountains, and in addition some important cities, like Damascus. It was only very gradually that the seaports were captured by the Christians. There was no stronghold of the Christians that was not within a day's ride of the enemy; consequently the two peoples were always face to face.

Geographical Conditions

Their forced association caused a great change in the feelings of the Christians. When they had started out on the crusade they had felt contempt for the Mohammedans; they had been led to believe that the latter were cowards. In their first battles each learned to respect the other, and thus the way was prepared for more intimate relations. In their constant strife with one another the Mohammedans welcomed assistance from the Christians. The Christians almost as soon as they entered Syria began to quarrel among themselves, and very soon they were seeking aid from the infidels against men of their own religion. Consequently alliances between Franks and Mohammedans were frequent. Both were passionately devoted to hunting, but realized the danger from their neighbors unless some mutual understanding could be reached. Very soon hunting agreements were entered into by antagonists who lived near each other, so that when either party was hunting he might be free from danger of attack. The Franks had taken with them to the Holy Land horses, hawks, and dogs. Very soon enthusiastic sportsmen among both peoples were comparing the respective merits of their animals and making trades. Safe conducts were exchanged

Friendly Relations

CHAP. XXI

and were honored by both parties. In this way many associations came about, and close friendships were formed between the adherents of the rival religions.

The Franks who occupied the country were relatively few in number, and they were engaged in the early years in defending their conquests or in attempting the reduction of other strongholds. They had no opportunity to cultivate the land or to do the necessary building of fortresses and churches. For this they employed native workmen, without regard to race or creed. They had to treat these workmen well in order to retain their services, because it was easy for the laborers to leave at any time and escape from the power of the Franks. They employed native overseers and intrusted authority to them. In the second half of the century a Moslem traveler bemoaned the fact that his co-religionists preferred to work for the Franks because they received better treatment and more exact justice.

Employment of Natives

Such associations with the natives led to the adoption of new customs by the men from the West. First of all, they adopted the clothing suitable to the country, because it was more comfortable and frequently more handsome than their own. In food they acquired new tastes, and especially learned to need sugar and spices. They preferred Oriental houses, with their cool courts and running water, to anything they had known at home. As they became better acquainted with the natives they began to call on them for assistance in lines where they felt the superiority of the Mohammedans. In medicine, for example, they soon learned to prefer the Mohammedan doctors, who treated patients by dieting and medicine, in place of the Christian practitioners, who were too apt to use the knife or the ax in every emergency. But the most striking illustration of the effect of the association between the different races is to be found in some changes that took place in their religious ideas. A wonder-working virgin was worshiped by Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews. Certain shrines were held holy by everybody. Moslems said their prayers in Christian chapels. The intense feeling against heresy and schism, which was so strong in the West, was almost non-existent among the Franks in the East; different sects worshiped in the same church; some bishops of the Roman Church actually consecrated a bishop of a heretical sect.

Adoption of New Customs

The associations and friendly relations were caused in part by the weakness of both Christians and infidels. Of the former the number who remained in the Holy Land after the first crusade was very small, and their allegiance was divided among

several overlords who were seldom in friendly coöperation. But the Turks were equally divided for more than a generation. Consequently the first two kings were able to conquer almost all the seaports and to extend the kingdom. But in order to secure a fleet to reduce a seaport the king had to hire the aid of one of the Italian cities; thus Arsuf and Cæsarea were conquered in 1101 by the aid of the Genoese, who had bargained for a third of the booty and a quarter in the city to be under their administration. Similar terms were demanded and obtained by the Pisans and Venetians when they furnished aid, so that parts of each coast city were in the hands of the Italians and not under the king's authority. Moreover, the interests of the Italians, when they had secured the trading centers, were usually in the maintenance of peace, not in the continuance of the conquests. The king never had a large enough army to attempt conquests in the interior except when bands of pilgrims came for a few months, and over such pilgrims he had no authority. The members of the two military orders, the Templars and the Hospitalers, whose rise will be discussed elsewhere, were a great aid when they coöperated; but they were independent of the king, and in time came to be bitter rivals of each other, seldom joining loyally in any enterprise. Lastly, except for brief periods, the rulers of the four states — the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and the county of Tripoli — were never united for the common cause.

CHAP. XXI

Division among Christians

Toward the middle of the twelfth century the Moslems in Syria and the country to the northeast became united under one ruler, Imad-ed-din Zangi. In 1127 he was made governor of Mosul, on the Tigris. He began his conquests by reducing the rival Mohammedan rulers to the east of the Euphrates and in northern Syria, capturing Aleppo and Hamah. Fortunately for the Christians, he was not able to follow up his successes, as renewed warfare against other Mohammedans occupied his energies for about fourteen years. Finally, in 1144, he was free to attempt the conquest of Edessa. This city was strongly fortified, but poorly defended, and was captured after a siege of only four weeks, in 1144.

Fall of Edessa

The news of the fall of Edessa brought about a renewed interest in the cause of the Holy Land. Louis VII of France took the cross and Bernard of Clairvaux was instructed by the pope to preach a crusade. He succeeded in winning over Conrad III of Germany, who described his own conversion as "a miracle of miracles." The two armies started out in 1147, the Germans preceding the French. Conrad and his followers were

The Second Crusade

CHAP. XXI

led astray, and all but the knights were almost annihilated by the Turks in Asia Minor. This crusade accomplished nothing. The two kings finally reached Jerusalem, where they conferred with the leaders and decided to attack Damascus. This great and wealthy city had never been captured by the Christians, but its inhabitants had usually paid tribute. Now the army, made up of the French and German knights, of the Templars and Hospitalers, and of the followers of the king of Jerusalem, camped before the city on a very favorable site. But there were traitors among the Christians who persuaded the kings that it would be better to go around to the other side of the city and make the attack from there. The army moved from its advantageous position, only to find the new location destitute of water and entirely unsuitable. When they attempted to return to their old position they found it occupied by the enemy, and there was nothing for them to do but to abandon the siege. There were lengthy recriminations, and finally the French and German kings went home in disgust. After this fiasco it was long difficult to arouse any enthusiasm in the West for aiding the Christians in the Holy Land.

Conditions in the Kingdom

All the early kings of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, 1100–1118, Baldwin II, 1118–1131, and Fulk, 1131–1143, had been born in the West and had been mature men when they had gone to the Holy Land. The succeeding kings were born there, and did not have the vigor of the adventurers from the West. Too often they followed an unwise policy with regard to Mohammedan affairs. Apparently they did not realize the danger inherent in the growing union among the Moslems. Nureddin had succeeded Zangi and had added Damascus to his dominions. He was an abler man than his father. After his death in 1174, Saladin, who had already conquered Egypt, which had been weakened by war with Jerusalem, gradually gained power over the Moslems in the north, and wrested some fortresses from the Christians. In the meantime the Christians, while fighting bravely on some occasions, were troubled by internal divisions. Those who wished to live in peace with the Mohammedans, so that trade might flourish, were numerous. Those who loved fighting were not in accord with one another. The king had comparatively little authority. Still worse was the position when Baldwin V was crowned king. He was only a child, and the rival nobles contended for power. When he died in 1186 Guy of Lusignan was crowned king, and this alienated the leader of the peace party, Count Raymond of Tripoli, who as regent had just made a truce with Saladin.

This truce was broken by Reginald of Châtillon. He was

CHAP. XXI

Reginald of Châtillon

an adventurer who had gone out from Europe to seek his fortune on the Second Crusade. Remaining in Syria, he was fortunate enough to win the love of the heiress of Antioch, and by marrying her became the lord of that city. He quarreled bitterly with the patriarch of Antioch, and by his greed brought on himself the anger of the Greek emperor. But he defended the principality successfully until he was captured by the Saracens and held a prisoner for sixteen years. When he was released his wife was dead and he was not wanted at Antioch. He then entered the service of the king of Jerusalem and was placed in command of the fortress of Krak, which overlooked one of the main caravan routes. In spite of the truce between the Christians and the Mohammedans, when a rich caravan passed beneath the walls of his castle Reginald was unable to restrain his greed. He fell upon the caravan and plundered it. It has been stated that a sister of Saladin was in this caravan. Whether this is true or not, Saladin felt that there was no possibility of preserving peace with the Christians and at once set out to inflict chastisement.

In the face of the danger the Christians united for the common defense. But Count Raymond of Tripoli had long been at variance with the king and with the grand-master of the Templars, and was trusted by neither. He was supposed to be in alliance with Saladin, with whom he was on terms of good friendship. The result was that the sound advice of Raymond was neglected and the Christians rashly took up an unfavorable position for battle and invited the Saracen attack. The battle of Hattin, which followed, was the destruction of the Christian cause. The king and his leaders, including Reginald, fell into the hands of Saladin. Reginald and the Templars were put to death; the others were spared. Then Saladin in a rapid campaign captured almost all of the strongholds of the Christians, most of them making no real defense. Finally he captured the city of Jerusalem itself. This was in 1187, when the city had been in the hands of the Christians about eighty-eight years.

Fall of Jerusalem

CHAPTER XXII

ENGLAND, 1087–1272.

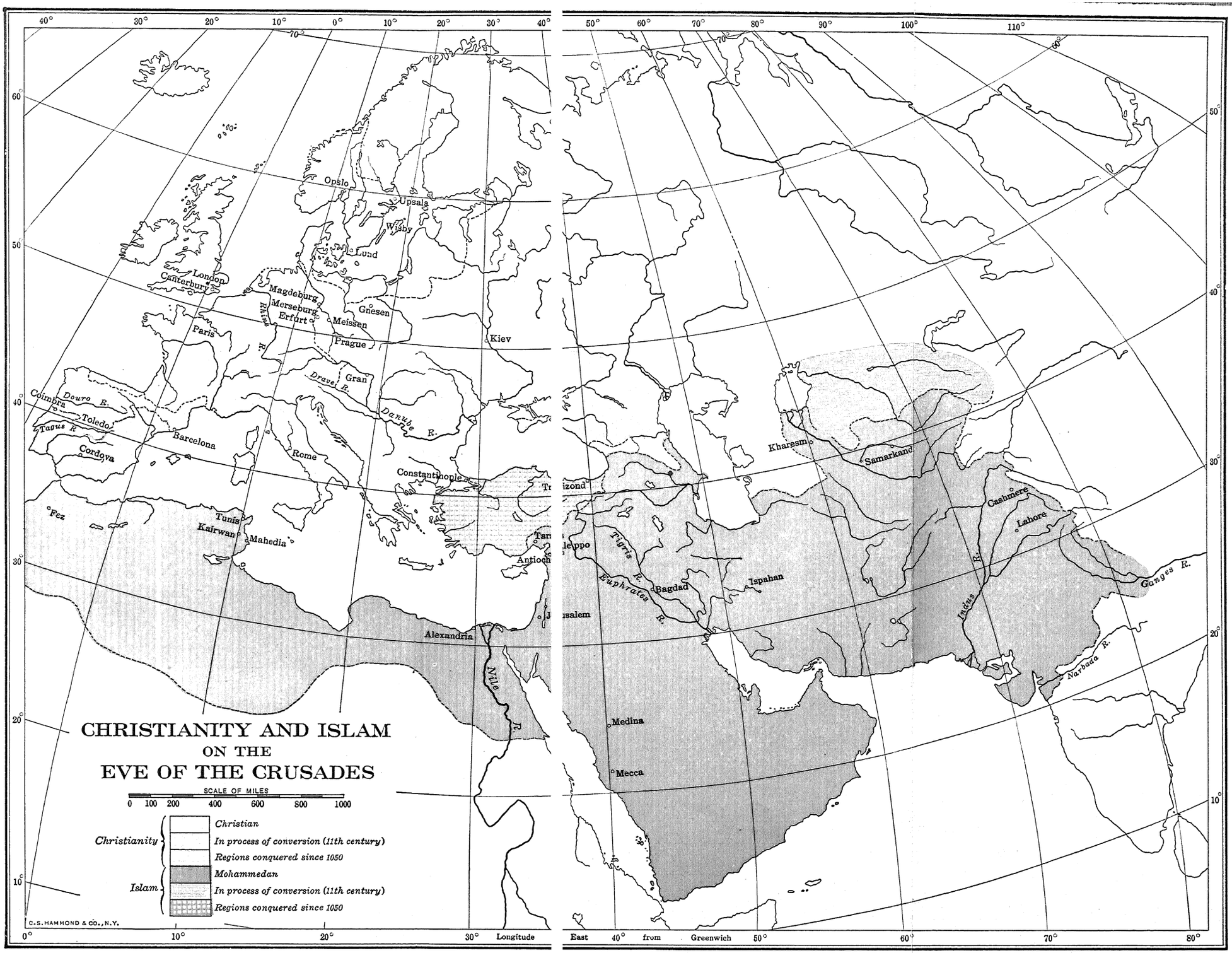
CHAP. XXII

AFTER the Conquest, England was under the rule of an absolute monarch whose associations and interests were mainly on the other side of the Channel. The Church in England was under his control and had become a useful servant. The people were divided; two languages, in fact three, were in common use: Norman French was spoken at court, in business, and generally by the upper classes; English was the tongue of the common people; Latin was the language of the Church. There seemed to be little likelihood of unity among the people; or that England would become free from foreign entanglements and from the authority of a despotic ruler. Yet the thirteenth century saw the inhabitants of England fused into a united people and the country itself partially detached from entangling alliances, so that this people was able to become a strong nation and to curb the power of the king. The Church passed then from service to the king and championship of the people to domination over both to such an extent that it aroused general indignation.

Character of the Period

William Rufus, 1087-1100

On the Conqueror's death William Rufus became king — but not without opposition, as many of the nobles preferred his elder brother Robert, duke of Normandy. In order to put down their revolt William sought support from Englishmen, promising better government and lighter taxation. By their aid he crushed the barons. But he had to contend against Robert until the latter, wishing to go on the first crusade, made over the government of his duchy to him in return for money to equip the expedition to the Holy Land. He also had trouble with the Church. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been one of the Conqueror's advisors, had aided William to secure the throne and exercised a restraining influence upon him. But after Lanfranc died in 1089 no archbishop was appointed for four years, as the king wished to keep the income of the archbishopric for his own expenses. Finally a fit of sickness led him to appoint Anselm of Bec, an Italian pupil of Lanfranc; but when he recovered he refused to invest Anselm and kept part of the property of Canterbury in his own hands. Anselm, finding that he could accomplish nothing, withdrew to the Continent. William threw


Opslo
Upsala
Wisby
Lund
London
Canterbury
Magdeburg
Merseburg
Erfürt
Gnesen
Meissen
Prague
Kiev
Paris
Rhine R.
Drave R.
Gran
Danube R.
Douro R.
Coimbra
Toledo
Tagus R.
Barcelona
Cordova
Rome
Constantinople
Fez
Tunis
Kairwan
Mahedia
Antioch
Alexandria
Nile R.
Kharesm
Samarkand
Cashmere
Lahore
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Bagdad
Ispahan
Indus R.
Ganges R.
Narbada R.
Medina
Mecca
CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM
ON THE
EVE OF THE CRUSADES
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600 800 1000
Christianity
Christian
In process of conversion (11th century)
Regions conquered since 1050
Islam
Mohammedan
In process of conversion (11th century)
Regions conquered since 1050
C.S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich

aside all pretense of good government and religion, and his harsh rule made him so detested that there was a general feeling of relief when he was shot while hunting in the New Forest.

His brother Henry at once seized the royal treasure at Winchester and had himself crowned. Since his right to the succession was doubtful, and Robert, his elder brother, still had partizans, he felt it necessary to seek support by every possible means. He promulgated a charter of liberties, to be read in every shire court, promising good government and, in particular, to refrain from some of the acts that had made William unpopular. He punished the justiciar of his brother, who was especially disliked. He married the English Edith, a descendant of Alfred the Great, in order to secure the good will of the English [1] He recalled Anselm and aided him in the reformation of the Church, but he came into conflict with him on the question of investiture. The two reached an agreement in 1106, by which the king gave up the right of investiture with ring and staff, the ecclesiastical insignia, but was to receive homage from each bishop and abbot before the latter could be consecrated. He was successful in reducing his unruly barons to obedience. After a long struggle with Robert, whom he captured and kept in prison, he obtained Normandy. He did this in spite of the aid given to Robert by the French king, who was anxious to restrict the power of Henry and to secure his own rights as overlord of Normandy. Henry also reformed the government of England in many ways; but these reforms will be discussed under Henry II. The long period of anarchy that followed the death of Henry I caused most of the reforms to be abandoned temporarily.

The king's son was drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship* [2] as he was crossing from Normandy to England. This led to a dispute over the succession, as the only other legitimate child was a daughter, Matilda, who had been married to Henry V of Germany and consequently was known as "the Empress". After the death of her first husband she had been married to Geoffrey, count of Anjou. Henry attempted to secure the succession for her and her husband; but this was opposed by many barons both in England and Normandy, as they had often been at war with Anjou and did not want Geoffrey for their lord and king. They favored Stephen, the nephew of Henry, who had

[1] As a result of this marriage, all the kings of England since the time of Henry, with the single exception of Stephen, have been descendants of both Alfred and William the Conqueror.

[2] The *Blanche-nef*, or *White Ship*, was owned by the son of the master-mariner in whose vessel William had crossed to conquer England. The wreck was due to "a great drinking bout."

CHAP. XXII

many fiefs in both England and Normandy and powerful friends among the clergy. He went to England as soon as Henry died, seized the royal treasure, and had himself crowned. Since his position was insecure, he issued a charter of liberties similar to the one that Henry had granted but had frequently violated. Stephen was not so strong as either William Rufus or Henry, and was not able to maintain order or to carry on the administration effectively. Matilda invaded England, while her husband attempted to secure Normandy. This brought on a civil war in which they found many adherents. During the struggle between the two claimants the nobles favored sometimes one, sometimes the other, but were themselves virtually independent and unrestrained, so that feudal anarchy ensued. The peasants suffered severely; churches were burned; tortures were used frequently by the partizans to extort money. "I neither can nor may I tell," to adopt the words of a contemporary, "all the wounds and all the pains which they inflicted on wretched men in this land. This lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king; and it grew continually worse and worse." The common misery tended to fuse the people together, as in the general anarchy Norman and English fought and suffered side by side. The Church, too, became more independent and monasteries were multiplied, one hundred and fifteen being founded during the reign of Stephen; many persons sought in these the peace that they could not find elsewhere.

Stephen, 1135-1154

Geoffrey died, and his son Henry took up the war for Matilda's rights. The death of Stephen's heir led to a compromise by which it was agreed in 1153 that Henry should succeed when Stephen died; and this happened a year later. The new king, Henry II, was only twenty-one years of age, but he was already experienced both in warfare and in government. He made a deep impression upon his subjects as well as upon the history of England. His personal appearance, his habits, his virtues and vices, were so fully recorded by his contemporaries that he is better known to us than any one of the other medieval kings of England. Through all the contradictory statements that serve to bring out the many sides of his character, we get the impression of a man of tireless energy, determined to maintain order and to have his own way; not a very lovable nor a very pious individual, but one who commanded and still commands respect for the work that he did. It is important to remember that he could give only a part of his time to England; for he had inherited from his parents Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. With his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, he secured Poitou, Guienne, and

Henry, 1154-1189

Gascony. By his own efforts he obtained the overlordship of Brittany and Ireland, and claimed that of Scotland and Wales. Small wonder that he could spend in England only about twelve years of his reign of more than thirty-four, and that his longest stay was only about two and a half years. He was French, not English, and never spoke the English language; yet England is heavily in his debt for the many reforms he accomplished.

Reforms

In some of these reforms he was but reëstablishing the conditions under Henry I, whose charter of liberties he had taken as a model for his own grant. His first task, too, was to restore the good order of his grandfather's reign, who had "made peace for men and deer." The barons were compelled to give up their castles or else to destroy them; the armed bands of foreign mercenaries were ordered to leave the country, and, frightened, "they disappeared like phantoms"; the crown lands that had been alienated under Stephen were reclaimed and the royal revenues increased. The former treasurer, whom Stephen had dismissed, was reinstated. The central administration was reinstituted, much as it had been in the days of Henry I. The justiciar was the chief official, and in the king's absence acted as regent. The chancellor was responsible for the drawing up of all legal documents and kept the official records. The treasurer was the third of the great ministers. The hereditary offices of marshal, steward, chamberlain, and constable were held by great nobles, but they had little part in the duties of government, for the king preferred men of lower rank who would be less dangerous to him, and more devoted.

The great nobles, both lay and clerical, still met occasionally as the king's council. But this name had also begun to be applied to a very different body composed of the ministers who were constantly in the king's employ to attend to lawsuits and to administrative work. This smaller council, or *curia regis,* sat frequently to try suits between the barons or cases in which the king was concerned. Twice a year it sat to receive the accounts of the sheriffs and others who owed money to the king. The table around which it then sat was marked off into squares in order to facilitate the calculations, so that it resembled a checkerboard, and from this came the name exchequer. Each sheriff had to render an account of all the sums he had received or expended in the service of the king. All the business was recorded on broad pieces of parchment, which when rolled up were known as the pipe-roll. This custom had come down from the days of Henry I, one of whose pipe-rolls is still preserved. Beginning with the reign of Henry II, there is a continuous series down to

The Exchequer

CHAP. XXII

the nineteenth century, which contains an enormous mass of information about prices and customs. No other country has financial records for so long a period that are at all comparable with the pipe-rolls.

Justices in Eyre

Another feature of the administration that was borrowed from Henry I was the custom of sending out the justices in eyre. The king had no regular place of residence, and his ministers had to follow him wherever he went, when he was in England. Consequently men who were parties to lawsuits before the king's council had formerly been obliged to follow the court in its travels until the case was decided. This made it difficult to get at the truth because of the absence of local witnesses who alone knew the facts To obviate this difficulty, the elder Henry had sent members of his council to try cases in the various shires of England. These ministers were also employed to collect dues and to attend to other business of the king. Henry II made great use of these justices in eyre, or on circuit, and systematized their work. How great a boon this was may be judged from the experience of Richard of Anesty, who in order to get a lawsuit settled had to follow the court for five years. This luckless suitor saw a large part of the king's dominions, both in England and on the continent, in his unwelcome journeyings. He was subject to many delays and expenses, for which he had to borrow from the Jews, so that when he won the suit he was heavily in debt. Other suitors were freed from a like fate by the judges' circuits.

Jury

Closely connected with the employment of the justices in eyre was the development of the jury. The judge had cognizance of all cases in which the king's interests were concerned, and also of the more heinous crimes, unless the latter had been committed on the fief of some lord who had the right of high and low justice. Henry extended this jurisdiction greatly, especially in the cases of disputed land titles. He did this to increase the income from his courts and also to restrict the power of the feudal barons. By the "great assize" any freeman might buy the right to have a dispute concerning his title to land decided in the king's court, even if a suit had been begun in a baronial or other court. The judges in such a case were empowered to summon men who would probably know the facts, and to compel them to give a verdict as to which party had the better right. Leading men in the locality, usually twelve in number, were called together for this purpose This was so much more satisfactory than the older methods of compurgation, ordeal, or wager of battle, that it was extended to other than land cases. The assize of Claren-

don, 1166, was issued mainly for the purpose of preventing crime, and in order to do this laid the foundation for the grand jury, or jury of indictment. Up to this time many crimes of violence had gone unpunished because there was no one except the injured party or his friends whose duty it was to bring the criminal to trial. If the latter was a powerful man those injured often feared to accuse him, lest a worse fate might befall them. By this assize Henry made it the duty of the itinerant justices and sheriffs to call together twelve men from each hundred and four from each vill, and to put them upon oath to say "whether there is in their hundred or in their vill any man who has been accused or publicly suspected of himself being a robber, or murderer, or thief, or of being a receiver of robbers, or murderers, or thieves, since the lord king has been king." The accused was required to undergo the ordeal of water. If he failed, he was punished; if he came out successfully he was banished if he was "of very bad testimony and publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and legal men." By this assize the feudal courts were restricted in their right of criminal justice, because those indicted by the jurors could be tried only by the king's court. In the thirteenth century the use of ordeals was prohibited and the question of guilt had to be determined otherwise. This was usually done by compelling the accused to have his guilt decided by the verdict of the grand jury, or eventually by a number of its members, usually twelve, who came to be called the trial or petit jury.

Sheriffs

The employment of the itinerant justices for such a large variety of work took much power from the sheriffs. When Henry became king these officials had been great lords, who were extremely powerful, both through the fiefs that they held and through the authority delegated to them by the king. Sometimes one had two shires under his jurisdiction, which included the collection of the revenues due to the king, holding the county courts, and raising military levies. At first the justices and the sheriffs had some duties in common, although the former were directed to watch the latter and to take from their jurisdiction special cases that concerned the king. By the assize of Clarendon, as already noted, the sheriffs concurrently with the justices had the duty of making inquests concerning criminals. Apparently many of the sheriffs abused this opportunity and aroused general resentment by their tyranny; for in 1170 Henry ordered an inquest of their acts, and as a result of the reports that were made he degraded all from office; of the twenty-two who were dismissed only seven were reinstated, and of these

CHAP. XXII

seven all but two were members of the king's household. Even after this it is evident that there were still dangerous possibilities in the office, as more power was gradually shorn from it, until by Magna Carta the sheriffs were left with only comparatively slight authority.

Military Reforms

One means by which their power was lessened was by Henry's military reforms, especially the assize of arms in 1181, by which every free layman was required to have arms appropriate to his status and means, and to be ready to serve. The execution of this assize was assigned to the justices and not to the sheriffs. By this assize Henry sought to obtain a national army for service in England. For his many foreign wars he did not use the feudal levies to any great extent, preferring to collect a fine, called scutage, in place of the service due from vassals, and with the money thus obtained he hired foreign mercenaries. This gave him a much more serviceable army.

Conflict with Church

In his reforms of the courts Henry came into conflict with the Church. This had become much more independent during the anarchy under Stephen. In particular, its courts had become more powerful and claimed jurisdiction over many classes of cases. These included all in which clerks or church property were concerned; all matters of faith; all suits depending upon questions of marriage, wills, and inheritances; and all that were caused by the breach of an oath. If pushed to the logical extreme these categories would include a very large proportion of all suits, and thus would seriously lessen the income that the king received from court fines. Moreover, the church courts were popular because the penalties imposed were lighter and did not include death or mutilation — common punishments in the lay courts. All who could sought to have their cases tried in the clerical courts. Many could claim membership in the clergy; in addition to the bishops, priests, deacons, monks, and nuns, it included all officials and servants of the Church, all students, and all crusaders. In such a numerous and heterogeneous body there were some criminals. In the first eight or nine years of his reign Henry found that one hundred murders had been committed by clerks, who had received only very light punishments in the ecclesiastical courts. He determined to check this abuse, and in doing so came into conflict with the Church, and especially with Thomas Becket.

Becket

Thomas was the son of a wealthy London merchant of Norman birth. After schooling in both London and Paris he had entered a London office, and there had attracted the attention of the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered him a position. "There was

none dearer to the archbishop than he," writes a contemporary, for "he had a singular gift of winning affection." The archbishop was interested in canon law, and sent Thomas to Bologna and Auxerre to master this subject. Later Becket was sent to Rome on a diplomatic mission, and then was made archdeacon of Canterbury. It is well to remember that an archdeacon was so occupied with secular duties that some strict churchmen doubted whether any archdeacon could be saved. When Henry became king the archbishop recommended Thomas, and he was made chancellor. Henry was then twenty-two, Thomas thirty-eight; and the latter soon endeared himself to the king, so that the two became almost inseparable companions. Both were fond of hunting, hawking, and chess, but both were keen men of business. Thomas received many gifts from Henry, and one of his friends praised him because "he magnanimously disdained to take the poorer benefices and required only the greater things."

Becket was noted for his luxury in dress and food, and kept a splendid household where the king's son and many young nobles were trained to chivalry. As chancellor he had fifty-two clerks in his employ. For more than seven years he served the king faithfully, enforcing royal rights, when necessary, against ecclesiastical claims. Naturally, when the archbishopric became vacant, the king wished to make his favorite archbishop as well as chancellor; by this appointment he hoped to avert all trouble with the Church and to have the two powers work in harmony for the good of the government. Thomas, who always threw himself with his whole heart into anything that he undertook, saw more clearly. He said, "whoever is made archbishop must soon give offense either to God or to the king." But Henry could not be checked, and Thomas was duly elected by the monks. One day he was ordained priest, the next he was consecrated as archbishop. He very soon resigned the chancellorship, much against Henry's will, so that he might "have leisure for prayers and to attend to the Church's affairs." He gave up his luxurious dress and wore a hair shirt daily; he visited the sick and washed the feet of beggars. "As he had been accustomed to preëminence in worldly glory, he now determined to be first in holy living."

Henry felt deeply disappointed at Thomas's conduct, and causes of difference between the two soon arose. This came to a head, at a council in 1164, on the question of "criminous clerks." Henry demanded that clerks who were guilty of heinous crimes should be degraded by the bishops' courts and handed over to the secular courts for punishment. Thomas refused, asserting that the members of the clergy were not to be judged by any lay

The Quarrel

CHAP. XXII

authority. When asked whether he would obey the customs (i. e., the laws of the land), he answered: "Yes, saving our order." The bishops present made the same reply. Henry demanded that Thomas should retract his words, and when Thomas refused left in anger. Many of the influential clergy feared a breach with the king, and pressure was brought upon Thomas, who finally consented to swear obedience to "the customs of the kingdom." Henry seized upon this admission, and summoned the council of Clarendon. When Thomas, having repented, refused to take the oath, Henry "was as a madman in the eyes of those who stood by." All besought Thomas to yield, fearing the king's wrath; and finally, "in fear of death," he said: "I am ready to keep the customs of the kingdom." Henry ordered that these should be written out, so that there might be no question in the future concerning them, and "the wise men" drew up the Constitutions of Clarendon. When these were read to Thomas and he was asked to set his seal to them, he replied: "Never, while there is breath left in my body!"

Constitutions of Clarendon

For these Constitutions greatly restricted the jurisdiction and independence of the Church. Many cases that concerned clerks were to be tried in the king's courts; no tenant in chief was to be excommunicated without previous notice to the king; no appeals to the pope were to be allowed; no bishop was to leave the realm without permission of the king; in particular, criminous clerks, when convicted, were no longer to be protected by the Church, but were to be punished by the royal courts. If these "customs" were accepted the Church would lose almost everything that it had gained since the Conquest.

Exile of Thomas

Thomas was unwilling to make this surrender. Henry tried to force him, and finally Thomas, fearing for his life, fled to France to seek the support of the pope and of the French king. Henry confiscated his property, banished his friends, and in turn sought the pope's aid. The latter, Alexander III, was in exile and was struggling against an anti-pope whom the emperor supported; consequently he hesitated to alienate Henry, and temporized. Thomas threatened to excommunicate both the king and his adherents; the latter included most of the English bishops. After several years Henry felt compelled by circumstances to make peace with Thomas and to allow him to return to England.

The archbishop was more firmly resolved than ever to maintain all the prerogatives of his see and to insist upon the freedom of the Church; consequently he excommunicated bishops who had sided with the king and laymen who had occupied the lands of Canterbury; and he did this, in spite of the Constitutions of

Clarendon, without consulting the king. News of these acts was sent to Henry, who was still in France, and his wrath knew no bounds. He uttered rash words, which were seized upon by four of his knights as authority for action. They crossed to England, hastened to Canterbury, and murdered the archbishop in the very cathedral itself.

Death of Thomas

His death as a martyr secured victory for Thomas. Henry undoubtedly realized this, and also was genuinely grieved at the result of his outburst of passion. For days he shut himself up, fasting and alone. He took oath that he was innocent of the murder, and a year later made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, where he submitted himself to a public penance and scourging which was so severe that he fell ill. He also withdrew some of the Constitutions, although he tried to carry out his policy by other means. Yet the popularity of St. Thomas did much to increase the unpopularity of the king. The shrine at Canterbury was the goal of thousands who nourished feelings of bitter indignation against the monarch whom they considered the murderer of the saint. The nobles took advantage of this feeling and a great revolt broke out; but this was sternly repressed by Henry. The Scottish king, who had aided the rebels, was captured, and had to do homage for his kingdom. A little later Henry also received the homage of several chieftains in Ireland. While successful in these respects, he had to struggle against rebellions in his continental dominions, in which his sons took part as allies of the French king. In 1189 he was forced to make peace with them, and died broken-hearted, moaning, "Shame on a conquered king!"

Revolt against Henry

Work of Henry

Yet his work lived after him. The government he had established continued to function during the reign of Richard, who was absent from England for all but a few months of his reign of ten years, and during the first part of the rule of John. The good order that Henry had maintained, the justice he had established, the fusion he had brought about by his stern rule, made the English nation strong, rich, and united

John's weakness and vices caused changes of great moment to England. First of these was the loss of Normandy and of most of the other continental possessions of the Angevins. John placed himself in the wrong by marrying Isabelle of Angoulême, who was betrothed to one of his own vassals. This excited a rebellion, and Philip Augustus intervened as John's overlord to whom John's vassals had appealed. John refused to obey Philip's summons to appear at Paris and answer the charges against him. Accordingly, Philip made war upon him, and recognized Arthur

CHAP. XXII

as heir to the Angevin possessions, with the exception of Normandy. Arthur was the son of John's early lost older brother Godfrey, and already had some partizans. Philip now made use of him against John, but the boy was soon captured and murdered. This and other brutal acts alienated the nobles in Normandy and Aquitaine; and, as John showed little energy or ability in fighting for his rights, all of his possessions in France, except Gascony and a part of Poitou, fell, in 1204, under the power of Philip.

Loss of French Possessions

The following year the archbishop of Canterbury died, and the choice of a successor caused a contest that did much to weaken John's power in England. The monks of Canterbury had the right of election, and some of them chose their sub-prior and sent him to Rome to seek confirmation from the pope. In the meantime John caused one of his followers to be elected by the monks and sent him also to Rome to seek the pope's support. Innocent III refused to accept either candidate, and had Stephen Langton elected. John refused to receive him as archbishop, and seized rich estates of Canterbury for his own use. The pope then laid England under an interdict. John threatened to exile the clergy and to confiscate their lands; he actually did the latter, and all but two of the bishops fled from the kingdom. Curiously enough, the interdict seems to have had comparatively little effect, and the common people apparently sided with the king. Possibly this was due to the fact that the interdict was not so rigorously enforced as some earlier ones had been; possibly the people were influenced because their financial burdens were lessened temporarily, as John got large sums from the ecclesiastical estates and did not have to raise as much from the people. It must be remembered that many towns had received charters from the kings and were well disposed toward them.[3] But John was disliked by many of the nobles, so that when Innocent excommunicated him in 1209 he was in a difficult position. He acted with unusual energy and at times with great brutality, which made him bitterly hated. He also found it necessary now to increase the taxation in various ways, and this made him generally unpopular. By 1212 rebellion was rife. In 1213 Philip Augustus, at the suggestion of the pope, was preparing to invade England. John decided that he must yield, and in May he made his peace with Innocent, received Langton, and became a vassal of the pope.

Struggle with Innocent III

By this submission John escaped the most pressing dangers, and for a time his fortunes seemed promising. He made an

[3] See Chapter XXIX.

alliance with the emperor Otto of Germany and some rebel French barons against Philip. But the war against France was unpopular in England, and few trusted John. An unwise appointment to the justiciarship brought the discontent to a head. Stephen Langton was recognized as the leader of the barons, and proposed that they should work for the liberties contained in the charter of Henry I. They were greatly aided by the decisive victory that Philip won at Bouvines in 1214, when he defeated Otto and the rebel barons, and thus John was left without allies.

Battle of Bouvines, 1214

The barons seized the opportunity, and presented to the king a statement of their grievances and of their demands. John, in great anger, rejected it. Then the barons and some of the citizens of London revolted against him. John was compelled to yield, and in June, 1215, signed the Magna Carta. This was destined to be a great landmark in the development of English liberties, and by later generations much was read into the Charter which was not present at all in the minds of the barons who extorted it from the king. It was a feudal document and is mainly concerned with defining feudal customs so as to prevent extortion and injustice on the part of the king. The first clause confirmed the freedom of the Church, and there were some grants of rights, generally rather indefinite, to cities, merchants, and free men; but the great mass of provisions concerned only the barons and the king's conduct toward them. Yet the Charter is very important because it was extorted from the king and served as a precedent for other restrictions on his power. Moreover, it contained several general clauses that could, in later centuries, be interpreted very definitely and very differently from what the barons had intended, so that these clauses could be cited as precedents for the maintenance of the liberties of the English people. In fact, the Charter was important, in the thirteenth century, becaused it furnished a program to the feudal nobles for restricting the despotic government of the king; in the seventeenth century and later, as a venerable document, into which might be read the aspirations of a later age for the good government and the just treatment of the nation that had become the political heir of the barons who had forced John to grant them their rights. Consequently, the articles that the barons and the king considered most important, such as the restrictions upon levying feudal aids, scutages, and reliefs, were lost sight of in the later ages.

Magna Carta

At the time these were all important, and the king was compelled to agree to the election of twenty-five barons who should see that he did justice and in case of need should make war upon

CHAP. XXII

War against John

him to compel him to redress grievances. Of course, John had no intention of keeping such a compact, and asked Innocent to annul it. The pope did so. As the barons continued rebellious, Innocent preached a crusade in favor of John, who had taken the cross and was expected by him to lead a new crusade. French knights were urged to obtain remission of their sins by fighting against the barons, who were preventing John from going on a crusade. At the same time, Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, was in treaty with the barons and hoped to obtain the English crown. He landed with an army, and was joined by most of the barons; but when John died, a few weeks later, many rallied to the support of his nine-year-old son Henry. Innocent had died, but the new pope took the side of Henry and sent a legate who, in turn, preached a crusade against Louis. In 1217 the latter had to make peace and leave England.

During the minority of Henry, England was ruled by a regent, and the Charter was twice confirmed, although with the omission of some clauses that restricted the power of the king. When Henry came of age he surrounded himself with foreign favorites and rewarded them with English offices and wealth. He was subservient to the popes, who constantly demanded money and used English ecclesiastical positions to reward their Italian favorites. The amounts that the popes received from England were very large, and excited the animosity of the English clergy. Henry, too, required vast sums for his foreign enterprises. Thrice he led expeditions to war on France. He attempted to secure the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, spent much English money in securing his election as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. All of this made Henry very unpopular. Moreover, he proved untrustworthy, taking oaths only to break them.

Misrule of Henry III, 1216-1272

His constant need of money forced Henry to summon almost every year the great council — or the parliament, to give it the new name by which it was gradually coming to be known. Frequently there were disputes, usually about money, between the members and the king. The dissatisfaction was general when, in 1258, after a famine and an unsuccessful war against the Welsh, Henry attempted to raise money for a Sicilian expedition to seat his son on the throne of the Hohenstaufens. Then the barons demanded that the government should be reformed, foreigners sent home, and a council of twenty-four appointed to advise the king. A second meeting the same year, called "the Mad Parliament," drew up the so-called Provisions of Oxford, by which these arrangements should be carried out and the government

Provisions of Oxford

CHAP. XXII

administered by a permanent council chosen by a committee from the twenty-four barons already named. For a few years this council governed England.

Simon de Montfort

The leading man in the council was Simon de Montfort, the son of the leader of the crusade against the Albigensians[4] and the grandson of an English heiress. Like so many other foreigners, he had gone to England to seek his fortune, and had won the favor of the king. He was given the earldom of Leicester, to which he had a claim through his grandmother, and he married the king's sister, much to the indignation of the native English nobles. He quarreled with the king and went on a crusade. On his return he and the king were reconciled and he was made governor of Gascony. There he was accused of bad government and was formally tried Although he was acquitted and allowed to continue in office, he was thwarted and finally superseded by the king's orders, so that after serving Henry for a quarter of a century he was forced into opposition and became the leader of the native nobles. When Henry induced the pope to declare the Provisions of Oxford annulled, war was imminent between the king and the barons led by Montfort, but both parties agreed to submit their cause to Louis IX of France. He decided against the barons, and Simon at once resorted to arms. In the battle of Lewes, 1264, he won a victory and captured Henry, in whose name he carried on the government for about a year.

He was not unopposed; but the foreigners who had been expelled attempted an invasion, and this strengthened his cause. In order to make his position more secure and more legitimate, Montfort summoned a parliament in 1265. To this he called only his partizans, and, as his strength consisted partly in the support of the knights and burgesses, he included, besides the barons and clergy, two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each borough. Knights of the shire had occasionally been summoned before, but this was the first time that representatives of the boroughs sat in parliament. This precedent was to be followed by Edward I, especially in his "Model Parliament." It was an indication of the change that was gradually making the citizens an important factor in political life.

Simon de Montfort's Parliament

Simon de Montfort was slain in battle the same year. His death and a general weariness of the long strife broke down the opposition to Henry, who was more cautious in his actions and had less need of money. His last years were comparatively quiet, and his heir, Edward, felt that it was safe to go on a

Last Years of Henry

[4] See Chapter XXX.

CHAP. XXII

crusade, leaving England to regret his absence rather than his presence.

During the period from 1087 to 1272 civil wars had been frequent in England, and the kings spent much of their effort in foreign expeditions. Yet the period had not been a disastrous one for the people, who had made great progress. The life on the manors, the rise of towns, the development of architecture, the growth of universities, will be discussed elsewhere. Here it is necessary only to note the great wealth of England and its importance for the third estate. Grain and wool were the most important products; the former was consumed at home, the latter, mainly exported. In addition, trade had been fostered by the connection with the Continent and the acquisition of new tastes for foreign wares. The merchants profited; they were granted privileges by the monarchs who needed their money. Their importance increased, and from this time on the third estate will be a recognized power in the political life of England.

Rise of Third Estate

At the beginning of the period the king was virtually a foreign despot; at the close, his power was limited by the growth of law and by the necessity of consulting parliament whenever he needed any unusual grant of money. And these were very real checks upon the king. Moreover, the despotism of Henry II, the misrule of John, the weakness and favoritism of Henry III, had welded all classes together to a greater degree than in any other country in Europe. The loss of most of the continental possessions had restricted the interests of the barons, and the preference shown to foreigners by Henry III had consolidated the feeling of nationalism, so that in England, by the close of his reign, all the people felt themselves to be, and were, Englishmen. English poems were being written and English songs sung. Although French was still spoken at court and by the upper classes, English was the language of the great mass of the people, and was steadily gaining ground.

Growth of National Unity

This feeling of national unity had been increased by the exactions of the popes, who had drained great sums from the country, much against the people's will. Taking advantage of the king's liking for foreigners and his complaisance toward the demands of the Church, the pope, in the reign of Henry III, had appointed many Italians to rich English benefices. This was resented by the monks and the lower orders of the clergy, as well as by the people, who felt that they were being exploited to meet the demands of rapacious foreigners. Simon de Montfort had won support by a program to reform the Church as well as the state.

The Church's censures had fallen somewhat into disrepute, and public opinion in England was gradually taking shape, so that Edward I would find general support in his struggle with the papacy.

CHAPTER XXIII

FRANCE, 1108–1270

CHAP. XXIII

Small Beginnings

AT the beginning of the twelfth century the king of France had very little power; and what he had was limited almost entirely to the country about Paris and about Orleans with the territory between. Even within this small extent his power was by no means undisputed. He had to build the Grand Châtelet to protect the plain of St. Denis against one unruly vassal, the Montmorency. Another vassal who held Montlhéry was, as we have seen, a constant thorn in the flesh A third, Thomas de Marle, was so dangerous a tyrant that the papal legate organized a crusade against him, which checked him only for the moment. When the conditions in the king's own territory were such, it is natural that he should have been able to exercise very little authority in other parts of the kingdom, particularly as several of the dukes and counts held fiefs both stronger and more extensive than his own domains.

Development of Great Fiefs

This was a result of the evolution that had been taking place in French feudalism. In place of many petty fiefs loosely bound together, such as had existed in the tenth century, a comparatively few great territorial powers had been formed — e. g., Normandy, Flanders, Anjou, Burgundy, Aquitaine. In each of these the chief lord, a duke or a count, was intent upon consolidating his power by reducing rebellious vassals and by keeping the peace. These tasks were made easier because the first crusade had attracted many of the unruly classes to expend their energies in the East. The truce of God, abortive as it proved, had also helped somewhat. Consequently, France was gradually being divided into large states possessing a common dialect and a certain sense of unity. Except in a few of the strongest and most advantageously situated fiefs, the movement had begun at the opening of the twelfth century, but it was destined to be one of the most noteworthy features of the immediate future.

Consolidation of Domain

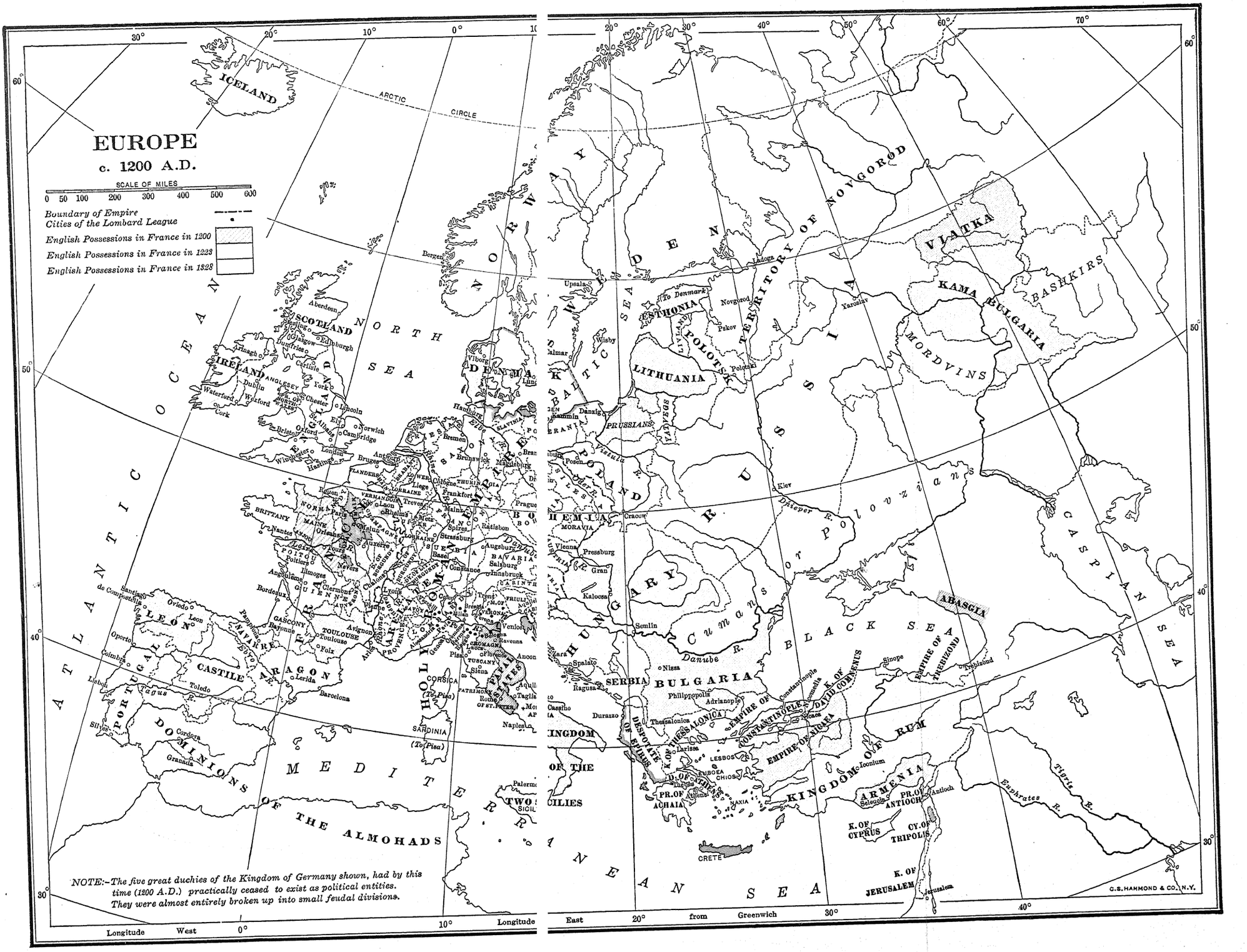
Naturally, the king attempted to bring about this same unity in his own lands. Here, as elsewhere, the two great necessities were the restraint of turbulent vassals and the establishment of peace, and the two tasks were closely connected. Louis was indefatigable. In spite of his corpulence, which caused him to be

called "Louis the Fat," he was ever ready for feats of arms and always in the forefront of an attack. In fact, the nicknames "Wideawake" and "Fighter" represent more accurately his subjects' estimate of him. Frequently he was called upon to protect some monastery or town from the depredations of his unruly vassals, and he was never called upon in vain. He would drive off the oppressor and burn his castle. In these petty wars he had the support of the clergy and the fighting men from the towns. For his subjects felt, in the words of Suger, his biographer, that "he studied the peace and comfort of plowmen, laborers, and poor folks, a thing long unwonted." He chose for his officials men of humble birth and especially members of the clergy; of these the chief was Suger, of whom more anon. Although it was a difficult task, he finally succeeded in putting down disorder and in making his power effective in his own domain.

He also attempted to increase the royal prestige throughout the kingdom, and, in spite of some failures, he actually did succeed. The greatest danger to the royal power arose from the union of Normandy, a French fief, with England. Louis tried to check Henry I by supporting a pretender in Normandy; but he was no match for the English king, with whom he waged war for almost a quarter of a century. He was freed from this danger only by the death of Henry and by the civil war that followed in England. In other fiefs he was more fortunate in his rare attempts to assert his power as suzerain. When Henry V of Germany threatened an invasion of France, almost all of the great lords in the north rallied to its defense and placed themselves temporarily under the king's orders. This was the first occasion in many a decade when a French king had been so clearly recognized as the national leader. Probably it was the prestige then won, as well as his own experience of Louis' strength, that led William of Aquitaine to choose Louis' son as the husband of his heiress Eleanor. This happened just before the king's death in 1137, so that he was not able to enjoy the new strength and prestige that ensued for the monarchy from the addition of this duchy.

Growth of Prestige

His successor, Louis VII, has frequently been represented as weak and over-pious, so that his reign was a long calamity for France. This has been due to too hasty generalization, for in his early years Louis was ambitious, energetic, rash, and certainly not over-pious. He was only sixteen and was passionately in love with his young bride. She had been educated to have little respect for the clergy and to take joy in living this life as a good


EUROPE
c. 1200 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
Boundary of Empire
Cities of the Lombard League
English Possessions in France in 1200
English Possessions in France in 1223
English Possessions in France in 1328
NOTE:–The five great duchies of the Kingdom of Germany shown, had by this time (1200 A.D.) practically ceased to exist as political entities. They were almost entirely broken up into small feudal divisions.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
POLAND
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
ESTHONIA
PRUSSIANS
Cumans
Polovtsi
MORDVINS
BASHKIRS
KAMA BULGARIA
VIATKA
TERRITORY OF NOVGOROD
ABASGIA
ARMENIA
KINGDOM OF RUM
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
CASTILE
ARAGON
PORTUGAL
LEON
NAVARRE
DOMINIONS OF THE ALMOHADS
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
EMPIRE OF NICAEA
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS
K. OF THESSALONICA
D. OF ATHENS
PR. OF ACHAIA
K. OF CYPRUS
CY. OF TRIPOLIS
PR. OF ANTIOCH
CRETE
SARDINIA
CORSICA
TWO SICILIES
Longitude West 0° 10° Longitude East 20° from Greenwich 30° 40°
C.S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.

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CHAP. XXIII

thing in itself. This was one of the new ideas that were to dominate much of the thought of the twelfth century, and Eleanor by her training and position was one of its foremost exponents. Under her influence Louis braved the pope and a feudal coalition. He was successful in fighting, but was placed under an interdict, so that he finally had to make terms. In other respects he was successful, and he was able to acquire some fortresses on the Norman frontier which his father had long coveted. The first eight years of his reign were fortunate ones, in spite of the interdict, and gave promise of a strong and successful government.

Early Years of Louis VII

Second Crusade

All of this was lost by the second crusade. On Christmas day, 1145, Louis announced to his barons that he had decided to take the cross to aid the crusaders, who had been weakened by the loss of Edessa. At first the news was received with little enthusiasm But when in the following year Bernard of Clairvaux lent his powerful voice there was a rush to take the cross. He wrote to the pope: "I have opened my mouth, I have spoken, and at once the crusaders have been an infinite multitude. Villages and towns are deserted. You would scarcely find one man among seven women. Everywhere are widows whose husbands are still living." Unfortunately for Louis, these statements were not accurate; many women went on the crusade. Foremost of all was Eleanor, who had burned with zeal for adventure and from whom Louis had been unwilling to be parted. On the crusade they became bitterly estranged. At Antioch Eleanor compromised herself with her uncle, who was the prince of that city, and when Louis wished to proceed to Jerusalem refused to accompany him, alleging that she could no longer be his wife because they were related within the forbidden degrees. Louis forced her to accompany him, but from that time the hostility between them increased. The ill success of the crusade caused for Louis a great loss of prestige.

Suger

Fortunately, the kingdom was well administered during his absence by Suger. This man was of peasant origin and had been educated at the monastery of St. Denis with Louis VI; and the two, as boys, had become friends. He had risen by his ability to the position of abbot, and as St. Denis was one of the leading monasteries he had great power and wealth. He showed himself to be an able administrator, increasing the resources of the abbey by his daring economic innovations, such as freeing his serfs and founding a *ville neuve*. He also did much to reconstruct and beautify the buildings, for he was an enthusiastic patron of art. In his habits he was but little given

CHAP. XXIII

to the asceticism that was so characteristic of other leading monks of the age His biographer said: "His food was neither coarse nor luxurious. . . . He tasted a little of everything that was served to him. . . . His bed was neither too hard nor too soft." The same golden mean was shown in his associations with men; he won the good will of all, reformers like Bernard of Clairvaux, courtiers of high rank, even notorious evil livers. Under Louis VI he had been one of the chief ministers. His influence was eclipsed for a time under Louis VII by the ascendancy of Eleanor, but when the king went on the crusade he left Suger as regent. All disorder was sternly suppressed; all the royal income was either sent to the king or saved for his return, as Suger paid the expenses of government out of his own income. In addition he busied himself in repairing and beautifying the royal residences at his own expense. He had been opposed to the crusade, but after its failure proposed to finance a new one out of his own funds. For, in spite of his vow of poverty as a monk, his remarkable business ability had secured to him as abbot an income that was almost incredible for that age. He died before he could begin the crusade.

Loss of Aquitaine

As long as he lived he prevented Louis from divorcing Eleanor, because he was determined that the king should not part with her dowry, Aquitaine. "But," as his biographer wrote, "scarcely was this man taken from the midst of the living before France suffered grievously from his death. Thus we see it to-day, through the lack of such a councilor, despoiled of the duchy of Aquitaine, one of its most important provinces." For Eleanor married Henry of Anjou about two months after her divorce from Louis, and he at once claimed Aquitaine. Louis formed a coalition against him, so that his position was very precarious. But the king no longer showed the energy that had marked his early years, and after two years of combat was glad to make peace, giving up the few conquests that he had made. A few months later Henry succeeded to the crown of England.

Louis and Henry

The French lands that Henry held were several times as extensive as those subject to the king, and Henry was an abler and stronger ruler than Louis. Consequently, for the ensuing quarter of a century the latter was constantly threatened, as Henry was intent upon rounding out his fiefs by annexing border-lands, and upon pressing his claims to Languedoc and Toulouse, which ran counter to the claims of his overlord, the French king. Henry's troubles with Thomas Becket checked him for a time. The revolt of his sons, encouraged by Louis, gave the French monarch an opportunity which he was too weak

CHAP. XXIII

to use. Yet the net result of the indecisive wars was small. Henry did extend his rule, but Louis managed to keep almost all that he still had after the loss of Eleanor's dowry.

Development of the Royal Power

In some respects he did strengthen the royal power. He gave an asylum to Pope Alexander III when Frederic Barbarossa was supporting a rival, and thereby gained prestige, since Alexander was eventually recognized as the legitimate pope. He aided bishops and abbots when their feudal lords oppressed them, and he granted privileges to monasteries, in the south especially, which enabled the latter to become more independent of the temporal authority of the local lords. He had little real power to aid these distant monasteries, but the extent of the royal prestige is attested by the correspondence which they carried on with the king, seeking his support. The petty nobles sought to free themselves from their duties to the local lords by becoming liege men of the king. Louis gave charters to many cities, created *villes neuves,* and encouraged the formation of communes in episcopal cities, claiming that all such communes were under his own jurisdiction. He had become very pious, and was zealously supported by the clergy and common people, who in turn looked to him for support against the oppression of their feudal tyrants.

His first two wives had given birth only to daughters. One of these had been married to the oldest son of Henry II when the ages of the bride and groom together amounted to only nine years, and Henry trusted that his son might succeed to the throne of France. Great was Louis' joy, therefore, when his third wife bore him a son. In a charter the king recorded his gratitude to God and "how frightened he was at the number of his daughters and with what longing he and his people had desired the advent of a child belonging to a more noble sex."

Succession of Philip Augustus

The son was very different from his father. He was crowned king about a year before the latter's death, but Louis was already partially paralyzed and incapable of ruling. His wife and her four brothers, the archbishop of Reims, the count of Champagne, the count of Blois and Chartres, and the count of Sancerre, were managing the government. Philip was only fourteen, but he was determined to rule. He seized his mother's castles, and in order to get support married the niece of the count of Flanders, who gave Artois, a rich dowry, with the bride.

The count of Flanders had counted upon gaining power by this marriage, but he soon found that he had been duped, as Philip intended to be absolute and felt no gratitude. Consequently the count formed a coalition with the queen-mother and her brothers,

First Conquests

which threatened serious disaster to Philip. But after five years of intermittent strife he succeeded in crushing the coalition and extorted Vermandois from the count of Flanders as the price of peace. He was able to do this partly through the support of Henry II, who had befriended him. But no sooner was the victory won than he began to intrigue against Henry, supporting the rebellious sons. Henry tried to keep the peace, and even gave up some fortresses to Philip. But the latter was insatiable, even braving a threatened interdict, until he had aided Richard and John to defeat their father and the old king had died broken-hearted.

The interdict had been threatened by the Church because Philip, Henry, and Richard had all taken a vow to go on the crusade, and this war delayed the accomplishment of the vow. The need was urgent: Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin in 1187 and the Christians in the Holy Land were in desperate straits. After Henry's death Philip and Richard set out on the crusade. They soon became bitter enemies, and Philip, whose heart was not in the cause, started back as soon as Acre was taken, having spent only a little over three months in Syria. He was anxious to take advantage of the death of the count of Flanders, who had died at Acre, in order to add to his domain, and also he thought to profit by Richard's absence. The latter made Philip take an oath not to make any attack on his lands, but as he knew Philip intimately, he did not expect the oath to be kept.

Third Crusade

In fact, as soon as Philip returned home he began to calumniate Richard, pretending to have left Syria for fear of being poisoned by him, and dwelling upon Richard's friendship with the infidel Saladin. He did not content himself with calumnies, but entered into an alliance with Henry VI of Germany and with John, Richard's brother, so that he might be the more free to attack him. Very apropos came the news of Richard's capture by the duke of Austria, as he was returning home from the crusade. Philip endeavored to have Henry VI, to whom the duke had been compelled to hand over Richard, keep him in prison. Meanwhile he attacked Richard's possessions. When Henry released Richard for a ransom of £100,000, Philip wrote to John: "Look out for yourself now; the devil is loose." Then ensued five years of warfare between the two kings, mainly waged by mercenaries, who were pitiless in their plundering. Richard had the greater wealth and could hire more men; and he won victory after victory, so that when a truce was finally made, in 1199, Philip had to give up almost all of his conquests. He was overjoyed when he learned, a few weeks later, of Richard's death.

War with Richard

CHAP. XXIII

He at once espoused the cause of Arthur, John's nephew, and war soon broke out again. But it lasted only about a year, after which a peace was made, favorable to Philip and securing for him some additional territory, but not as much as he had hoped to gain. For he had been obliged to make peace because of a new danger. France had been placed under an interdict early in the year 1200, and his subjects were murmuring. The cause of the laying of the interdict was Philip's treatment of his wife, Ingeborg. She was a young Danish princess whom Philip had married in 1193. He had met and married her the same day, and had seemed delighted with her and her beauty. The following day at her coronation he showed great aversion for her, and soon wanted to send her back to Denmark. The reasons for his change are entirely unknown; some contemporaries attributed it to magic. Ingeborg's conduct was irreproachable, and Philip never gave any explanation, although he attributed the fault to her. He secured a divorce from his bishops on a false statement of consanguinity. Ingeborg appealed to Rome. The pope was a man of little strength of character, and, although he protested feebly against the divorce, he took no decided action. After three years, during which Ingeborg, who refused to go home, was kept in confinement, Philip married Agnes of Meran. When Innocent III became pope he took up Ingeborg's defense. As Philip refused to send Agnes away and to take back Ingeborg, Innocent ordered an interdict to be laid upon France. It was a particularly severe one, and although many of the bishops, and even of the monks, refused to observe it, it was a very great hardship for the people. After about eight months Philip made a show of yielding, and was publicly reconciled with Ingeborg; but he did not take her back as his wife and still kept Agnes. The affair dragged on. Innocent threatened; Philip demanded that he and Ingeborg should be divorced by the pope; nothing was done, and Ingeborg remained a prisoner. But Philip had been freed from the interdict and was able to work at his other plans.

Interdict in 1200

Philip and John

Foremost among these was the conquest of the French lands held by John. And the latter played into Philip's hands by alienating his own vassals both in England and France, so that when the storm broke in the latter country he could not count upon active support from the former. As a result he lost most of his French possessions.[1] But Philip was not content with this victory. Since the beginning of his war with Richard he had nourished the idea of an invasion of England. It was

[1] See preceding chapter.

to get the support of a Danish fleet for this purpose that he had married Ingeborg; and it was when the project again seemed feasible that she was finally reinstated as his queen, if not as his wife. For in 1213, when John was struggling with Innocent, Philip thought the opportunity for his invasion had come, and in order to secure Innocent's favor submitted to his will by taking back Ingeborg, after twenty years of injury and imprisonment. He was the more ready to do this because Agnes had been dead for a dozen years and he had found no one who was willing to give him his daughter in marriage while the cause of Ingeborg was still unsettled. It is pleasant to know that the blameless queen lived a quarter of a century longer and received fitting honor not only from Philip, but also from his son and grandson By the reconciliation with Ingeborg Philip secured the pope's favor, and was preparing by his orders to lead a crusade against England when he learned that he had been duped by Innocent, who had used him in order to force John to submission.

Only one of the vassals had refused to furnish aid to Philip for the invasion of England; this was the count of Flanders. Flanders had long been favorable to the Angevin kings, as it had close associations with England, from which it received the wool for its manufactures of cloth. Now Philip determined to punish the count, and in doing so provoked a strife which exposed him to the greatest peril. For the count allied himself with England, and the lords of Lorraine and Holland and Otto of Germany soon joined in the coalition against Philip. The plan was to attack him in the north and in the southwest at the same time. John hoped to regain his lost possessions, and was prodigal of English money to buy support. He landed at La Rochelle in the middle of February, 1214, and at first had great success, as the nobles of Aquitaine renewed their allegiance to him and many castles opened their gates without contest. But in July his army fled before the smaller host of Philip's son Louis, whom he had left to check John while he himself hastened to meet the enemy in the north. John did not recover from this rout. Later in the month Philip fought the emperor Otto and his allies at Bouvines, and won a signal victory, capturing the most prominent of his rebellious barons, including the count of Flanders. This battle crushed all John's hopes and made Philip stronger than ever before.

Battle of Bouvines, 1214

In addition to the conquests that he had made, Philip had added largely to his feudal holdings by skilful diplomacy. The prestige of the crown had become so great that less powerful lords in many parts of France sought to place themselves di-

CHAP. XXIII

rectly under the suzerainty of the king, and even the great peers sought his confirmation of their charters. Before his death in 1223, Philip Augustus not only had a greater extent of territory but also more actual authority than any one of his vassals. By crushing the coalition in 1214 he had made himself the real power in France. He favored the clergy, but kept them under his control and checked the tendency of the ecclesiastical courts to extend their power. He insisted that they must be subordinate to the royal courts in all matters where the two jurisdictions conflicted, and in some parts of his kingdom took from them all interference in matters of feudal law. He favored the citizens, and founded communes by which his royal income might be increased. He employed the burgesses as his officials to a greater extent than the preceding French monarchs had done, and when he went on the crusade intrusted to six burgesses of Paris the charge of the royal treasure and great seal. In many other ways he favored Paris and its merchants. He also protected foreign merchants in France, even in times of war. He followed this policy partly to check the feudal nobles who might be dangerous, but mainly to add to his income. In order to maintain a standing army of mercenaries, he allowed the cities to pay money in place of the military service that they owed. His greatest innovation was the appointment of *baillis*. Before his reign the various parts of the kingdom had been under the immediate control of *prévôts,* local nobles usually, who used their office to exploit both king and people. In order to check their exactions, Philip appointed *baillis,* who had virtually the same duties as the itinerant justices in England. They were frequently transferred from one part of the country to another, and had to report three times each year to the king's court at Paris. As far as possible the king kept a close watch upon them and checked any injustice. In the newly acquired territories he did not introduce his *baillis* at once, but in the period of transition employed local nobles who bore the title of *sénéchal.* By these various measures Philip increased the royal income, obtained the favor of the third estate, and checked the power of nobility and clergy.

Increase of Royal Power

Through the Albigensian crusade[2] the French kings were able to add Languedoc to the royal domain. Louis VIII (1223-1226) son of Philip Augustus, took part in the crusade under the leadership of Simon de Montfort. When Simon's son Amaury was unable to hold the county, he made over his claim to Louis. The latter died too soon to secure possession, but in 1229 Raymond of Toulouse found himself unable to keep up the

[2] See Chapter XXX.

strife any longer and made his peace by resigning part of his territory to the king, becoming a vassal for the remainder, and betrothing his heiress to a brother of the king From this time all Languedoc was a part of the kingdom. All Aquitaine was also secured, partly by a triumphal expedition of Louis VIII, but finally by the success of Louis IX over Henry III of England, who, after trying to win back the territory that John had lost, had to surrender the part of Poitou that was still under the English sovereignty.

Acquisition of Languedoc and Aquitaine

Louis VIII, who had been a faithful aid to his father and had shown real ability, lived only three years and then was succeeded by Louis IX, a boy of twelve. The great feudal nobles who had been repressed by his grandfather and father hoped to achieve their independence in the reign of a child, whose mother, Blanche of Castile, was a foreigner and much disliked. One coalition after another was formed. The basest calumnies were spread broadcast concerning the queen. But Blanche was a very able woman and had the hearty support of the mass of the clergy and of the townspeople. She succeeded in crushing all the coalitions, although they included most of the great lords in the north and were supported by the English. Fortunately for Louis, the weakness of the English regents, and later of Henry III himself, prevented this aid from being efficacious; and the feudal lords had been so weakened by the policy of Philip Augustus that they did not have either the strength or the influence that their predecessors had enjoyed. Nothing could better mark the growth of the royal power than the weakness of those lords who had formerly held it in check.

Feudal Coalitions

His mother not only overcame all these coalitions and preserved the power for Louis IX, but she also educated him carefully so that he might rule effectively and wisely. He was brave, prudent, just, and religious. His real strength of character, his impetuousity in youth, his valor as a soldier, have been obscured to some extent by his reputation as a saint. For he was canonized shortly after his death, and in connection with the canonization were related many anecdotes stressing his humility, charity, and other Christian virtues. Fortunately, it is possible through the writings of his friend and companion, Joinville, to form a more correct judgment of the strongest monarch of his age. The latter admired the king, but did not hesitate to poke fun at him occasionally, and sometimes gave him sage advice. The biography written by such a friend gives a wonderfully lifelike picture of Louis: as a lover, stealing interviews with his bride while the attendants watched to warn the young couple of the approach

Character of Louis IX

CHAP. XXIII

of the queen-mother; as a judge, seated at the foot of the oak in the forest of Vincennes, hearing any cases that might be brought to him; as a soldier, impetuously leaping into the sea in order to be the first in the fight at Damietta — all in all very human and very lovable.

Government of Louis

His ability, good sense, and moderation made him a successful ruler. He was anxious to act justly toward every one, and insisted that others also should do justice. He kept his vassals in order, repressing all evil deeds on their part as far as lay in his power. He continued and developed the methods that Philip Augustus had established. He revered the Church, and protected it whenever necessary. But he insisted upon the supremacy of the royal courts, and took certain classes of cases away from the ecclesiastical tribunals. He was not subservient to the Church when its claims came into conflict with the royal authority or when he thought that it was following a wrong policy. For so religious a ruler in the Middle Ages he was remarkably independent. And he did not take advantage of the weakness of the empire during the interregnum, nor of Henry III when the latter's subjects were in rebellion. In fact, he voluntarily, as victor, made a peace that was advantageous to the English king, in order to shun any cause for contest in the future. He won the respect of all his contemporaries and the love of his subjects. The latter was the easier to win because he had sufficient income for ordinary expenses, and had to resort to taxation only for special undertakings.

Crusades

Such were his two crusades. He was filled with religious zeal for the cause of the cross, and was anxious to check the advance of the Mongols. But he had no clear ideas as to conditions in the Orient, and his expeditions were failures. He first took the cross in 1244, in spite of the opposition of his mother, whose advice he usually heeded. After long preparation he set sail in 1248 for Cyprus, where he wintered; then he proceeded to Damietta, which he captured. Next he marched southward along the Nile, to capture Cairo. But the army only reached Mansurah, where a desperate battle was fought. The crusaders lost heavily and soon were obliged to retreat. Although very ill, Louis guarded the rear, and was captured. He agreed to pay an enormous ransom, and went to the Holy Land, where he spent four years, and then returned reluctantly to France in 1254 The losses had been so great and the failures so ignominious that all were discouraged except Louis, who never put aside his cross. But he was not able to arrange a second expedition until 1270. Then he was induced to go to Tunis instead of to Egypt or Syria. It is prob-

able that this was due to the influence of his brother Charles of Anjou, ruler of Sicily, who was in alliance with the sultan of Egypt and consequently diverted the crusade. Louis was led to believe that the ruler of Tunis was willing to become a Christian, and he was eager to become "the godfather of such a godson." Consequently the crusading fleet went to Tunis, where Louis was stricken with the plague and died.

France in 1270

At his death France was by far the strongest kingdom in Europe and the king's power was supreme The feudal lords had been shorn of many of their prerogatives; the Church was firmly checked from encroachments on the royal authority; the cities were being fostered and were loyal. The country was rapidly becoming unified under the excellent administration of the king, and its inhabitants were proud to be known as Frenchmen. Local differences, which had long been so prominent, still persisted, and were destined to be vital factors for centuries; but there was also a feeling of patriotism and common nationality.

CHAPTER XXIV

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAP. XXIV

THE period of the investiture struggle afforded an opportunity for the rise of men of ability, especially those who were good fighters. Both the popes and the emperors had constantly to secure recruits. When a vassal of the emperor went over to the enemy, his fief was declared forfeited and given to another. Of all the new men who became prominent during the period, the most interesting was Frederic of Büren. Little is known of him until he appeared as such a successful partizan of Henry IV that he was given the dukedom of Swabia and the emperor's young daughter Agnes as his bride. He rose steadily in favor and power, and was the founder of the Hohenstaufen family, which took its name from a favorite castle. After his death his sons, Frederic and Conrad, were the nearest heirs of Henry V, who died in 1125.

The Hohenstaufens

Frederic's election as Henry's successor seemed certain, for he was duke of Swabia, his brother Conrad was duke of Franconia, and his father-in-law was duke of Bavaria. Thus it seemed that he could count upon the votes from three of the four duchies. But the bishops and abbots who had been papal partizans were opposed to him on account of his support of his uncle, Henry V, and their fear that he would continue the policy of the latter. Also, the lesser nobles were opposed to any arrangement that would imply a right of hereditary succession. For these reasons, Lothair, duke of Saxony, might well command the support of both the papal partizans and the lesser nobles, as he had been the strongest adversary of Henry V and had stood for the greater independence of both the Church and the nobles.

Election in 1125

Ten electors were chosen from each of the four duchies. There was some clever manœuvering by the archbishop of Mainz which forced Frederic into an unpopular position. Lothair won the support of Henry, duke of Bavaria, Frederic's father-in-law, by arranging the betrothal of his only daughter and heiress to Henry's son. Consequently Frederic lost and Lothair was elected king.

Guelfs and Ghibellines

This election led to the long struggle between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. Lothair's daughter's fiancé was a Guelf. The

CHAP. XXIV

Hohenstaufens became known as Ghibellines, from the Italian form of the name of one of their possessions, Waiblingen. Since Lothair and his party had been friendly to the Church, while the Hohenstaufens became its chief opponents, Guelf soon came to be a name used for the partizans of the papacy, and Ghibelline for its foes. These terms were destined to have a long history, especially in Italy, although the names were used later with changed meanings in the struggles in Florence and other Italian cities.

Hostilities between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines began soon after the election. Frederic and Conrad were angry at the loss of the expected prize. Their anger was increased by Lothair's demand that they should surrender to him property that had escheated to the emperors Henry IV and Henry V and that he claimed as imperial property, while the brothers held that it was a part of their inheritance from Henry V. Lothair was at first unsuccessful in arms. Conrad was elected as anti-king, and won support especially in Italy. Finally the brothers were compelled to submit to Lothair, and peace was established by the mediation of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Conrad as anti-King

After Lothair's death late in 1137, Conrad was elected king in 1138. His opponent in the election was Henry the Proud, Lothair's son-in-law, who was then the most powerful of the German nobles. For, in addition to Bavaria, he now held, as heir to Lothair, Saxony and the county of Tuscany. He could truthfully boast that his lands extended from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. He had counted upon being elected, just as Frederic had done, and lost the prize mainly because of the hostility of the lesser nobles. Henry's death in 1139 was a stroke of good fortune for the Hohenstaufens, especially because Henry's heir was a young boy, not yet able to assert his claims. Later this boy, who came to be known as Henry the Lion, was to be the great opponent of Frederic Barbarossa. It is necessary to dwell upon these personal rivalries because these were the cause of the weakness of both Lothair and Conrad and of the German kingdom. These gave both the Church and the lesser nobles an opportunity to increase their power. The resultant weakness of the kingdom may be best judged from the "Chronicle, or Book of the Two States," of Otto of Freising.

Conrad III 1138-1152

Otto was Conrad's half-brother, as he was the son of Agnes, daughter of Henry IV, by her second marriage with Leopold the Pious, margrave of Austria. He had studied at Paris under Abelard. On his way home he stopped a day at a Cistercian monastery, and was so impressed by the ideals of

Otto of Freising

CHAP. XXIV

the order that he took the habit and remained there until summoned home to be the bishop of Freising. He proved an able, zealous bishop. He went on the ill-starred crusade of Conrad, and led one of the divisions. Before going on the crusade he had completed his "Book of the Two States," in which he set forth the melancholy condition of this world and the weakness of the German kingdom, crushed by the Church. He felt that the end of the world was near at hand, in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, and had no hope except in the heavenly state, which he described in his last book.

Otto was soon to write a second historical work in a very different mood, an optimistic one. For, at Conrad's death in 1152, his nephew Frederic "Barbarossa" was unanimously elected king. Frederic was the offspring of a Ghibelline father and a Guelf mother. He was young, magnetic, and handsome. His accession was hailed with joy, and by no one with greater pleasure than by Otto, his uncle, who began his "Deeds of Frederic" with high hopes that civil strife would end and the empire again be strong. These hopes were fulfilled in part in the first two years of the reign. Frederic was both energetic and tactful. Ever on the move, now in this city and now in that, he held repeated assemblies, trying to conciliate the lay princes and to win support from the ecclesiastical nobles, while at the same time insisting upon his own rights. He settled a contest between two claimants for the Danish throne, and the new king became his vassal. In spite of the opposition of the pope, he made the bishop of Naumburg archbishop of Magdeburg, and finally secured the papal consent to this encroachment upon the powers of the pope, who alone had the right to transfer a bishop from one see to another. He favored the Guelfs, especially Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, to whom he also gave the long-coveted duchy of Bavaria. But Frederic secured peace and better order in the realm mainly by favoring the powerful bishops and ambitious Guelfs, and was frequently thwarted in his desires by lack of support from the lay nobles. This was galling to his pride, and he longed for occasion to win renown and greater powers through some successful expedition.

Frederic Barbarossa 1152-1190

His patience and tact seemed destined to have their reward when, in 1154, he was at last able to set out for Rome. He desired to make an Italian expedition, to assert his rights in Lombardy, and to secure the imperial crown. The lure of Italy led him to begin a struggle that was to last for more than twenty years. At first he was successful. He was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, and easily and cruelly crushed some cities in the

First Italian Expedition

north that opposed him. He then went to Rome, where he was crowned emperor by the pope in St. Peter's. He was not able to occupy the city, because of the opposition of the rebellious Roman people. But he did capture Arnold of Brescia, whose body was burnt, and the ashes cast into the Tiber, lest the people might worship his relics.

Arnold of Brescia

Arnold's career throws an interesting light upon twelfth-century conditions. He was a cleric, who had been born at Brescia about 1100. He studied at Paris under Abelard, and Bernard of Clairvaux said that the pupil in his revolutionary acts was carrying to a logical conclusion the teaching he had imbibed from his master. Arnold taught that the Church ought to give up its temporal power and return to its apostolic poverty. His career as a reformer began in Brescia, where he stirred up a revolution. He was banished from Italy by the second Lateran Council in 1139. Driven from France, where he had taken refuge, by Bernard of Clairvaux, he resided for a time at Zurich until a revolution in Rome gave him his opportunity. There the great feudal families, the Pierleoni, the Frangipani, the Colonna, and the Corsini, had long been at strife over the control of the city and the papacy They had oppressed both the lesser nobles and the people, and this led to a revolt in 1143. Animated by the legends and traditions of the former greatness of Rome, the people assembled on the Capitol and established a commune under a patrician and fifty-six senators, mainly from the classes that had made the revolution. The pope, in attempting to capture the Capitol in 1145, was fatally wounded by a stone. Arnold went to Rome and soon became the real leader of the people. They dreamed of reëstablishing the Roman Empire as they conceived of it, and sought to ally themselves with the emperor Conrad. After the election of Frederic Barbarossa, one of their leaders wrote reproaching him for following the advice of the priests and monks instead of forming common cause with the Roman people, in whose gift was the office of emperor. But Frederic had made a treaty of alliance with the pope against both the commune at Rome and the Normans of southern Italy. The pope by placing Rome under an interdict broke the power of the rebels, because the laying of the interdict caused the pilgrims to avoid Rome and consequently cut off a large part of the income of the Roman people, who drew their living largely from the offerings made by the pilgrims and the money spent by them while in Rome. As the condition of raising the interdict, early in 1155, the pope demanded that they should expel Arnold. He was captured in Tuscany, and brought

CHAP. XXIV

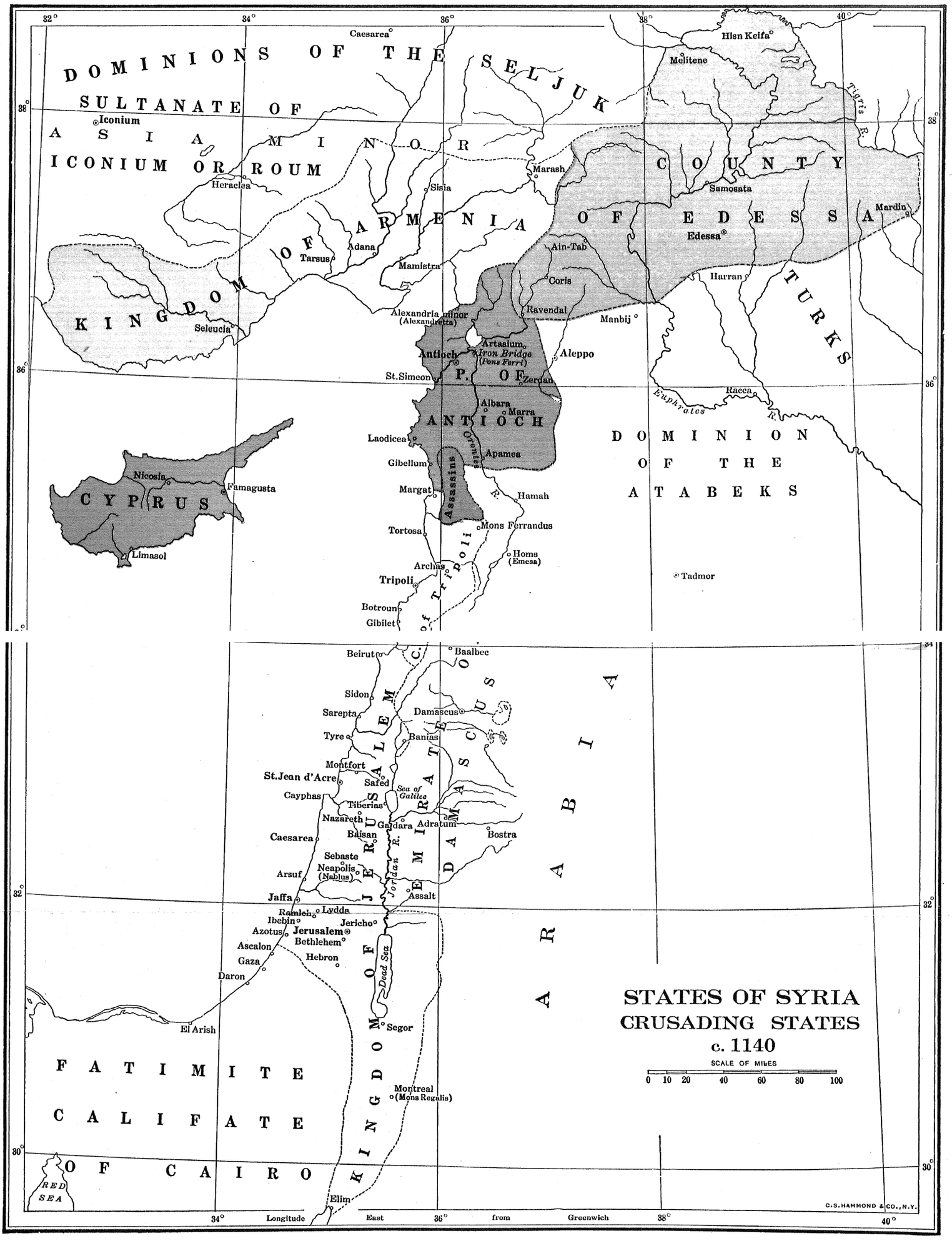
back to Rome to be executed. But Frederic's departure left the pope too weak to crush the commune.

Thus far pope and emperor had worked together, but not entirely without friction. When they first met, Frederic had refused to hold the bridle of the pope's horse, and the pope had consequently not given him the kiss of peace. Negotiations lasting throughout a day were necessary to convince Frederic that it was customary for the emperor to hold the pope's horse and that it was no derogation of the imperial dignity. This inauspicious beginning of the relations between Frederic and Adrian the Fourth, the only English pope, was followed by open rupture between the two as the result of a letter that the pope sent to Frederic while he was holding a diet at Besançon in 1157. In this letter the pope referred to the *beneficia* that he had given to the emperor. The imperial chancellor translated *beneficia* as "fiefs," the usual translation. The German nobles who were present were indignant as this seemed to imply that the emperor was the pope's vassal. The cardinal who had brought the letter made the matter worse by asking, "From whom, then, did the emperor hold his power, if not from the pope?" Frederic saved the life of the rash legate, but ordered him to leave at once. Frederic was thoroughly angry. Probably he had heard the tale, recorded in his uncle Otto of Freising's "Chronicle," of the painting that the pope was said to have had made of Lothair's coronation, with an inscription of which the last line read: "Then he became the man [vassal] of the pope, from whom he received the gift of the crown." Frederic wrote an open letter to his subjects declaring that he held his power from God alone, by the election of the princes. The pope, after sounding the opinion of the German nobles and bishops and finding it strongly on the emperor's side, wrote a conciliatory letter explaining that the chancellor had made a bad translation — that the word *beneficia* meant kindnesses, not fiefs. This closed the incident, but the hostility between the pope and the emperor was not ended.

Besancon Episode

The papacy was to find its most effective allies and the emperor his most dangerous foes in the cities of northern Italy. There the municipalities had developed into strong and almost independent political and military centers. They acted as the intermediaries in trade between the Mediterranean and Oriental lands and the countries of western Europe. Their merchants had become wealthy and had formed associations for mutual protection. Encircled by strong walls, filled with people accustomed to fight, these cities made redoubtable opponents. In the eleventh century Milan is said to have contained three hundred

Lombard Cities


DOMINIONS OF THE SELJUK
SULTANATE OF
ICONIUM OR ROUM
ASIA MINOR
KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
COUNTY OF EDESSA
TURKS
DOMINION OF THE ATABEKS
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
FATIMITE CALIFATE OF CAIRO
ARABIA
Caesarea
Iconium
Heraclea
Sisia
Marash
Hisn Keifa
Melitene
Tigris R.
Samosata
Mardin
Edessa
Ain-Tab
Harran
Coris
Tarsus
Adana
Mamistra
Alexandria minor (Alexandretta)
Seleucia
Ravendal
Manbij
Artasium, Iron Bridge (Pons Ferri)
Antioch
Aleppo
St. Simeon
P. OF
Zerdan
Racca
Euphrates R.
Albara
Marra
Laodicea
Apamea
Orontes R.
Gibellum
Nicosia
Famagusta
CYPRUS
Margat
Assassins
Hamah
Tortosa
Mons Ferrandus
Homs (Emesa)
Archas
Tripoli
Limasol
Tadmor
Botroun
Gibilet
Beirut
C. of Tripoli
Baalbec
Sidon
Sarepta
Damascus
Tyre
Banias
Montfort
St. Jean d'Acre
Safed
Sea of Galilee
Cayphas
Tiberias
Nazareth
Gadara
Adratum
Bostra
Caesarea
Balsan
Sebaste
Neapolis (Nablus)
Arsuf
Jordan R.
Jaffa
Assalt
Ramleh
Lydda
Ibebin
Jericho
Azotus
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Ascalon
Hebron
Gaza
Dead Sea
Daron
El Arish
Segor
Montreal (Mons Regalis)
RED SEA
Elim
STATES OF SYRIA
CRUSADING STATES
c. 1140
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
Longitude East from Greenwich
34° 36° 38° 40°
32° 30°
C.S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.

thousand inhabitants, and was an ally to be coveted by emperor or pope. During the investiture struggle emperor and pope had vied with each other in according privileges to these Lombard cities in order to secure their support, but neither one was in a position to exercise any real authority over them.

Their Government

The form of government varied from town to town, but in general followed the same outline. At the head was a larger or smaller number of consuls, who held administrative, judicial, and military powers. They were assisted by a council, or *credentia,* of leading citizens. Usually there was also a general assembly of the members of the community, which sometimes exercised considerable power over the consuls. But each city had its own laws and customs, and there were wide divergences in the actual working out of the details of the government. In some the nobles had thrown in their lot with that of the commune and shared in the administration Usually the governing body, even the general assembly, did not include all the inhabitants, but only the privileged classes — nobles, clergy, and members of guilds. The remaining inhabitants were absolutely subject to these governing classes, who determined minutely just what the lower classes should be allowed to do. The guild men were very important. Otto of Freising could not restrain his indignation in writing about these artisans of base birth, who carried on despised trades and yet were armed like knights and held high offices in the cities.

Leagues of Cities

Within each town there was frequent strife between members of the different factions. Between neighboring towns there was usually friction, if not open hostility A discontented or oppressed faction in one might call for aid from any near-by town, and fighting was constant and ruthless. Milan was the most important city in the interior, and strove to gain an ever-widening hegemony over the other towns. In 1158 it was at the head of a league that included Brescia, Piacenza, Parma, and Modena. To protect themselves, Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, and Como had formed another league; but, as they were not strong enough to defend themselves against Milan, they sought aid from Frederic Barbarossa. He was already exasperated against Milan because of its "arrogance," and on his first expedition he had destroyed Tortona, one of its allies; now he wished to turn "all the forces of the empire against Milan in order to crush it."

Milan resisted energetically at first, but had to yield and give hostages that it would be faithful and that in the future the consuls who might be elected should be subject to the emperor's confirmation. Encouraged by this success, Frederic determined to restore to their full vigor throughout Lombardy the imperial

CHAP. XXIV

Roncaglian Diet

laws that had fallen into desuetude. For this purpose he held a diet on the Roncaglian Plain, at which professors of law from the famous school in Bologna assisted him in defining the imperial prerogatives or "regalia." These included control over the appointment of the chief officials in each city, the levying of tolls and customs, the monopoly of minting money, the revenues from mines, and various other rights that had long been in abeyance The emperor's forces were so great that the cities had to yield temporarily. Frederic at once arranged to appoint a new official, a *podestà,* in each city, who was to be the emperor's immediate representative and to come from outside the city where he held office.

At Milan the attempt to introduce the *podestà* caused a popular uprising, and the emperor in anger besieged the city. Milan held out for almost three years, but was compelled by starvation to surrender. Frederic hardened his heart against the prayers of the citizens, but finally granted them their lives. He insisted upon the destruction of the city, and the people in the neighboring cities, hostile to Milan, eagerly leveled the walls, filled the moats, and destroyed the buildings. Frederic carried away the leading citizens as hostages, and forbade all others ever to return to live where Milan had been.

Destruction of Milan

Frederic had obtained his immediate objective. Moreover, he had crushed out opposition in other rebellious cities by a "policy of frightfulness." But he was in a more unfavorable position for carrying out his main purpose than he had been after the Roncaglian diet. The exactions of the new imperial officials exasperated even those cities that had been on Frederic's side because of their hatred of Milan. The citizens had enjoyed virtual independence too long to submit willingly to foreign rule, and they all resented the attempt to reintroduce feudal exactions. They were much more advanced in civilization than Germany, and their commerce demanded different treatment. In their hostility to the emperor their natural ally was the pope.

Harsh Rule Arouses Opposition

Adrian had demanded that Frederic should give up many of his claims, including the feudal overlordship of Tuscany, "the property of the countess Matilda," and all sovereign rights over Rome. As Frederic naturally refused, the pope had allied himself with the Lombard cities and the king of Sicily and had begun negotiations to obtain support from the Greek emperor. Adrian died in 1159, and was succeeded by Alexander III, who as cardinal legate had made the rash speech at Besançon. Frederic, knowing that Alexander would be an implacable foe, had an antipope elected; but the latter was recognized only in Germany —

Opposition of Pope

the kings of the other leading countries in Europe recognized Alexander.

In 1166 Frederic made a fourth expedition to Italy. He marched on Rome and took it by assault, but was compelled to retreat in haste when an epidemic broke out in his army and threatened to destroy it. After great difficulties he regained Germany with only a small remnant of his host. Immediately on the news of his disaster the important cities in northern Italy formed the Lombard League (1167), which included not only the rebuilt Milan and its former allies, but also Venice and Bologna, and even cities that had been bitter foes to Milan, such as Lodi and Cremona. Alexander gave his blessing to the league and to the city of Alessandria, named in his honor, which the league built as its headquarters.

First Lombard League

Frederic was so occupied in Germany that he had to wait six years before renewing the struggle. Then two years of fruitless actions and negotiations followed until in 1176 the league attacked the emperor's army at Legnano and inflicted a crushing defeat. The following year, Frederic humbled himself before the pope, as his great-grandfather had done one hundred years before at Canossa. He hoped thus to detach him from his alliance with the league, but in vain. Finally, in 1183, he had to make the peace of Constance, by which he gave up the *regalia* accorded to him at the Roncaglian diet and recognized the virtual independence of the cities in the league, although he retained his suzerainty over them, together with the power of imposing certain taxes. This was a complete triumph for the league and for its ally, the pope. But conditions in Italy were such that no union was possible except in the face of a common foe. Rivalry soon led to the disintegration of the league. The pope was unable to establish his authority in Tuscany. Frederic's defeat restored in Italy the former disunion and weakness; it left him free to devote all his energy to affairs in Germany.

Peace of Constance

Since the diet at Besançon, Frederic's prestige had not increased. Then, in the words of Ragewin, who continued Otto of Freising's "Deeds of Frederic," "the whole world, recognizing that he was very strong and very merciful, moved at the same time by affection and fear, strove to render to him new marks of honor and to exalt him by new eulogies." His recent marriage with the heiress of upper Burgundy had given him control over the kingdom of Burgundy and Arles; his influence was paramount in the east, in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary; in the north, in Denmark. His power in Germany was so great that his excommunication by Alexander III had no effect. But, in order to

Power of Frederic

CHAP. XXIV

Henry the Lion

maintain his power and security and to be free for his Italian expeditions, he had favored and supported his most powerful vassal, the Guelf, Henry the Lion.

While Frederic was expending his forces and money in Italy, Henry had been building up a great power in northern Germany and Bavaria. In the northeast he warred against the heathen Slavs, extending his conquests, establishing bishoprics and monasteries, and introducing colonists not only from Saxony but also from Holland, Denmark, and Flanders He was in alliance with the king of Denmark and with Henry II of England, whose daughter he married. He was virtually monarch in northern Germany, and his prestige was great, extending even to Constantinople and the Holy Land, to which he made a pilgrimage. He felt himself so strong that, in spite of all the favors that he had received from the emperor, he refused to furnish aid for the later expeditions to Italy. His power and his character made for him many enemies, who carried their grievances to Frederic. Henry was summoned to meet his enemies before the imperial diet in 1179. Proud and confiding in his strength, he refused to obey. According to feudal usage, he was cited three times to appear, and then condemned to forfeit his fiefs and to banishment. He attempted to resist, but in less than two years Frederic had conquered Saxony and forced Henry to submission. Saxony and Bavaria were taken from him and he was sent into exile. After a few years he was allowed to return, as Frederic felt that he was no longer dangerous; but he was allowed to hold only Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Last Years of Frederic

The last years of Frederic's reign were prosperous. The year after the peace of Constance he held a magnificent diet at Mainz, where seventy "powerful princes" and seventy thousand knights came to do him honor. Concord was not established, and could not be, between him and the pope; but he had weakened the latter by detaching from him the support of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, through the marriage of his son Henry to Constance, the Norman heiress. The news of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 prevented further hostilities either in Germany or with the pope. Frederic's crusade and death will be described in the next chapter.

The Norman adventurers in Italy had succeeded in building up a strong state. To the period of conquest, which has already been described,[1] had succeeded a half-century of gradual consolidation, until in 1130 Roger II had secured the title of king from one of the popes as the price of his support during the

[1] See Chapter XVI.

CHAP. XXIV

Schism. Although the pope, Anachete II, lost the papal throne, Roger and his successors retained the title. Roger, 1130–1154, built up a powerful kingdom. He maintained a strong army composed of both Moslems and Christians; legislated wisely and established a careful system of taxation and finances; welcomed men of ability from all lands; and was tolerant of all religions. In 1098 Urban II had granted to one of his predecessors, as duke, the dignity of apostolic legate in Sicily, both for himself and for his heirs, and consequently all other legates were excluded and the ruler had a firm control over the Church. The kings who had succeeded Roger had not been so able, but it was still a goodly heritage that Constance brought as her dowry to Henry.

Norman Kingdom in Italy

Henry had to fight to secure it. The Norman nobles were averse to his succession, and set up a rival king, Tancred. They found support in Germany from the party of Henry the Lion. The pope, although he had been compelled to crown Henry emperor, felt that the danger to the papacy would be too great if Henry should secure Sicily; consequently he supported Tancred. A series of fortunate events gave Henry the upper hand. The leader of the rebellious nobles of Germany fell in love with the emperor's cousin and submitted to him; the ransom of Richard the Lion Hearted[2] furnished him funds; Tancred died Henry soon conquered southern Italy and Sicily, pillaged the land, and punished ferociously every attempt at revolt. In addition, he established his brother as ruler over "the property of Matilda," and in northern Italy built up a league of cities friendly to him to oppose the remnant of the Lombard League.

Conquest of Norman Kingdom

Henry had great power. He was emperor, king of Sicily, overlord of the kings of Armenia and Cyprus, and of Bohemond of Antioch; in addition Richard the Lion Hearted, to secure release from captivity, had been obliged to acknowledge him as overlord He had even greater ambitions: he wished to make the empire hereditary for his descendants, and to extend it to include the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of Jerusalem. For this purpose he began a crusade; but in the midst of his preparations he was stricken with disease, and died when he was only thirty-two.

Power of Henry VI

The imperial succession was in dispute between Henry's brother Philip and Otto, the son of Henry the Lion. Philip was the stronger, but Otto was enabled to continue the struggle for ten years by the support of the pope and of his uncle, John of England. He was in a desperate position when Innocent was finally compelled to recognize Philip; but the latter's assassination,

Philip and Otto

[2] See Chapter XXIII

CHAP. XXIV

in 1208, made Otto emperor. As soon as he was firmly established, he adopted the same policy toward the Church as had his Ghibelline predecessors. His demand for "the property of Matilda" alienated the pope. The Ghibelline party in Germany elected as their king Frederic, the son of Henry VI, and Innocent abandoned Otto for Frederic.

Youth of Frederic II

The latter was not quite three years old when his father died, and a year later, when his mother also died, he was left an orphan ward of Pope Innocent III. He grew up in Sicily, surrounded by Greeks, Normans, Germans, Saracens, and Jews. He was sometimes in the hands of one official, then seized by another; each, whether German or Sicilian, caring only to secure power by the possession of the person of the nominal ruler. "So, without a relative or friend, without ever feeling a ray of love, the child grew up in the midst of intrigues of the worst kind, among men whose empty greed he saw through only too quickly." He learned to use craft and deceit very early in life. He was precocious, brilliant, versatile, fascinating, passionate, restless. When Frederic was nearly thirteen years old, one of his attendants described him as follows:

> The king's stature is not only small, but also not large for his age. Nature has, however, endowed him with strong limbs and a vigorous body, with the ability to persist in every undertaking. He is never quiet, but is in motion all day long. In order to increase his strength by exercise he trains his supple body in the use of arms; and when he is exercising he seizes his sword, to which he trusts especially, and falls into a wild rage as if he wanted to slash his antagonist's face. He is skilful in the use of the bow, and practises shooting industriously. He delights in fine, swift horses; you may well believe that no one knows better than he how to drive them or to spur them to a gallop. Thus practising the use of arms in every fashion he spends the entire day in constant and varied activity, and even continues his practice throughout the first watch of the night Moreover, he possesses royal dignity; he has the appearance and the commanding majesty of a ruler. His face is of gracious beauty, with a jovial forehead, and his eyes are so full of joy that it is a pleasure to look at him. He is wide awake, full of sagacity and docility. But his bearing is impertinent and unbecoming; . . . he is entirely inaccessible to advice and follows only the dictates of his own free will. As far as one can see, he considers it degrading to be under guardianship and to be regarded as a boy and not as a king . . . His talents so far surpass his age that, now before he is a man, he is well equipped with knowledge and has the shrewdness that he would naturally have acquired only in the course of years.

He trusted no one and believed that every man or woman could be bought for a price. He was remarkably well educated and had great intellectual curiosity, studying eagerly natural history, mathematics, and other branches. He was a poet and, if we can trust Dante, of no small ability in verse. Such, in

brief, was the boy of seventeen who was called to be the leader of the Hohenstaufens and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

For three years it was not certain that Frederic would triumph, although he had the pope's support. But the battle of Bouvines won by Frederic's ally, Philip Augustus, prevented John of England from aiding Otto, and the latter was gradually abandoned by most of his adherents. In 1215 Frederic received the imperial crown. The boy of twenty-one, elated by such success as a few years before seemed impossible, took a vow to go on a crusade. In his enthusiasm he may have dreamed of carrying out his father's ambitious schemes. But his vow was to hamper him for a dozen years; it gave the pope a weapon to use against him if he did not perform it within a reasonable time. It was impossible for him to undertake a crusade until he had established his rule firmly. Moreover, in order to win the pope's support, he had sworn not to keep both Sicily and Germany. He had no intention of giving up either. Fortunately for him, Innocent died in 1216 and was succeeded by Honorius III, a mild and kindly old man who had been Frederic's tutor. He did not insist upon the immediate abandonment of either Germany or Sicily, and showed himself very willing to listen to Frederic's repeated requests for postponement of the crusade.

Vow to Go on Crusade

When Honorius was succeeded by Gregory IX, in 1227, Frederic had to start on the crusade. He had been making arrangements, gathering forces and supplies, and especially negotiating with the sultan of Egypt, the ruler of Jerusalem. The latter was in a difficult position, being hard pressed by a rival Moslem power, the prince of Damascus, so that he was ready to treat with Frederic. The latter was king of Jerusalem by his marriage, in 1225, with Isabelle of Brienne, the heiress. Because of Gregory's insistence, Frederic had to set sail for the Holy Land in September, 1227, but returned to shore a few days later, alleging illness. The pope did not believe him, and excommunicated him for not fulfilling his vow. Without being released from excommunication, Frederic set out for Palestine in the following June, with a small force composed partly of faithful Saracen troops. The pope excommunicated him again for going on the crusade while still excommunicate. When he landed in Palestine the conditions were not so favorable as he had hoped. The prince of Damascus had died, and the sultan was no longer in need of aid The pope had forbidden the military orders in the Holy Land to obey Frederic, and had ordered the patriarch of Jerusalem to lay an interdict upon any place where the emperor might be. Many of the crusaders

Frederic's Crusade

CHAP. XXIV

left for home. Frederic, although he had only a few troops succeeded in making a treaty with the sultan. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and some other places were handed over to him. But the Moslems were to keep the mosque of Omar and to have the right to worship freely in Jerusalem. Moreover, there was to be a truce for ten years, during which Frederic agreed to prevent the princes of the West from attacking Egypt. After making the treaty Frederic went to Jerusalem and crowned himself. Then he hastened home, for Gregory had preached a crusade against Frederic's dominions in Italy, and the crusaders were led by two cardinals and John of Brienne, Frederic's father-in-law, who was angry because Frederic had taken from him the title of king of Jerusalem.[3] Frederic was easily successful, and made peace with the pope in 1230. He was now free to devote himself again to the problem of administering his kingdoms.

Government in Sicily

Sicily was his home by preference, and to its administration he gave the greatest care. Much had been done in the preceding century by Roger II to lay the foundations for a strong, centralized, non-feudal state. It is impossible to say how much of Frederic's work was a logical following out of Roger's institutions, and how much was due to Frederic's initiative. In his "Constitutions for the Kingdom of Sicily," published in 1231, Frederic took away from both nobles and clergy most of their power and privileges. The nobles were forbidden to make private war, and no one but a servant of the king was allowed to carry weapons. Criminal jurisdiction was taken from the feudal lords, and they were not allowed to give their children in marriage without the emperor's consent. The clerical courts lost all their jurisdiction over laymen, except in cases of adultery. The members of the clergy were forbidden to hold public office and were compelled to pay taxes. Frederic showed himself more favorable to the citizens, and did much to encourage commerce; but he did not permit the cities to elect their own *podestàs* or consuls. All power was centralized in the emperor, who surrounded himself with a strong corps of administrative officials dependent wholly upon his favor. The country grew wealthy under his rule. Later even the pope contrasted the bad conditions in Sicily under his own protégé, Charles of Anjou, with its prosperity under the hated Hohenstaufen.

Policy in Germany

In Germany Frederic's policy was entirely different. There

[3] Jerusalem was a hereditary kingdom. John had secured his title of king by marrying the heiress. After her death her daughter, who married Frederic, was the heiress, and Frederic claimed the title as her husband.

he granted greater powers to the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, powers that made them almost independent in their own lands. At first he showed himself very hostile to the cities, whose charters he revoked; but as the carrying out of this policy was left to the former rulers of the cities, especially the bishops, few of the cities suffered; and later Frederic sought the support of the cities. The keynote to his policy in Germany seems to have been that he cared only to get from it men and supplies for the carrying out of his policy in Italy.

Lombard League

He needed this support, especially in his struggle with the Lombard League and the pope. In one of his letters Frederic described the spirit of municipal freedom as "a poisonous weed which must be rooted out." The Lombard cities distrusted him, and only a few remained of his party. The pope feared that Frederic would be able to build up a strong centralized government in northern as well as in southern Italy, which would crush the papacy. When the Lombard League allied itself with Henry, the rebel son of Frederic, the latter declared war on the league. He won a brilliant victory at Cortenuova in 1237. The pope, who had been friendly to the league and had attempted to intervene, finally excommunicated Frederic, in 1239.

Frederic's Struggle with the Pope

Both parties appealed to the public opinion of Europe as represented by the kings and leaders, just as they had done in the time of Frederic's crusade. The pope laid stress upon the emperor's impiety and misdeeds. The emperor demanded the calling of a general council, so that he might have an opportunity to prove the pope's unworthiness for his office, and warned the other kings that if the pope crushed the emperor it would then be easy for him to humble them — the emperor's cause was theirs. Gregory summoned the bishops of the Christian world to Rome to hold a council. Since Frederic knew that the decision would be adverse to him, he attacked the Genoese fleet on which bishops from France, England, Italy, and Spain had set sail for Rome, and captured three papal legates and many archbishops and bishops. The council could not be held. Gregory died a few months later, and no pope was consecrated for almost two years. Frederic attempted to win to his cause the new pope, Innocent IV, who was an old friend; but no accord was possible between Frederic and the pope. After negotiating for a time, Innocent withdrew to Lyons in order to be able to hold a council in safety. There Frederic was declared guilty of perjury, heresy, and sacrilege, and was solemnly excommunicated. Innocent preached a crusade against him and laid an interdict on Sicily. An anti-king was elected in Germany by the papal partizans.

CHAP. XXIV

The war with the Lombard League was waged with the greatest barbarity on both sides, and no decisive results had been obtained by either party when Frederic died, in 1250.

Character of Frederic

It is easier to describe the tangled events of his reign than it is to form an estimate of his character. The popes' hostility to him had been mainly political, and Louis IX of France had rebuked one pope for his un-Christian conduct. Modern writers have styled Frederic "the first modern king" Misled by his great talents, they have frequently been too partial to him. In this respect they are following the German opponents of the papacy, who long believed that Frederic was not dead, but would return to free them from the papal tyranny. This legend about Frederic was transferred to his grandfather at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and made well known by the ballad of the sleeping Barbarossa. It was natural that the Germans should transfer the legend to the grandfather for whom Frederic was named; for the latter was not at all a German. He was a product of the mixture of peoples and civilizations in Sicily. This was especially noticeable in his habits and point of view. He has been aptly styled "a baptized sultan." He had his harem, guarded by eunuchs, which he took with him on his journeys. Also on his royal progresses he was usually accompanied by a menagerie, which he kept partly for show and partly for the opportunity that it gave him to study the animals. An account of one of his journeys reminds us of a circus parade. First came the four-horse wagons, "filled with gold and silver, cambric and purple, jewels and splendid furniture"; then, camels and dromedaries, lions, panthers, white bears, monkeys, and other animals, especially falcons; an enormous elephant, a present from the sultan of Egypt, which bore on its back a huge tower from which Saracen attendants looked down; Ethiopians with silver trumpets, Moorish dancers, and jongleurs; and the great closed chariots for his harem and the attendants.

Author and Patron of Learning

Frederic really studied animals, and was especially interested in falcons. He made a collection of all kinds of hawks, and wrote a book on falconry in which he compared the different species and described the methods of training them. He accepted no statement about hawks on the authority of any previous writer, and often corrected the mistakes of others. This is characteristic of his point of view; he was a skeptic. The pope denounced him for writing a book on "The Three Impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed," and Frederic may actually have written such a work. In spite of the fact that he persecuted heretics cruelly, he was not at all an orthodox Christian.

CHAP. XXIV

Men of all religions, or of none, were welcome at his court if they had skill in any branch of knowledge. He founded the University of Naples and was a liberal patron of many kinds of learning. Dante called him "the father of Italian poetry." In his own age he was described as *stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis* ("the wonder of the world and a marvelous innovator").

Sanctity

Frederic had imbibed the old Roman idea of the sanctity of the emperor. He spoke of Iesi as the "noble city where our divine mother brought us into the world," "this Bethlehem where Cæsar was born." He regarded the pope as his subordinate and had no reverence for him. In one of his letters to his prime minister, Peter de Vineis, Frederic applied to him the Biblical text, "thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Any one who studies Frederic's relations with the popes and with the Church will understand why a pope spoke of "the viper brood of the Hohenstaufens," and why Innocent IV and his immediate successors were determined to exterminate the family of Frederic II.

They were successful. The last legitimate male Hohenstaufen perished on the scaffold at Naples in 1268. Rival candidates were elected as emperor, but had no real power. The period between 1254, the date of the death of Conrad, son of Frederic II, and 1273, the date of the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, is generally called the Great Interregnum, or by the Germans the Age of *Faustrecht* (fist law"), when might made right, when there was no established central authority, and each district had to depend upon its own resources to maintain order.

Great Interregnum

Advance of Germany

This period, however, saw a wonderful development of the German people. It was especially notable for the extension of German colonizing activities in the northeast. The cities grew stronger and more independent. Freed from the incubus of Italy and from the constant drain of men and supplies to maintain the imperial pretensions in other lands, the Germans organized leagues of cities which maintained their independence.

CHAPTER XXV

THE LATER CRUSADES

CHAP. XXV

THE news of the fall of Jerusalem made a profound impression throughout western Europe. Warring kings made peace and took the cross; the most eminent were Henry II of England and his son Richard, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederic Barbarossa of Germany. The last was the first to start, in May, 1189. He made careful regulations, so that the army might be thoroughly efficient; ordering that no poor man should take part, that no women should accompany the host except laundresses, and that discipline should be maintained. Before setting out he attempted to make alliances with the Greek emperor and with the sultan of Iconium. The latter was the great rival of Saladin, and held an important position to the north. In the meantime the Greek emperor had entered into an alliance with Saladin. Consequently each emperor was allied with a Mohammedan power. But the Greek emperor was unable to do anything to check Frederic, who with his army marched overland to Constantinople without any serious difficulties. He then crossed into Asia Minor and advanced successfully to the brook Chalycadnus in Seleucia where he was drowned through the force or the chill of the water. Almost all of his followers returned home in order to look after their own interests; only a small number proceeded on their expedition.

The Third Crusade:

Frederic Barbarossa

In the meantime war had broken out again between Henry II and Philip Augustus, who was aided by Richard. The death of Henry led to peace, and in 1190 Philip and Richard set out on the crusade. At first the two kings were friendly, but they quarreled while they were in Sicily, and became bitter enemies. Philip sailed for Acre, which the Christians were besieging; Richard proceeded leisurely, stopping to capture Cyprus and to get married before going to Acre.

Philip and Richard

The siege of this city had been going on for months. Virtually all the forces in the Holy Land, with the remnant of Frederic Barbarossa's army and the crusaders led by the king of France, were engaged in it. Saladin was watching the Christian army and was attempting to rescue Acre. When Richard arrived, there was great joy in the Christian camp. But the siege dragged

Siege of Acre

on for many weary months. The contemporary chroniclers, both Arab and Christian, have left accounts of many incidents, so that this crusade has come to be the theme of romance. The enmity of Philip and Richard was constant, and soon extended to their respective followers Conditions became so bad that it was not safe to lead both the English and the French forces into action at the same time, lest they might turn their weapons against each other. Richard entered into communication with Saladin, and they exchanged presents, although they never met. During the progress of the siege there were many picturesque incidents. Both parties watched eagerly the achievements of the mangonels. Richard had taken with him from Sicily three shiploads of flint-stones for use in his machines; one of these stones, which is said to have killed thirteen of the men of Acre, was carefully saved and taken to Saladin as a curiosity. In order to carry on communication with the people in the city, Saladin employed expert swimmers, and the Christians attempted to prevent this by stretching out huge nets. One of the messengers was drowned while attempting to make the passage; but as his dead body was washed ashore at Acre, and the inhabitants obtained the money that had been sent them, they said that this man paid his debts even after death. The Christians were eager to tear down the defensive walls of the city, and Richard offered large pay for every stone that was dislodged; consequently his followers achieved great deeds of valor in their attempts to tear the stones from the wall. Even the women engaged eagerly in the work of the siege. One of them who was carrying material to fill the moat was fatally wounded by a shot from the wall. She begged that her body might be thrown into the moat, so that she might assist even after death. Finally the siege, which had begun on August 27, 1189, came to an end with the capture of the city on July 12, 1191.

During the progress of the siege some Germans had made awnings from the sails, and had turned their vessels into hospitals to care for the wounded. From this humble beginning, which was highly admired, grew the great Teutonic Order. But this order, unlike the knights of the Temple and the Hospital, was to achieve its great distinction in the West, in its contest with the heathen Wends and Prussians.

Teutonic Order

Two of the conditions of the surrender had been the payment of a huge ransom and the restoration of the true cross, which had been captured by Saladin at Jerusalem. The ransom was not paid at the appointed time; consequently Richard ordered the twenty-seven hundred captives whom he had held as a

CHAP. XXV

Fate of Captives

guaranty to be led out and slaughtered in cold blood. This act, and the favorable comments made upon it by Christian writers, reveal the barbarism of the western knights. It was in great contrast with the action of Saladin when he had conquered Jerusalem. He too had stipulated for a ransom, and had laid a price upon the head of each Christian in the city. The Christians raised all the money they could, but were unable to pay the necessary sum. Then Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, came to the latter and begged him for a thousand captives. These were given to him, and he set them free. Next the Christian patriarch came, begging for some captives; these were granted to him, and he set them free. Saladin said, "My brother and the patriarch have made their alms; now it is my turn," and he set all the remaining captives free without ransom. These various deeds are eloquent of the difference in civilization between the Saracens and the Franks.

The remainder of the crusade may be passed over very briefly. Philip returned home almost at once. Richard stayed for some time, making indecisive marches, fighting bravely, but accomplishing nothing. The Arabs learned to respect his valor very highly, and it is said that he became a kind of "bogey-man" in proverbial literature: when an Arab horse shied without cause, the Arab spoke of his seeing Richard in the bush; when a babe cried, the Arab mother threatened him with King Richard. Finally Saladin took the offensive, and Richard, who was badly needed at home, found it expedient to make peace. He secured fairly good terms, as Saladin also was anxious for peace. On September 1, 1192, it was arranged that Christian pilgrims should enter the city of Jerusalem freely, and other provisions were made that were favorable to the Christians; but on the whole the crusade had been without result, except for the capture of Acre.

Peace Made

On his return Richard was seized and held as a prisoner by the duke of Austria, whom he had angered at the siege of Acre. The emperor Henry VI of Germany compelled the duke to hand over to him the illustrious prisoner. Richard had to remain in prison for many months, and was released only after he had done homage to Henry, and had promised to pay the enormous ransom of £100,000. In order to make up this sum it is said that every man, woman, and child in England, Normandy, and Richard's other possessions, had to contribute.

Richard's Ransom

The events of the next few years were indecisive. The German crusade sent out by Henry VI failed because of his death. Finally, in 1201, a number of French knights took the cross,

Fourth Crusade

and sent messengers to the Italian cities to secure vessels to transport them and their army across the sea. Venice promised to furnish the necessary vessels and provisions for a year, on the payment of four marks for each horse and two marks for each man.[1] In addition Venice was to furnish vessels and troops of its own, and was to receive one half of all the conquests made. The time of departure was set for June, 1202.

When the appointed time came only a comparatively small number of crusaders had reached Venice, and they found it impossible to raise the amount of money that had been promised. Venice was in a position to exact its own terms if the crusade was to take place. There had been a convenient ambiguity as to the destination. Venice had promised to carry the crusaders *outre-mer;* the host of pilgrims conceived of this as Syria; the leaders probably intended Egypt. One contemporary chronicler states that the Venetians had made a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, and had promised that they would not carry the pilgrims to his land. Whether this is true or not, Venice determined to use the expedition for its own advantage. As the crusaders were entirely unable to raise the sum that had been agreed upon, the doge proposed to the leaders that they should earn the money by capturing the city of Zara. This was situated across the Adriatic from Venice, and was a commercial rival. The leaders agreed to this, but kept the matter secret from the mass of the army, and the latter, thinking that they were actually starting on the crusade, made great bonfires and were very joyful.

Diversion to Zara

After some weeks of indecisive movements the crusading army reached Zara.[2] There was a great division in the army of the crusaders, most of them insisting that they should not attack a Christian city. The pope had already learned of the movement against Zara, and had ordered them not to war against the Christians. Finally the leaders succeeded in inducing a sufficient number to act with the Venetians, and the city was captured. Since it was late in the fall, the Venetians urged the

Capture of Zara

[1] Natalis de Wailly estimated the value of a mark at about fifty-two francs in the present-day money. (This was when a franc was worth about nineteen cents.) If his reckoning is correct, this would mean that each man was to be provided with transportation and food for a year for about twenty dollars in our money. Of course this is entirely misleading. This is an example of the difficulty of reducing any medieval sum to the modern equivalent.

[2] The reason for the long delay in reaching Zara has never been explained. There is a possibility that the alliance with the young Alexius was already under discussion, and that this time was spent in negotiations with him.

CHAP. XXV

impossibility of proceeding further that winter, and kept the crusaders at Zara.

When the spring came there were fresh plots on the part of the leaders and the Venetians. It is probable that the terms of the original treaty had been kept secret from the mass of the army. According to the treaty, the Venetians were to furnish food for one year; but Villehardouin, in his history of this crusade, says that the Venetians had promised to furnish provisions for nine months, and this seems to have been the general belief in the Christian army, for there was great discussion about what was to be done. Some urged that the time for which the vessels had been hired was virtually over, and that some new arrangements must be made in order that the crusade might continue. Under those circumstances a plot with the pretender, or the "rightful heir," to the Byzantine throne made progress. In an assembly of the crusaders the doge said: "Sirs, Greece is a very rich land, and bountifully supplied with everything. If we can find a sufficient excuse for going there and taking food and other things, so as to recuperate, it would seem to be advisable, and then we could easily go across the sea." Then the marquis Boniface of Montferrat rose and said: "Sir, I was in Germany at the emperor's court last Christmas. There I saw a young man who is the emperor's brother-in-law. This young man is the son of the emperor Kyrsac (Isaac) of Constantinople, from whom his brother has taken the empire of Constantinople by treason. Whoever could get this young man, could certainly go to the land of Constantinople and take provisions and other things; for this young man is the rightful heir." Alexius was already close at hand, and the arrangements were soon made. The proposal was that, if the crusaders would aid him, he would bring the Greek Church under the obedience of the pope; he would give two hundred thousand marks of silver and provisions; he would furnish them men to aid them in the conquest of Egypt; and as long as he lived he would maintain five hundred knights in the land of *Outre-mer* to guard it. These terms were accepted by the doge and the leaders, and were finally agreed to by most of the army.

Diversion to Constantinople

The crusaders set sail for Constantinople, succeeded in capturing the city, and placed Alexius and his father upon the throne. But the young Alexius was wholly unable to carry out the conditions he had made. The crusaders laid little stress upon anything except the payment of the money, but this Alexius was not able to raise. A war soon began between him and his associates, and the crusaders besieged the city in order to

CHAP. XXV

secure payment. After great hardships they finally succeeded in capturing Constantinople. There had been divisions in the army throughout the whole time, and many had left the crusade because of their unwillingness to take part in such a crime. the pope had repeatedly commanded them not to attack Constantinople, and had placed the Venetians under excommunication for their deeds. But when the city was finally captured all who were present joined in the sack. Their conduct was described later by Innocent III in scathing terms that were fully justified. The crusaders gave full vent to their passions and wantonly destroyed much of the city. Priceless treasures of art, which they were unable to appreciate, were broken in pieces. The gold and silver and relics were stolen and divided among the hosts. Indescribable orgies accompanied the sack, and the scene of the worst was the great church of St. Sophia.

Sack of Constantinople

Before the city had been captured the crusaders had arranged for the division of the spoils. An emperor was to be elected by a commission and was to receive one-fourth of the whole empire. The remaining three fourths were to be divided equally between the Venetians and the crusaders. This compact was carried out. Count Baldwin of Flanders was elected emperor, and a Venetian patriarch was chosen. Innocent III acquiesced in the accomplished fact, and ordered the crusaders to remain for a year at Constantinople in order to strengthen the empire. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted only a little more than half a century, and was always weak. Venice profited greatly because she, by the terms of the agreement, secured "a quarter and a half of a quarter" of the Greek Empire, and took as her part mainly islands and possessions on the coast. Many of these she long retained. In 1261 the Latin Empire came to an end, through the capture of Constantinople by the emperor of the Empire of Nicæa, one of the rival states established by the Greek exiles from Constantinople. This ill-fated Latin Empire had weakened Constantinople, which never recovered its former strength, and had hurt the cause of the crusades, partly because the shameless conduct of the leaders in the fourth crusade had brought discredit upon the whole movement, and partly because adventurers, in search of booty, were attracted to Constantinople for half a century, and few went to fight in the Holy Land.

Latin Empire

Innocent III was always eager for a new crusade. His preachers went throughout the West urging people to take the cross. But there was little zeal shown anywhere for the crusade. Finally, in 1212, a curious movement began which is indicative of the state of feeling at that time. A large number of children

The Children's Crusade

CHAP. XXV

gathered together both in Germany and France, under the leadership of mere boys, saying that they were going to Jerusalem. They took as their motto "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, O Lord," and declared that they would succeed in recovering the Holy Land without fighting. The band of French children marched about in the north of France, singing songs and meeting with popular approbation. The French king consulted the doctors of the University of Paris concerning this movement, and, being told by them that it was unwise, he commanded the children to return home. They did so, and the movement in France came to an end.

In Germany, however, some twenty thousand children gathered under the leadership of a boy named Nicholas, and set out on their march. The band was composed of both boys and girls, of every rank in society; and some evil men and women had joined the host in order to prey upon the children. They marched up the Rhine, across the Alps, and down into Italy. On their way they suffered severely because of the heat, but were well treated by the people. They interpreted even the heat and drought as good, because they believed that the Lord would dry up the Mediterranean and open for them a way to pass through dry-shod, as the children of Israel had crossed the Red Sea. When they reached Genoa the band was estimated at about seven thousand, and the city fathers at first refused to let them enter the city. Finally permission was granted for them to remain a single night. As the sea did not open before them, the children separated to seek a passage elsewhere. Some went through Italy as far as Brindisi, and there the bishop persuaded them to return home. Others went to Marseilles, and were sold into slavery by some merchants of that city. Few returned home. Many were forced to remain in Italy. The whole expedition came into derision later; but it illustrates the spirit of the age, and the devotion to the cause of the crusade.

During this period it would have been comparatively easy for the Christians to recover Jerusalem. Saladin died soon after the third crusade; and, as his possessions were divided among his numerous heirs, civil war ensued. Their disunion made them very weak, but unfortunately the Christians did not attempt to take advantage of this. Those who remained in the Holy Land were mainly of the merchant class, and were more interested in commerce than in fighting. They lived on comparatively advantageous terms with the Mohammedans, and preferred not to see their trade disturbed by warfare. The only important under-

Conditions in the Holy Land

taking was the crusade against Damietta, and this came to nothing, mainly because the papal legate seemed determined to rule or ruin. The crusades as great military movements had practically ceased except for the expeditions of Frederic II and St. Louis, which have been mentioned in connection with the history of these monarchs. The Christians lost their last possessions in the Holy Land in 1291.

Importance of the Crusades

The importance of the crusades is due to the fact that they brought peoples of many different nationalities together, and caused an interchange of ideas and customs. It is much easier to state this generally than to attempt to tabulate the results of the movement, with regard to which the opinions of historians have varied widely. Kugler states, in substance, that it would be almost impossible to find any sphere of life that did not find some enrichment from the East during the period of the crusades. Seignobos thinks that these movements may have had some general effect upon Christian society, but that there were more active and more effective causes in the West for the results that have been noted. It seems best to hold an intermediate position and to state only certain facts.

Europe originally was not so well supplied as Asia with the necessities of life, and in particular with the various grains and fruits. Very many of our common plants have been brought from the Orient, but only a few are definitely known to have been brought during the period of the crusades; among these may be noted the Ascalonian garlic, watermelons, and a few others. But the crusaders became familiar with many things in the East, and when they returned home they desired these. They had formed new tastes that they wanted to gratify. An example may be taken from the use of spices. In Rome their use had been common, but with the decline of commerce and the unsettled condition of society they dropped out of general use in the West. If we can trust the figures that are given, at the capture of Cæsarea in 1101 the Genoese in their portion of the booty received more than sixteen thousand pounds of pepper. Whether this statement is accurate or not, pepper and other spices came into use in the West in the twelfth century, and from that time on no banquet was complete without spiced dishes and wine. Comparatively soon other tastes were also acquired in the Orient, especially in the matter of clothing. The fine cloths, especially of muslin and silk, were very much appreciated. Camel's-hair and the finer furs were also introduced into their own homes by the returning crusaders. More effective military methods and implements became known by their contact with

New Tastes

CHAP. XXV

the Greeks and the Mohammedans — in particular Greek-fire and the cross-bow.

Transportation

In order to gratify these new needs, better means of transportation were required. Fortunately, these were supplied by the crusaders themselves. The great bands of pilgrims who went to the Holy Land necessitated the construction of larger vessels to carry them, their horses, and their provisions. The crusaders in Syria needed war-horses, food supplies, and lumber from their own homes. Vessels made two trips each year with the pilgrims: one to carry those who desired to keep Easter at Jerusalem, and a second in summer for those who wished to spend their Christmas in the Holy Land. The vessels that carried the pilgrims and their supplies were able to take back cargoes of Eastern products, and the cost of transportation was reduced to a very great extent. This carrying trade brought great profits to the Italian cities through which the goods were carried to the various parts of the West.

Manufacturing

The wares they had learned to desire during their sojourn in the East were not only imported, but were also manufactured at home. In certain centers the making of Saracen rugs and other products in imitation of the Orient was actively carried on. In fact, during the period of the crusades cloth that was made at Arras was esteemed so highly that it was sent as a present to one of the Turkish rulers, and the silk manufactures of Sicily became important. This manufacturing and commerce caused the growth of fairs.

Money

For this increased trade a larger supply of money was needed. The crusaders for their expeditions also needed large sums of ready money which they could transport or send to the Holy Land. The gold and silver that had been hoarded or used as ornaments were coined and passed rapidly into circulation. But the supply was not sufficient, and the Templars soon began to use letters of credit. By the rapidity of circulation and by the instruments of credit the amount of capital was enormously enhanced, and the merchants acquired great wealth.

During the twelfth century, as noted elsewhere, the cost of living increased very rapidly. Both the nobles and the clergy desired the new luxuries that had soon become quasi-necessities. The income of the nobleman was to a great extent fixed by custom; from each tenant on an estate he received so much service and definite payments each year. The more enterprising were able to increase their incomes in various ways, but the great majority could obtain the luxuries only by borrowing. Money-lending was largely in the hands of the Jews, as Christians

were forbidden to take interest, and, because of the unsettled condition of the times, the rates of interest were extremely high. In England the usual rate was twopence on a pound each week, compounded once in six weeks; this is equivalent to over 52 per cent. a year. The nobleman who once fell into debt had little opportunity of getting out. As a result, many of the lenders came to be very heartily hated, and the hatred found vent in the persecution of the Jews, especially when the nobles were in need of large sums of ready money, as at the beginning of the first or second or third crusade. But until the thirteenth century there was no fixed hostility to the Jews on the part of society at large.

Money Lending

Next to the economic, the intellectual results of the crusades were the most important. Contact with men of other nations and other creeds caused a change in the ideas held by the crusaders. They became tolerant of the Mohammedans and of the heretics, although events later were to bring about a great reaction and intolerance. When they set out on the first crusade, the Christians held many beliefs that they were destined to find untrue. Count Stephen of Blois wrote home to his wife that what they had been told about the climate of Syria was false. The chroniclers had wholly to revise their estimate of the bravery of the Turks, whom they had been taught to consider cowards. The men from the West were constantly having brought to their attention new matters that caused them to question, and their questioning led to doubt. Also Eastern heresies spread rapidly along the routes followed by the merchants.

Skepticism

Every one was keenly interested in the crusades because there was scarcely a village from which no one had gone on one or another of these expeditions. News from the Holy Land was eagerly awaited. The songs that were sung in the crusading army were often repeated in the West before attentive audiences. Histories of the undertakings were written, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century accounts of the fourth crusade were produced in the vernacular. The events that were related in these songs and histories made the people who had stayed at home acquainted with names of geographical places and many Oriental peculiarities and customs. French was so commonly used and understood that the stories current in one country soon passed to another, especially as they were borne by the pilgrims on their journeys to various shrines. Many a romantic episode occurred and was afterwards preserved in song. Among these was the unexpected return of the long-lost lord who had been believed to be dead. Not infrequently his identity was

New Literature

CHAP. XXV

established only by the broken ring with which he had pledged his wife, or by some similar device. Frankish maidens had been married to Mohammedans, and Saracen princesses had left their homes to follow Christian knights. All of this new material for romance was eagerly welcomed in the West.

Summary

A number of definite acquisitions of a miscellaneous character may be ascribed to the contact between the Franks and the natives during the crusades. The art of heraldry grew up in Syria, and many of its terms betray their Oriental origin. Family names also became common, because of the necessity of distinguishing one from another. Certain customs, such as the use of windmills and the wearing of beards, were introduced. But the most important results were the broadening of the intellectual horizon and the enrichment of the West.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NOBLES

CHAP. XXVI

BEFORE the twelfth century almost any one in western Europe who had a large income was a noble. The exceptions were a few Jews and some Christians who were merchants or usurers; and the income of these exceptions was not derived primarily from holdings of land, which were the main source of wealth. The land-holders included both laymen and clerks. The latter were generally bishops or abbots, whose office made them the rulers of large estates that owed feudal services to the kings, or others, and had to be protected and administered feudally just like the counties or baronies held by laymen. The bishop or abbot was expected to lead his contingent of fighters at the overlord's summons. He had to be ready to defend his property and dependents against invaders and robbers. In the ninth century, especially, a leader was often styled abbot-count, to mark the double position that he held. Sometimes an abbot employed a layman called an "advocate" or "defender" to perform his military duties; but it was a dangerous custom, for the advocate often became the oppressor of a monastery too weak to defend its rights. The bishops were frequently experienced military leaders, and their life differed little from that of the other high nobility.

Lay and Ecclesiastical Nobles

The wealthier nobles usually lived in castles, and sometimes a noble would have many castles, because he held many scattered fiefs that had to be protected. The shape and size of a castle depended upon its site, and the latter was chosen for its inaccessibility to siege-machines. Ideal situations were an island a short distance from the shore, the spur of a hill, a bit of firm ground in the midst of a bog, or a narrow tongue of land at the junction of two rivers. In any of these positions a castle was relatively immune from danger of assault by battering-rams or towers on wheels, the most effective siege-machines then known. When a castle was not on an elevation or surrounded by water or marshy ground that made it impossible to bring the heavy siege-machines up to the walls, it was usually encompassed by moats or ditches filled, if convenient, with running water. These would have to

Position of Castle

XXVI CHAP.

be filled up by the besiegers before the towers could be brought up to the walls or scaling-ladders could be placed.

The early castles were small, and wood was generally the material used for both walls and buildings. As such castles could easily be burned, it was a great advance when stone came into common use in the twelfth century. At the same time returning crusaders, who had seen the larger and better built castles in Syria, desired stronger and more ambitious homes.

Increased Size of Castles

Larger castles were built, the means of defense were improved, and larger garrisons had to be kept. Before this time the garrison had consisted only of the lord's family and a very few retainers. With the increased size of the castles the garrisons were made up partly of men-at-arms in the employ of the lord, and partly of his vassals, who owed castle-ward, or guard, for longer or shorter periods of time each year. When the vassals came to perform this service they were usually expected to bring their families with them. Frequently in the twelfth and later centuries their sons and daughters were sent to the castle of the overlord for a period of years, so that they might be educated.

Change in Castle Life

Castle life was now very different from what it had been in the earlier centuries. Then a knight had lived isolated in his castle, at strife with his neighbors, surrounded only by his family and dependents, over all of whom he had virtually absolute power. He had little or no education; his religion was mainly a matter of superstition; he was often tyrannical and cruel. There was no public opinion to influence him, and his wife was frequently equally cruel The pen-pictures drawn of these knights and ladies show how barbarous, cruel, and empty their life must have been. Contact with other peoples, new ideas and ideals, living together, brought advance in many lines. This progress spread rapidly because of the restlessness of the age. Knights, jongleurs, merchants, and pilgrims were constantly traveling for religion, pleasure, or profit, and they passed from castle to castle, carrying information and gossip, praising the lords and ladies who had been generous to them.

Occupations of Nobles

A great lord was a busy man. He had at least several castles and fiefs for whose maintenance and government he must provide. It was easier to go to eat the food where it was grown than to have the food sent, in the clumsy carts of the day, over the bad roads, to a central castle; consequently he had to spend much time traveling. He usually had one or more great castles which he preferred, and in these court life, "courtesy," developed. In addition to the administration of the fiefs and holding courts of justice, the lord directed the education of the young nobles

in the castle. His chief amusement was hunting, upon which the supply of fresh meat usually depended. Next in importance among his amusements were possibly the banquets, where he not only ate gluttonously and drank deeply, but afterward listened to a jongleur, of whose tales more anon. Other diversions were bear-baiting or other torture of animals kept for the purpose, jousting or watching others fight, receiving guests, making love, playing chess or checkers, and dancing.

Occupations of Ladies

His wife shared in all of these amusements and had many duties in addition. The superintendence of the household, doctoring or nursing the sick or wounded, overseeing the weaving of clothing or tapestry, directing the education of the girls, made for her a full and varied life.

Education of Noble

It is apparent that careful training was necessary to fit the boys and girls to carry on so many and such different activities. A son of a noble was usually sent to the castle of the suzerain to begin his training when he was very young. At first he served as a page. Some of his duties then were to wait upon the ladies, to run errands, and to acquire the beginning of his education as a knight. When he was strong enough to handle the weapons of a man and to do heavy work, he became a squire. Then he was expected to look after the lord's horses, to clean his armor, to make his bed, to help him dress and undress, to carve at table, and to learn to use the lance, sword, and battle-ax, so he might assist his lord in battles or tournaments. In addition, in the twelfth century he was taught the "gay sciences," which may be defined as the art of making himself an agreeable and amusing companion. These consisted of dancing, singing to his own accompaniment, and playing chess and other games. He had also to master the arts of venerie and falconry. The first was the method of cutting up game, especially deer, so as to get the best results; and different methods were taught in different countries. If he expected to travel — and every ambitious young noble did — it was important for him to learn various languages or dialects and a smattering of the Latin of the Church.

Conferring of Knighthood

If he were wealthy enough, he might, when he had proved his ability, be made a knight. For no one was born a knight. In theory, even the king's son had to achieve knighthood. The ceremony of making a knight might be very simple, especially when performed on the field of battle. The only essential was that some knight should give to the candidate the accolade, a stroke on the neck or shoulder, and declare him a knight. This was inherited from the old German custom of bestowing the arms of

CHAP. XXVI

manhood upon a young warrior. In the twelfth century the Church claimed to have a share in the ceremony of knighthood, and taught that knighthood and priesthood had much in common. The new ideals of chivalry were inculcated partly by the Church and partly by the romances, which were then popular. The ceremony of conferring knighthood was frequently performed on a Church festival. It was sometimes very elaborate, especially in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. While the chief features in the twelfth century were the accolade and "running the quintain," that is, tilting on horseback against a figure stuffed with straw, gradually religious and symbolical practices were introduced. The candidate took a bath as a symbol of purity, "watched his arms" before an altar or the shrine of some saint throughout a night, and confessed. His weapons were blessed by a priest and he had to listen to a sermon emphasizing his duties as a knight. These were that he must be pure, faithful, and honorable, that he must protect the Church, ladies, and all those who were oppressed. His godfather in chivalry gave him the accolade "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." His golden spurs, the peculiar symbol of knighthood, were bound upon him and he ran the quintain. It will be noted that the duties of the knight were mainly those of a vassal; fidelity, bravery, and loyalty.

These were the themes of the early poems of chivalry, such as the "Song of Roland," with which the jongleurs entertained the knights at table. They listened eagerly to the long accounts of the combats, for fighting was their chief occupation and pleasure. Private wars were constant and long protracted. In these wars the knights suffered relatively little — the peasants had to bear the brunt. For in order to conquer an opponent his villages were burned and his fields laid waste to cut off his food supplies. A lord was seldom killed in battle, and when he was captured and put to ransom the cost in the long run fell on the serfs. To check these evils the Church had attempted to establish the truce of God.[1] The number of days included in the truce had gradually increased, until there remained only about eighty days each year on which it was lawful to fight. These attempts had little result, for there was no effective public opinion to execute them. Private warfare continued until checked by the growing authority of the monarchs, who gradually extended the "king's peace" to a peace for the whole kingdom.

Private Warfare

Fortunately, although fighting retained a prominent place in the literature of chivalry, the changing conditions of life brought

[1] See Chapter XVI.

New Interests, Especially Love

in other themes, particularly love. The association of young people of both sexes at the castles was conducive to this. Women were beginning to have a greater influence on the daily life. Usually a feudal marriage was a matter of business, not sentiment. In the phrase of a medieval chronicler, one fief married another fief. Love did not necessarily play any part in the relations of husband and wife; and now, surrounded by others, each frequently sought elsewhere for the pleasures of love.

Tales Sung by Jongleurs

The jongleurs, who had a keen eye to their own advantage, sang of the themes that they knew would be appreciated best by each particular audience. They had a wide range of choice: the mixture of peoples had brought to the West old tales from the Orient Stories from Ireland and Wales, northern sagas, old German folk-songs, all contributed. The Biblical and classical tales were not overlooked. The result was a wonderfully rich literature from which we still draw inspiration and to which the poets of the nineteenth century were greatly indebted. It is very valuable to us as a historical source, and the more so because the poets and jongleurs had no sense of historical accuracy; each, like the writers of historical romances to-day, gave to all his characters the psychology of his own age. A Biblical hero or an Attila acted and spoke like a knight of the twelfth century. Except when the plot of the story necessitated the retention of some original feature, the actors in the romances lived in twelfth-century castles and dressed as the knights and ladies would have liked to dress, if they could have afforded it. For there is exaggeration, naturally, in their descriptions, as there is in modern tales of the same general character. The poets sang of the ideals and desires of the age rather than of the actual conditions. Bearing this caution in mind, we can learn much about the castle life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from such poems as "Tristan and Isolde," "Parsival," the "Niebelungenlied," and many of the less well known poems. And the miniatures with which the manuscripts were frequently adorned help us to picture the dress, occupations, and daily life of the age.

Changes in Costume

These were changing. The knights who went on the crusades were no longer content with homespun garments. The merchants were bringing in new stuffs, and the poems are full of references to Oriental fabrics. The ladies vied with the knights in the richness and extravagance of their costumes. Formerly the wife of a noble had had one dress for special occasions, and frequently had inherited this from her mother and expected to pass it on to her daughter. In the twelfth century fashion

CHAP. XXVI

began its despotic sway; the modes changed frequently. Long trains and very full sleeves would be in vogue for a time, and would excite the wrath of the moralists; then entirely different fashions would succeed, without in any way allaying the wrath of the censors of the age. Oriental stuffs were especially in demand, as is shown in the literature by the references to samite, sendal, and camel's-hair.

Banquets

The same change was seen in the banquets. At the beginning of the twelfth century the ideal of a good dinner is shown by the pseudo-Turpin's account of what Charles the Great ate. According to the legend, Charles would devour a quarter of a sheep or a whole goose at a sitting; there is no suggestion of any luxury or refinement in his table fare. The knights continued to be mighty trencher-men, but they demanded more variety and high seasoning with spices. Descriptions of banquets are common in the poems, and show what a large part eating and drinking played in the life of the time. In the great banquet-hall the lord, his family, and his guests of noble rank sat on a dais at a high table, while the other inmates of the castle and the guests of lower degree were seated at the long table, below the salt, according to their rank. Wine was drunk freely and frequently. The cup went around the table, each drinking from it in turn. The banquets were long and protracted, and enlivened by song and tale.

Extravagance

These new needs and tastes were expensive. Nobles had a contempt for thrift, and were encouraged in this by the jongleurs, who praised only those who gave freely. Every knight desired to imitate the customs at the great castles. Extravagance was taught as a virtue; the father advised his son, when the latter was starting out on a journey, to "give freely, never be niggardly." The romances described how the knights would throw their purses to beggars or holy men. A stranger knight who stopped at a castle must be received courteously and given new garments by the lord, if the latter lived up to the ideals set by the romances. All of these factors caused a great increase in the cost of living, and consequently the impoverishment of many knights. For their incomes were virtually fixed by custom, as they came mainly from the payments made by the serfs, and these could not be easily increased.

Resort to borrowing money was dangerous, as the rates of interests were very high. In England in the twelfth century, if the security was very good, the usual rate was twopence on the pound each week, compounded once in six weeks; this amounted to about fifty-two per cent. a year. If the security was

not so good, the rate might be threepence or fourpence on the pound each week, that is respectively eighty per cent. or one hundred and twenty per cent. a year.

Usury

Comparatively few Christians were money-lenders, as all taking of interest was condemned as usury by the Church, which taught that the usurer had no chance of salvation unless he resigned all of his ill-gotten gains before he died. Consequently the business of money-lending was mainly in the hands of the Jews. These were protected by the monarchs, who taxed them heavily in various ways. But the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, when they had fallen hopelessly into debt, felt differently. The Jews, who frequently had been leading men in their communities and had enjoyed the respect of their fellow citizens, gradually lost caste. They were persecuted locally at the beginning of each of the first three crusades. The charge of ritual murder was trumped up against them in the twelfth century, and gradually came to be believed. They became unpopular, so that they were expelled from some countries and compelled to wear badges of infamy elsewhere. Their success as money-lenders led to their downfall and to the ghetto life.

Jews

Position of Women

The changing ideals in respect to woman's position in the life of the age may also be illustrated from the literature. Chivalry taught veneration for ladies. This was the period when the worship of the Virgin Mary was being emphasized, and the honor and reverence paid to her reflected luster upon other women. The ladies played a prominent part in the castles and their favor was eagerly sought. To them the minstrels often addressed their lays. One of the curious outgrowths of this age, not to be taken too seriously, was the institution of the so-called "courts of love." These were gatherings of ladies to discuss questions of love and etiquette. Much has been made of these courts and some of their laws have been preserved. In reality they were an anomaly, and are of interest only because they illustrate how strong the new spirit and new interests must have been to give rise to such ideas.

Change in Religious Feeling

Religion, or rather the observance of religious rites, is an ever-present theme in the poems. The knights and ladies go to mass and apparently are very devout. When we study the poems, however, we are frequently aware of the great change that is taking place in their attitude toward religion. In one, Aucassin declares that he does not want to go to Paradise: "In Paradise what have I to do? . . . For into Paradise go none but such people as I will tell you of. There go those aged priests, and those old cripples, and the maimed, who all day

CHAP. XXVI

long and all night cough before the altars, and in the crypts beneath the churches; those who go in worn old mantles and old tattered habits; who are naked, and barefoot and full of sores; who are dying of hunger and of thirst, of cold and of wretchedness. . . . But in Hell will I go. For to Hell go the fair clerks and the fair knights. . . and the stout archer and the loyal man. . . . And there go the fair and courteous ladies, who have friends, two or three, together with their wedded lords. And there pass the gold and the silver, the ermine and all rich furs, harpers and minstrels, and the happy of the world. With these will I go." In another, Isolde by a fraud escapes condemnation in an ordeal and thus eludes the consequences of her guilt. As the story about her shows, the ordeals were no longer useful as a legal agency, because people had ceased to believe that God would punish the guilty and free the innocent who were submitted to this form of test. Many were the devices by which the guilty might undergo an ordeal and yet escape detection. In general, the literature of chivalry, while usually outwardly orthodox and devout, shows the loss of the simple faith of a Roland, and indicates that the knights and ladies were frequently clinging to superstitious forms with little religious feeling. The matter may be summed up by the statement that the rewards of Paradise and the pains of Hell no longer held so prominent a place in the thoughts of the nobles. They were too much interested in this life to spend much time in preparation for the life to come. They had looked upon this world, and "saw that it was good."

CHAPTER XXVII

MONASTICISM

THE lure of this world, which affected so strongly the life of the nobles, had little effect upon many an earnest soul. The centuries that saw the development of chivalry witnessed also a remarkable growth in monasticism. Many new orders of monks were founded, and many thousands of men and women sought a refuge from the world by entering monasteries. For, as has been so often said, the Middle Ages was a period of great contrasts, when many individuals sought to atone for brutal crimes by frightful penances, when men and women fled with loathing from society, from their friends and families, in order to merit an eternal reward through their asceticism and prayers. This movement received a mighty impetus from the preaching of the crusades. Preachers like Peter the Hermit taught the need of repentance, and many who were influenced by them, especially after the first crusade, felt that it was more salutary for them to enter a monastery than to go to the Holy Land. In time this feeling became so common that Cæsarius of Heisterbach, in the thirteenth century, stated that Bernard of Clairvaux had sorted the more worthy from those who were eager to go on the crusade and had sent them into monasteries instead.

Increase of Monasteries

Already in the eleventh century two factors were reshaping monasticism. The first was the influence of the Congregation of Cluny,[1] which showed the importance of union under a common head. This was recognized as so beneficial that later even the Benedictine monasteries, which had had no common bond, no direct relations with one another, were grouped into congregations. Their representatives met in general chapters, and each year two monks were chosen as "papal visitors" to visit each monastery in a congregation. The second factor was the foundation of new monastic orders by men and women who desired to lead a life of greater asceticism than was required by the Benedictine rule. One of the most important features in this rule was its spirit of moderation. St. Benedict had made allowance for human frailty and had sought to lay upon his followers no burden too heavy for them to bear. In the course of time the discipline in many a Benedictine monastery had become lax.

Factors Reshaping Monachism

[1] See Chapter XIII.

CHAP. XXVII

This was true even of Cluny: "it still maintained monastic decencies while not going beyond their demands." Consequently, while most monks in the eleventh century were content to live under Benedict's rule, the more earnest — shall we say, the more fanatical? — preferred to follow the letter rather than the spirit of the rule, and to add to it other regulations that made life more ascetic and to them more holy.

This movement began in Italy, early in the eleventh century, with the foundation of the order of Camaldoli, which was composed of hermits living in detached cells. This order gave effective aid to the popes in their efforts toward reform. A little later the order of Vallombrosa was established. This made an innovation in monastic practice by separating the monks into choir brothers and lay brothers. The latter were those who from lack of education were unable to chant the offices. To them was assigned the rougher work, so that the choir brethren might have more leisure for study, contemplation, and prayer. This division of duties was adopted by other orders. It sometimes led to friction. In the order of Grammont the choir brothers complained that the lay brothers attempted to interfere in spiritual matters, such as the hours for masses, and when not heeded, cut off the supplies. The dispute as to the jurisdiction finally had to be referred to the pope for settlement.

Lay Brothers

The movement to establish new orders soon spread to other countries. In France it resulted in the rise of the order of Carthusians, established toward the close of the eleventh century in the mountains near Grenoble. It was said to demand a more austere mode of life than any other order. Its monks were prohibited from speaking except when speech was necessary. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, gave a description of their life, which reads in part as follows: "Their dress is meaner and poorer than that of other monks, so short and scanty and so rough that the very sight affrights one. They wear coarse hair-shirts next their skin; fast almost perpetually; eat only bean-bread; whether sick or well never touch flesh; never buy fish, but eat it if given them as an alms; eat eggs on Sundays and Thursdays; on Tuesdays and Saturdays their fare is pulse or herbs boiled; on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays they take nothing but bread and water; and they have only two meals a day, except within the octaves of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, Epiphany, and other festivals. Their constant occupation is praying, reading, and manual labor, which consists chiefly in transcribing books."[2] In spite of this severity — possibly be-

Carthusians

[2] Translation by Abbot Gasquet in English Monastic Life.

cause of it — the order won many converts, both men and women. It spread to Italy, Switzerland, and England. In the last its convents were known as charter-houses, a corruption or misunderstanding of Chartreuse. Its members have boasted, if it is permissible to use such a term, that theirs is the only order that has never been reformed: *Carthusia numquam reformata, quia numquam deformata.*

Cistercians

The Cistercians, a congregation of Benedictines, were founded in 1092 and soon became Cluny's greatest rival. This was due chiefly to two of its members: Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux. The former, although not the founder of the order, was very influential in determining the form of its organization. The most distinctive features were greater strictness and asceticism, the subordination of all its monasteries to the abbot and convent at Citeaux, chapter meetings annually at which the superior in each convent was obliged to be present. The purpose was to assure uniformity in practice throughout the order. Bernard became a Cistercian in 1113 Although Peter the Venerable of Cluny had more than two thousand monasteries under his jurisdiction, Bernard soon came to have greater influence and power, and his order profited by his prestige. He is one of the best examples of what an individual could accomplish in the twelfth century if he were a monk.

Clairvaux

Bernard was of noble birth and had received an excellent education. At twenty-two he became a Cistercian monk and two years later was made abbot of Clairvaux. "Then," says a contemporary, who wrote before the death of Bernard, "the golden age reigned at Clairvaux. There were to be seen virtuous men, who had formerly been rich and honored by the world, now glorying in the poverty of Christ, who were building God's Church at the price of their blood, their sweat, and their fatigue, enduring hunger and thirst, cold, nakedness, persecutions, outrages, and very great anguish, and thus preparing at Clairvaux the ease and peace which this house now enjoys. Believing that they were living not so much for themselves as for Christ and for the brethren who would come to serve God in this place, they thought what they themselves lacked was of no importance, provided they could leave behind them enough to satisfy their brethren and to provide for the necessities of a poverty embraced voluntarily for the love of Christ. When visitors descended from the mountain to Clairvaux and first caught sight of the house, God was manifest, while the silent valley revealed by the simplicity and humility of its buildings the simplicity and humility of the poor men of Christ who dwelt in them. In this valley

CHAP. XXVII

full of men, where no one was permitted to be idle, where every one worked and was busy at the allotted tasks, visitors found in the daytime the silence of night, interrupted only by the noise of labor or at the holy hours when the brethren sang praises to God."

Bernard

Bernard loved to live at Clairvaux, in his narrow, comfortless cell. But there was another side to his nature which drove him forth constantly into the world, to right wrongs, to make peace, to preach. "It has been truthfully said that, of all his miracles, the most surprising was his personality itself, the inconceivable union of two contradictory temperaments; on one side, the monk, according to the ideal of the age, contemplative, mystical, ascetic, who kept his body under almost to its destruction, and seemed to have lost the sense of things material, skirting Lake Geneva a whole day without seeing it, and drinking oil for water; on the other hand, the man of action, the indefatigable preacher, the officious councilor of the high barons, kings, and popes, the real chief of the Western Church, the politician who was extraordinarily busy and active." It was he who healed the papal schism that broke out in 1130. The larger party among the cardinals had elected Anaclete II, while a few had chosen Innocent II. The former got possession of Rome, and Innocent had to flee. Fortunately, he received the support of Bernard, who declared that votes should be weighed, not counted, and he undertook to do the weighing. He succeeded in securing for his protégé the support of the kings of France, Germany, England, Castile, and Aragon, and Innocent's triumph was secured. Although he supported the papacy with all his strength and eloquence, Bernard saw the weaknesses in the position of the pope, and in his so-called "Catechism of the Pope" dwelt upon the dangers and evils that the temporal power and the ambitions of the popes brought to the Church. Few heretics ever wrote more scathingly than did Bernard But he was interested not merely in the affairs of the Church: to him everything was connected with the cause of religion, and therefore a matter of interest to him. He made peace between the emperor Lothair and the Hohenstaufens; he put an end to civil strife in certain Italian and German cities; in France his influence was very great, at times even greater than that of Suger. He was the preacher of the second crusade, and compelled the emperor Conrad to take the cross in spite of his unwillingness. As Luchaire has written: "St. Bernard governed Christianity in the West from 1125 to 1153 by the mere prestige of his eloquence and holiness; . . . recounting his life would be equivalent

to writing the history of the monastic orders, of the reform movement, of the orthodox theology, of the heretical doctrines, of the second crusade, and of the destinies of France, Germany, and Italy during a period of almost forty years."

Such was the man who had greatest influence in shaping the Cistercian order. He determined that the Cistercian monk should have the least possible contact with the world In order to avoid dealings with laymen, they were not to establish schools in their monasteries. Their abbeys were usually built in a wilderness far from the cities. The rule of Citeaux forbids the acquisition of churches, villages, serfs, mills, or of anything that might bring with it feudal responsibilities. The monks were to labor with their own hands, cultivating the vineyards and fields, but were not allowed to sell their products at retail. They were also forbidden to perform the duties of priests by officiating in churches. Their life was extremely strict; and their food was limited, and even then usually poorly cooked, as there was no regular cook and each monk in turn prepared the food. In their churches the walls were bare and no ornamentation was allowed. Towers were prohibited, except small wooden ones.

Ideals of Cistercians

The fame of Clairvaux spread rapidly, and many another like Otto of Freising, was attracted to the Cistercian order. It has been calculated that during the twelfth century twenty-two thousand men entered the order. At the end of the thirteenth century, by the most moderate calculations, the order included about seven hundred monasteries for men and a still larger number for women. But by this time the order had changed greatly. Already some of the wonderful buildings, whose beauty now delights our eyes, were being constructed by the Cistercians, for they had departed far from the ideals of their great abbot. Before this time they had obtained control of a large part of the wool trade in England and had become very wealthy. The order's discipline had so declined that it could no longer reproach Cluny for lax living. Its members no longer avoided contact with the world. They had become noted for their improvements in agriculture. They reclaimed waste lands, and were especially skilled in draining marshes. They were successful in breeding cattle, horses, and sheep. They made glass.

Growth of Cistercian Order

At first there were no nuns in the Cistercian order. One of the cardinals, Jacques de Vitry, says that "the weaker sex at the rise of the order could not aspire to conform to such severe rules, nor to rise to such a pitch of excellence." But it is characteristic of the new position women were taking in the twelfth century that they soon claimed a share in this new order. By

Cistercian Nuns

CHAP. XXVII

the middle of the century Cistercian nuns "sewed and span, and grubbed up briers and thorns in the waste places." In the first half of the thirteenth century, Jacques de Vitry says that not only were there Cistercian convents for women in the western countries, but also "in the oriental provinces, in Constantinople and Cyprus, in Antioch, Tripoli, and Acre."

Before the Cistercians admitted women, there had been many Benedictine nuns, usually women of gentle birth. In addition other orders had been founded that included women as well as men. In fact, Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of Fontevrault (1096), the earliest of these combined orders, was especially interested in providing a refuge for women. He was the son of a priest and of a priest's daughter, and was intent upon reforming conditions. He became a wandering preacher and converted many For the repentant men and women who gathered about him he established a home at Fontevrault. In the words of his biographer, Baldric, archbishop of Dol, "the poor were received, the feeble were not refused, nor women of evil life, nor sinners, neither lepers nor the helpless." In accordance with the regulations that Robert made, the men were divided into classes, some for religious services, others for manual labor; "they were to use soft words, not to swear." The women were all to engage in labor. Many eagerly entered the establishment. "Men of all conditions came; women came, the poor as well as those of gentle birth; widows and virgins; aged men and youths, women of dissolute life as well as those who held aloof from men." Robert placed the order under the patronage of the Virgin and made a woman the head. There are said to have been sixty convents of this order in France.

Fontevrault

The foundation of the Premonstratensians was due to a different effort for reform. The clergy who officiated in a cathedral, or those who carried on the services in the various churches of a town, had formerly been grouped into chapters and had led a quasi-monastic life, following the example set by St. Augustine at Hippo. For the maintenance of these clerics, or canons as they were called, a part of the property belonging to the cathedral or to the churches had been divided into portions called prebends, of which each canon held one or more. These prebends had come to be regarded virtually as benefices, and the canons in a wealthy diocese had tended to become feudal nobles. They were often married, and lived much like lords, paying little attention to their religious duties and employing vicars to perform the necessary services. To remedy the scandal caused by these degenerate canons, sometimes monks had been charged

Secular Canons

with their duties. But this was generally felt to be not fitting. Toward the close of the eleventh century many attempts were made to reform the chapters; but the task was so difficult that early in the following century new orders of canons regular were founded, of which Prémontré (1120) was the most successful.

Premonstratensians

Its founder, Norbert, was a German of noble birth who had entered the Church. He was a kinsman of the emperor Henry V, from whom he received many benefices. The reform movement had made little progress in Germany, where the investiture struggle was still unsettled. But Norbert was suddenly converted, and with great zeal he attempted to convert others. They were deaf to his pleas, and in fact insulted and threatened him. He finally sold all that he possessed and, giving the proceeds to the poor, went to France. There he went about barefooted, preaching, and soon gathered followers. For their abode he chose, in 1120, a home in an unhealthy spot destitute of all natural advantages, which he called Prémontré "from the belief that the Virgin had pointed it out to him." His success was rapid. Crowds flocked to him and donations poured in. Women also came, and double monasteries were established for both men and women. Soon the presence of women raised problems, and a general chapter decided that no more women should be allowed in monasteries where there were men. Later many convents were established for women.

Activities of Canons

The orders of canons attracted many because their activities were so varied. While leading an ascetic life, much like the new orders of monks, they were not so much apart from the world. Some were intrusted with the duties of pastors; some went forth as missionaries; others engaged in philanthropic work. There was a sufficient elasticity to meet the needs of widely different characters. There was ample scope for both those who chose the contemplative life and those who preferred the active. The wealth that was showered upon them enabled them to found hospitals, and also provided opportunity for the brethren especially fitted for administrative duties.

Number of Monks

The contemporaries wondered at the rapid increase in the number of monks. Peter the Venerable exclaimed that "the innumerable multitude of monks covers almost all the lands of France; it fills the cities, castles, and fortified places. What a variety of garbs and customs in this army of the Lord which has taken an oath to live according to the rule, in the name of faith and charity!" Many a similar statement might be cited. It is impossible to make any estimate of the total number,

CHAP. XXVII

and it is unsafe to trust enthusiastic reports, such as the one that ten thousand women joined the Premonstratensian order during Norbert's lifetime, that is, in the first fourteen years. But the number of monks and nuns was very large, especially in France.

It was natural that this example should be followed in the Holy Land, to which so many French warriors had gone. But, because of the conditions in Palestine, the new orders established there took on new duties. Eight French knights associated themselves together to protect pilgrims on their journeys to the holy places. They took the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The king of Jerusalem gave them for their home a part of his palace, which was near the site of the temple of Solomon, and from this they received their name of

Templars

Poor Brothers of the Temple of Jerusalem, or Templars. Bernard of Clairvaux was much interested in their work and gave to it his mighty support. By its rule, authorized at the Council of Troyes in 1128, the order was to include three classes of members: only nobles could belong to the knightly class; free-born men could become sergeants or squires; in addition there were to be clerics for the religious services. Up to this time there had been only a few additions to the brotherhood; now it received many recruits and much wealth. The pope gave them the privilege of wearing a red cross. They were given several castles in the Holy Land to guard. Gifts came from western Europe, and privileges were showered upon them as defenders of the Holy Land. This military order, besides fighting valiantly, possessed a fleet of vessels engaged in trade, and maintained a banking business. In the thirteenth century Matthew Paris said that it held seven thousand manors in western Europe.

Even before the first crusade, hospitals had been established at Jerusalem to care for the sick pilgrims. One of these gradually developed into the order of the Knights of St. John. Its

Hospitalers

hospital was still kept up and its seal still showed a sick man lying upon his bed; but, in imitation of the Templars, the members took the monastic vows and devoted themselves to fighting the infidel or guarding castles. They were given property in many countries. They and the Templars were a great source of military strength in Syria, but at times were a hindrance to the king of Jerusalem because they were exempt from all jurisdiction except the pope's. The two orders were frequently hostile to each other. In imitation other military orders were established, especially the Teutonic Knights and various Spanish orders.

CHAP. XXVII

Ideal of Service

The Premonstratensians, Hospitalers, and Templars represent a new ideal that was becoming prominent in monasticism in the twelfth century — the ideal of service. The new orders founded from this time on were more for the purpose of service to others than to give an opportunity to the members to secure their own salvation by a life of retirement from the world, devoted to contemplation and prayer. This key-note of service will be remarked in the orders of Friars in the thirteenth century and in many another. Some interesting twelfth-century examples are the order of Bridge-Builders, founded in 1189, to build bridges in order to make travel easier for others, and the order of Trinitarians, founded in 1197, whose duty it was to redeem Christian captives held as slaves by the Saracens. The first was comparatively limited in its scope, but did much useful work. The second persisted for a long time in its special service, and later transferred its activities to other fields. There were many other new orders founded in the twelfth century, so that some of the leaders of the Church felt that there was a danger in so many different ideals and so many different modes of life. The fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, in one of its canons prohibited the creation of any new order; but this prohibition was not observed.

The services that they performed and the prestige that they enjoyed made the monks very influential Their influence was enhanced by the wealth of many monasteries, which gave to their abbots high position and great opportunity. The examples of Suger and Bernard of Clairvaux have already been noted, There are many other examples. A few illustrations may be drawn from the well known chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelonde, of which Carlyle made use in his *Past and Present*. A cursory reading of Jocelin's eulogy of the deeds of Abbot Samson of St. Edmondsbury shows, as the author says, that Samson "appeared to prefer the active to the contemplative life, and praised good officials more than good monks" "He caused inquests to be made in every manor belonging to the abbey" of all the annual dues, revenues, and expenses. He had in his gift the presentation to many churches, in whole or in part. When the sum of all the units and fractions is added up, it amounts to more than sixty-five churches and this right of presentation was valued at more than £440. He sold the wardship of a girl who was his vassal to the archbishop of Canterbury for £100, because he "could not obtain possession of her person save with the help of the archbishop" He confirmed the liberties of the burgesses of St. Edmund's for a payment

Wealth of Monasteries

CHAP. XXVII

of £40 In 1193 he took part in the siege of Windsor, "where he appeared in arms with some other abbots of England, and had his own standard. He had there also with him many knights at great expense." His vassals owed him the service of more than fifty knights, although the number was at times a matter of dispute between him and his vassals, and he acknowledged service to the king for only forty. He had many controversies and disputes, not only with his own vassals and officials, but also with the kings of England, with the archbishops of Canterbury, with the earl of Clare, with the papal legates, and with the men of London about the payment of tolls at the fair of St. Edmund's. As a mark of his pride it was remarked that he would not give place even to the abbot of Cluny. Besides the wealth that Samson enjoyed, other officials of St. Edmundsbury and the monastery itself had large sources of income.[3]

These examples bring out the worldly cares of one abbot. Many another was more occupied in the administration of the temporal affairs of his convent than in maintaining the monastic discipline. For wealth had brought relaxation of discipline and had attracted many unworthy men and women to the new orders, as well as to the old. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian monk, in his "Dialogue of Miracles" devotes the first section to the virtue of conversion, that is, to the virtue of becoming a monk. He says that there are many reasons for conversion: "Innumerable are those who are brought to our order by necessity of many kinds, such as sickness, poverty, captivity, shame for some sin, deadly peril, fear or experience of hell's tortures, desire for heaven." He gives examples from his own experience: a noble condemned to death was pardoned on condition that he should enter the Cistercian order, and he says: "I have frequently heard of similar cases;" of a canon at Cologne who was caught stealing and fled to the monastery; of a man who had lost his property and told Cæsarius, "Certainly, if I had prospered in worldly affairs, I should never have entered the order." And he quotes the Gospel: "Compel them to come in, that my house may be filled." Cæsarius confesses his fear that such conversion may not always be lasting. But he writes that "the archbishop of Treves, who was a prudent man and knew well the secrets of our order, was wont to say that it was not usual for boys or youths who entered our order with no burden of sin on their conscience to be fervent."

Incentives to Enter Monasteries

Many of these monks whose lives were not occupied in labor

Reaction

[3] See The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelonde, in The King's Classics, translated and edited by L. C. Jane.

suffered from *accidia*. This was one of "the seven chief sins." It may be defined sometimes as spleen, or sloth, or sadness, or despair; but too many different conditions are included under the term to make it possible to give one modern equivalent. It was a mental condition that might result merely in laziness and distaste for the monastic duties, or it might — and frequently did — lead to suicide. It was recognized as one of the commonest temptations to which a monk or nun was exposed. Many fled from their convents on one excuse or another — to study at Paris, to go on a pilgrimage, to visit sick kinsmen; they longed to escape from their prison and to live outside, among men. The number of such monks was a scandal. They frequented the fairs and tourneys and other public gatherings. In vain did the moralists attempt to check this evil.

The spirit of asceticism and the zeal for reform that had actuated the founders had made the new orders powerful and wealthy. Gradually, and in some cases rapidly, the orders had declined in discipline, and their ideals had deteriorated. This is evident from the statements of individual monks, and especially from the reforms repeatedly ordered by the chapters of the various orders. All monasteries, of course, were not so bad, and there were notable examples of services rendered, especially in times of famine. But Guyot de Provins, in his so-called *Bible*, expressed a common feeling in his strictures upon the different orders. Although himself a Benedictine, he satirizes the black monks of Cluny as well as the white-robed Cistercians, the canons of Prémontré and the military orders. He blames the hypocrisy of some, the covetousness and pride of others, the lack of true religion in all. He says: "Chanting and fasting are not what save the soul, but faith and charity."

Criticisms

The same zeal for reform that actuated the founders of the monastic orders had caused the writing of many poems in the vernacular which were intended to teach the Christian virtues, and especially the monastic ones. The earlier poems were usually crude; but, beginning with the *Life of St. Alexis*, there were some of a high degree of literary excellence. The *St. Alexis* was contemporary with the rise of the new orders in the eleventh century. It was a reworking of a Latin life of the saint, but with much greater skill and charm than the original. The poet begins by lamenting the decline in faith and morals. Then he tells how Alexis's father, a wealthy Roman noble, bought as a bride for his son the daughter of a Frankish noble. But Alexis was a monk at heart and did not desire earthly pleasures; immediately after the marriage ceremony he charged his bride

Literature; St. Alexis

CHAP. XXVII

to take Christ as her spouse, and he fled to the Orient. He gave all that he had to the poor and became a beggar at Edessa. His parents sought for him in vain. Finally Alexis returned home unrecognized, and lived for seventeen years as a beggar in his parents' house, fed by scraps from their table and insulted by their servants. When he was on his death-bed his identity was made known by a miracle, and he received due honor as a saint. But his mother clung to his dead body and cried, "My son, why have you had no pity for us? My son, why have n't you spoken to me even once?" The moral is that the monk must renounce all human ties. Alexis had won heaven and sainthood by his humility and asceticism. Many other tales were written to inculcate these and similar monastic virtues.

Chronicles

The monks were the historians of the Middle Ages. Beginning with brief annals in which they recorded unusual events, such as famines or cold winters, and the death of great men, they gradually expanded their accounts into chronicles dealing with the history of the world from the creation down to their own day. In the larger convents, where kings and nobles were frequent visitors and where the abbots took an important part in the events of the day, the writers were able to gather much information, and their accounts are of great value for the history of their age. Much of the material and many of the quotations in this volume have been taken from monastic chroniclers.

Other Writings

Reference has already been made to the labor of monks as copyists, by which much of the classical literature as well as the writings of the Fathers have been preserved for us. The monks also composed original works in many fields, especially lives of the saints, biographies of other notable men, commentaries on the Scriptures, text-books, and controversial pamphlets. A full list of the subjects on which they wrote would be too long for inclusion here For the monastery was, before 1200 A. D., the natural retreat for any one who wished to devote himself or herself to study and writing. The modern world owes a great debt to those men and women who withdrew from society to devote their lives to the pursuit of learning and the performance of their monastic duties.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PEASANTS

CHAP. XXVIII

THE income of the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, was derived mainly from the labor of the peasants. These made up the great bulk of the population, and, if we would understand the life of our ancestors, it is necessary to study minutely the customs of the village, or manor. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get very full information about the peasants before the thirteenth century. The other classes looked down upon them, and it is seldom that they are mentioned in the literature of the day. In the eleventh century a bishop had described the population as divided into three classes: the nobles, who do the fighting; the clergy, who do the praying; and the others, who do the work. More than a hundred years later, an anonymous writer tells of Aucassin's fear when he unexpectedly meets a peasant, and gives the following description of the latter: "He was tall and marvelously ugly and hideous. He wore leggings and shoes of ox-hide wound about with a coarse string to above the knees. He was muffled in a frieze coat, and leaning on a stout club."

Feeling about Peasants

For the thirteenth and following centuries there is much material, especially in England, for the life of the peasants and the methods of agriculture. Often a lord had many manors; and, as the cost of living had increased greatly, it was necessary for him to have as good records as possible of his property, so that he might know how much income he could count upon Many surveys or "extents" were drawn up, giving a description of the kind, amount, and value of the land, a list of the land-holders on the manor, with the payments and services due from each. The steward was required to keep accounts of all the business done in the manor courts, so that the lord would not be cheated of too large a part of the fines due him. In addition, treatises on the management of manors were written for the benefit of the lords. These and other scattered sources record a multitude of details about the daily life, customs, and organization of the peasants.

Material for Their Life

The village, or manor, was known by different names in dif-

CHAP. XXVIII

The Village

ferent countries; but there was a striking similarity in its organization and life. Its origins have been hotly discussed. Without going into this vexed question, it may be noted that a manor had many points of likeness to the Roman villa, already described, but also that some German customs had been introduced. A typical manor of the thirteenth century was not very unlike many a French, Swiss, or German village of to-day. There was a single street, with houses on either side. On the near-by stream or brook was a mill, where the grain was ground. Around the houses extended the fields, which the peasants cultivated Along the stream there might be some natural meadow-land, where hay was cut. Beyond the fields were the woods or wastes, where pigs roamed and the lords hunted. Since there were very few large towns, almost the whole country was covered with such agricultural units, surrounded and separated by forests. The houses were wretched one-room huts, with a door but no windows or chimneys. A little apart from the village street were the church, with an open space around it, and the manor-house, where the lord or his representative lived. This generally contained three rooms. The principal one was the hall, which was used not only for meals and gatherings but also as a place for the manor court. The table consisted of boards placed upon trestles, and was taken down when not in use. There were a few benches and stools covered with straw cushions, a chair or two, and one or more chests. There was little other furniture in the hall, but on the walls hung agricultural implements and weapons. A second room, the solar, built toward the south, was the parlor. The third was the bedroom, with the bedstead. Usually the only other furniture it contained was a chest or two, for clothing and valuables. There were few, if any, bed-clothes, as our ancestors generally used their garments, especially their cloaks, as a covering at night.

The Villein

The inhabitants of the manor were mostly villeins, that is, unfree men who were under the lord's jurisdiction and held their lands from him. An example from an "extent" will show their status: "Hugh Miller holds one virgate of land in villenage by paying thence to the said abbot [of Peterborough] 3s. 1d." The virgate in this case contained twenty-five acres; more usually it contained thirty. It was the common unit, and the land generally passed as a whole to either the eldest or the youngest son, according to the method of inheritance followed in different sections. To continue the account: "Likewise the same Hugh works through the whole year except one week at Christmas, one week at Easter, and one at Whitsuntide; that is, in each

week three days, each day with one man, and in autumn each day with two men, performing the said works at the will of the said abbot as in plowing and other work. Likewise he gives one bushel of wheat for benseed and eighteen sheaves of oats for fodder corn. Likewise he gives three hens and one cock yearly and five eggs at Easter. Likewise he does carrying to Peterborough and to Jakele and nowhere else, at the will of the said abbot. Likewise if he sells a brood mare in his courtyard for ten shillings or more, he shall give to the said abbot 4d. and if for less he shall give nothing to the aforesaid. He gives also merchet and heriot, and is tallaged at the feast of St Michael, at the will of the said abbot."[1] The merchet here mentioned was a payment made by a villein when his daughter married, especially when she married a man on another manor. The heriot was a sum due when a villein died; and there was another payment when a son took over his father's inheritance; the latter had some resemblance to the feudal relief. In addition to the amounts mentioned above, of course Hugh had to pay the so-called tithe to the Church.

Other Villagers

Some villeins held half a virgate and did half as much work as Hugh Miller and made half as large payments. Other villeins, and these formed a very numerous class, held less land, frequently not more than two or three acres, and a cottage. These were known as "bordars" or "cottars." In order to make a living they were obliged to work for the more prosperous villeins or the lord. In addition, on most manors there was a village priest, a miller, a smith, who did the necessary work in blacksmithing, and a carpenter, who made the implements. Occasionally there were a few free men, who held land by making an annual payment; slaves were few in number and usually of foreign birth.

Cultivating the Land

The villeins worked together in the two or three great fields into which the agricultural land was divided. The three-field division was the more usual, because under this system 180 acres took no more plowing than 160 under the two-field system, by which one-half was allowed to lie fallow. This was because the fallow land had to be plowed twice each year, while the cultivated land required only one plowing. Each year one of these fields was planted in the autumn with rye or wheat for the making of bread; one in the spring with barley for beer, or else with oats, beans or peas for food for the cattle; and the third was left to lie fallow. This rotation was necessary because they did

[1] Translated by E. P. Cheyney, in Translations and Reprints, Vol. III, No. 5.

CHAP. XXVIII

not know how to fertilize the land so that all could be used each year. Each field was divided into acre strips a furlong long and four rods wide, or half-acre strips, equally long but only two rods wide. The strips were usually separated from one another by narrow "balks," or uncultivated strips, on which weeds and brambles grew. Sometimes all the land was not divided into three great fields; there might be three large fields and three smaller ones. Often "the lay of the land" made the latter arrangement more convenient. A part of the manor, the demesne, frequently from one-third to one-half or more of the arable land, was cultivated by the peasants for the lord's immediate use; on the rest they grew their own food. Usually the demesne was included in the three great fields, but sometimes it lay apart If a villein held a virgate of thirty acres, no two strips of his land lay side by side; ten acres were scattered in each of the three fields. The lords usually had heavy plows, and as the draft animals were of poor quality, eight oxen were required for plowing; in addition the villeins had lighter plows for four oxen. Each villein would furnish an ox or two, according to the size of his holding. They sowed about two bushels to the acre of wheat, rye, beans, or peas, and four bushels to the acre of barley or oats. A fourfold return at harvest was considered a good crop.

The men and women worked together in the fields, all doing the work in the customary manner, with no initiative or change. The prosperity of each depended upon the prosperity of all; if the crops were good, all lived in relative comfort; if too little rain fell, if a tempest or flood damaged the crops, or if a hostile lord laid waste the fields, all suffered. Local famines were frequent because the roads were very bad and there was little sale of produce from one section to another. This made it necessary for each manor to be as nearly self-sufficient as possible All the food was produced on the manor. The grain was ground in the mill; and the miller, because of his monopoly right, often became the richest of the villeins. Villeins who endeavored to avoid paying tolls by using hand-mills were fined heavily. Pork was the staple meat diet. The hogs roamed the waste under the care of a swineherd, and each villein had a right to keep a number, fixed in accordance with his holding. Chickens and eggs were common, since the hens could pick up most of their own food. Dairy products, especially cheese, played an important part; in the thirteenth century it was reckoned that each cow "ought to yield [annually] milk to the value of four shillings and fourpence," and in addition from May 1

Self Sufficiency

to Michaelmas (September 29), six stones of cheese and at least one stone of butter, besides some more cheese [unestimated] between Michaelmas and Martinmas (November 11). But cows were not numerous. Beef was seldom eaten unless the animals were in such poor condition or fodder was so scarce that it was impracticable to keep them through the winter. Honey was a luxury, used for sweetening.

The leather for boots was tanned on the manor. The clothing was home-spun, and dyed with herbs grown in the garden plots or found in the waste. Sheep were common in England, and furnished the wool that was such an important export. Timber and thatch for the houses were taken from the forests. Villeins also had a right to peat and firewood from the wastes. Thus food, clothing, and shelter were obtained from the manor. The necessary handicraft work was done either by the villagers themselves or by the carpenter or the smith. Each manor formed a parish and had its own priest The bees furnished wax for candles in the church. The manor had also its court, where offenders were tried, records were kept and made public, and other necessary business transacted. Thus the manor may be described as almost self-sufficient.

Needs

The needs that had to be supplied from outside were very few. Some salt had to be purchased, although it was less used in food then than now. A small quantity of iron was needed to repair the plowshares, to retip the wooden spades, and for a few other purposes. A mill-stone wore out occasionally, and had to be replaced; this might necessitate a trip to the sea-coast, for the best stones were imported from France. When "scab" attacked the sheep toward the end of the thirteenth century, tar was the only remedy known for the disease, and it usually had to be procured from outside the manor. These needs, which as a whole formed only a minor item in the manor economy, were generally supplied at the fairs [2]

Contact with the World Outside

Because of this self-sufficiency, the manors have generally been regarded as isolated units, whence the peasants never emerged. But their isolation has been exaggerated. There was contact from manor to manor, as is proved by the frequency of fines paid for the women who married outside the manor to which they belonged. Moreover, there were some glimpses of the larger world obtained in the peasants' duty of "carrying." According to a usual computation, three-tenths of the land in England was held by the Church. When a monastery was the "lord" of a manor, much of its share of the produce had to

[2] See Chapter XXIX.

CHAP. XXVIII

be carried to the monastery, which was often situated at a considerable distance. The same was true to a lesser degree of the properties held by a bishop. On a manor held by a lay lord the mill-stone had to be fetched, some produce was carried and sold outside, as is proved by the accounts. Every person on the manor who possibly could went to any near-by fair. Many peasants went on a crusade, and some were manumitted so that they might go. An ever-increasing number left to seek a better livelihood in the growing towns. While the population on a manor remained relatively fixed and showed little progress, these facts were due in part to the escape of the more active and enterprising among the villeins.

Treatment of Villeins

This was a great loss to the lord, for the value of the manor depended mainly upon its being well stocked with laborers. Consequently the lords were obliged to treat their villeins well. While by the strict letter of the customs the lord might tax his serfs *à merci,* i. e., as much as he pleased, it did not pay to do so. He was governed mainly by "customs," and the villeins did not often have to complain of arbitrary increases in payments. On the other hand, the lords would insist upon their customary rights; and, if one villein died or defaulted in his payment of services, the others might be called upon to make the default good. There was usually a communal responsibility; the villeins as a whole were held to account for the total amount due from all the individuals. They had the right to choose a reeve, a kind of foreman, as their representative. He was responsible for seeing that all the work due to the lord was done; consequently this office was undesirable, and it was sometimes necessary to compel a man to assume its duties.

Lord's Income

The statement about the obligations of Hugh Miller, given above, shows some of the sources of the income that a lord drew from a manor. First, and most important, was the labor due —three days each week. There were also the boon works—extra days of labor due at harvest and other times. With these boon works may be classed the duty of "carrying to Peterborough and to Jakele." In the third place, there were regular payments of money and produce. These payments varied with the different manors. There were also irregular payments, e. g., for heriot, or on the sale of a brood mare. It will be noted that the last item under the account of Hugh's duties is that he was "tallaged at the feast of St. Michael at the will of the said abbot." This opened the door to unlimited exploitation; but, as already indicated, such exploitations did not pay. Probably Hugh Miller and his fellow villeins were tallaged at the feast of St. Michael

according to a well fixed custom, and not arbitrarily, "at the will of the said abbot."

Hugh also had to pay "merchet." This, as well as the heriot, would be claimed at a meeting of the court. This court met frequently and did a large amount of business. All the dwellers on the manor were liable to be summoned to assist in holding court; and many matters the body of attendants decided, under the lord or his steward as presiding officer. The court records in many instances were carefully kept, and furnish us a mass of detail concerning the daily life and character of the villagers. In the courts transfers or grants of land were recorded; trespassers punished; fines exacted for making bad ale, for fighting, for not recalling a son who had gone away to school, for lack of chastity, for letting animals roam in the planted fields, for marrying without leave, and for a host of other breaches of "the custom of the manor." If a man was elected to an office, such as ale taster, and did not want to serve, he paid a sum to be relieved. Almost every transaction in the court resulted in a payment to the lord.

Court Fees

The lord had still other means of obtaining money from a manor. There were the payments for monopoly rights, such as the mill or the oven. There was also a chance to sell any surplus from the produce of the demesne land. The accounts that have been preserved show that a manor frequently paid a much larger revenue to the lord than we would expect, when the number of the inhabitants is considered.

Other Sources of Income

It has been estimated that one-fifth of the land in England was held by the crown, three-tenths by the ecclesiastics, and one-half by the lay lords; that there were about fourteen hundred tenants-in-chief and eight thousand sub-tenants. Both the tenants-in-chief and the sub-tenants might be either lay or ecclesiastical lords, and all held land by performing military service. Some held only a single manor, others might hold many. If a noble had several manors, he usually traveled from one to another with his retainers, since it was easier to go to the place where the food was than to have it carried to some place where the lord might be; for the roads were bad, the carts clumsy, the beasts of burden small. Only in the case of ecclesiastical establishments, and to some extent for the king, was it customary to have the food carried off the manor.

Who the Lords Were

The king was constantly traveling from one of his manors to another, with all of his court. The nobles had to do the same. This may be illustrated by the rules that Bishop Robert Grosseteste, about 1240, wrote out for the guidance of the countess of

CHAP. XXVIII

Their Peripatetic Life

Lincoln, who had just been left a widow with large fiefs to manage. He counseled: "Every year at Michaelmas, when you know the measure of all your corn, then arrange your sojourn for the whole of that year, and for how many weeks in each place, according to the seasons of the year, and the advantages of the country in flesh and in fish; and do not in any wise burden by debt or long residence the places where you sojourn, but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may remain on the manor, whereby the manor can raise money from increase of stock, and especially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines, robes, wax, and all your wardrobe; and that will be in a short time if you hold and act after this treatise."

Slow Progress

Although life on a manor usually was narrowly circumscribed by the boundaries of the manor, and the few who escaped did not return, yet there was slow progress. The lords frequently were glad to commute for cash the services that the villeins owed As food advanced in cost, it became expensive to give the customary meals to the laborers who did the boon works. In the "extents" we find entries like the following: "And he ought to harrow for two days at the Lenten sowing with one man and his own horse and his own harrow, the value of the work being 4d.; and he is to receive from the lord on each day three meals, of the value of 5d.; and then the lord will be at a loss of 1d. Thus his harrowing is of no value to the service of the lord." It paid better to take the money in commutation and to hire regular laborers who did not expect such expensive meals. Moreover, in spite of the efforts of the bailiff and the reeve, the villeins did not do their work well. By custom the day's work was usually limited in time or extent. The day's plowing, for example, could usually be done in a long morning In the course of time the lord came to prefer a cash payment in place of some of the work, especially that due each week. He more frequently clung to the boon works, but even these were sometimes commuted. This seemed to be becoming more and more customary until the "black death" in 1349, and later, brought a labor crisis.

"Meier Helmbrecht"

As has been stated, the conditions that have been illustrated by English examples were much the same throughout western Europe. Yet there were some differences, and some of the literature from southern Germany throws an interesting light upon the status of the farmers there. Of peculiar value in this connection is the poem *Meier Helmbrecht,* which was written by a Bavarian about the middle of the thirteenth century. It

relates the fortunes of a peasant boy who was ambitious to escape from the drudgery of the home life The father was a wealthy peasant, who leased a farm, as his father had done before him, The boy, encouraged by his mother and sister, was determined to seek his fortune as a knight The costume he secured consisted of fine linen clothes, not homespun, ornamented with fur of lambs and goats. He had a "fine jacket, to make which his mother cut up one of her own skirts, and also bought some blue cloth." His shoes were of Cordova leather But his great glory was in the multitude of buttons that adorned his coat — gilded buttons down the back, silver buttons down the front. "His whole chest is covered with small buttons, yellow, blue, green, red, black, and white. Whenever he dances, these buttons glisten, so that maid and matron follow him with loving glances." His hair fell down on his shoulders in heavy curls, and his cap was a wonderful piece of work, embroidered in silk with scenes from history and romance.

House and Food

His father's house was little in keeping with his fine clothes It contained only a living-room, with a cellar below and an attic above There was a large stove, on which some slept, a table, a bench, and a bed, but no sheets. The food was simple: porridge and bread made of rye and oats seem to have been the staples; beer was sometimes to be had.

Attitude toward Nobility and Clergy

Young Helmbrecht left home to become a knight, much against the will of his father, who feared that his son would learn vicious habits. The degeneracy of the knights, their poverty and crimes, are insisted upon throughout the poem They made their living by robbery and were noted for their brutality. The whole account is notable for the contempt in which the sturdy old peasant holds the nobles of his day. Also, he has no respect for the clergy. He "paid the church his exact tithes, and nothing more; he would not even give a priest a night's lodging."

Neidhart von Reuenthal

By the middle of the thirteenth century some of the farmers in Bavaria were evidently in a very different position from the villeins on an English manor. Their case may have been exceptional, and allowances must be made for exaggerations in *Meier Helmbrecht*. But we have also the poems of Neidhart von Reuenthal. The latter was a poor noble who would live among the peasants and largely at their expense until he had gathered together enough money to spend a time at court. Then he made fun of his former peasant hosts, boasting how much the girls preferred to dance with him and of the jealousy of the young peasants. His poems corroborate many of the impressions gathered in reading "Meier Helmbrecht," and show

CHAP. XXVIII

both the fallen prestige of his own class and the relatively advanced position of the peasants whose hospitality he abused. It would be very difficult to imagine an English or French knight living thus familiarly with the villeins or finding similar conditions in his own country.

CHAPTER XXIX

TOWNS AND TRADE

IN every part of the old Roman Empire some towns survived in spite of migrations, sieges, and conflagrations. This was because their sites were easily defensible; some, like Paris, were on islands; others, like London or Winchester or Tours or Leyden, were partially protected by rivers and marshy ground. They were usually on the main routes of trade, and frequently were seats of bishops or favorite residences of kings. In the towns, the merchants found shelter, and some of the arts and crafts were carried on. Because of the difficulties of transportation, the inhabitants had to produce most of their own food, and many were occupied wholly or in part in agriculture. For protection the towns had to have walls; and as it was laborious and expensive to build these, and as it was difficult to defend extensive fortifications, the inclosed space was made as small as possible. Consequently the towns were usually crowded.

Survival of Roman Towns

New towns grew up under the protection of castles, to which the people could flee in time of peril. The needs of the lord of the castle and of his family and followers furnished employment for the skill of artisans and a market for the wares of merchants. When such a castle was a favorite residence of a king or powerful noble, the townsmen prospered. As examples of such foundations, Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, and Warwick may be cited. When a castle or a fortified town was an important stronghold on a frontier, it was an especially favored resort for merchants both from within and without the kingdom. For this reason Bern in Switzerland and Halle in Saxony grew into important centers of trade. In a similar manner, places where markets were established under the protection of some strong lord frequently attracted a relatively large population; this was true in the case of Magdeburg and Munich. A place that was the seat of a bishopric offered some advantages for trade, especially when it was also a noted shrine to which pilgrims resorted, such as Santiago de Compostella in Spain or Canterbury in England, where men were enabled to make a livelihood by supplying the wants of the pilgrims. Many a village clustered

Growth of New Towns

CHAP. XXIX

about a monastery grew into a town. A medieval proverb says that it is well to dwell under the shadow of the cross. Fulda in Germany, Peterborough in England, and hundreds of other towns derive their origin from the presence of a monastery. Lastly, a village situated near a mine or possessed of some other natural advantage might grow in size until the inhabitants were able to build a wall around it. Some places became towns because of a combination of two or more of these causes. Tours, for example, grew from three nuclei: the king's castle, the bishop's residence, and the monastery of St. Martin. It had been a Roman town; it was on the river Loire, which was a highway for trade; it was easily defensible; and it was a great resort for pilgrims. The two most important factors in the rise or continued existence of a town were the possibility of easy defense and the opportunity for trade.

With the increase of population during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries towns grew rapidly, and there was an opportunity also for new towns to be founded. In the eleventh century some clerics hit on the idea of founding villages and attracting settlers as a method of increasing the value of the lands of the Church. The land was carefully chosen for its fertility, and crosses were set at the four corners of the tract. Streets were laid out at right angles, with a square in the center. Parcels of land were marked out for house-lots and agricultural fields. Then the clerics advertised for settlers, promising in particular the right of asylum. At least one enterprising abbot imported a supply of female serfs to provide wives for the settlers, many of whom might have found it dangerous to leave the asylum to seek wives elsewhere. In the twelfth century the king and the lords imitated this example, and many new cities, *villes neuves,* were founded, a banner taking the place of the four crosses. One account of such a *ville neuve* reads in part as follows: "But the said count knew that he could not have inhabitants if he did not grant them better justice and greater privileges than in any other seignory. Accordingly he advertised through all the country that to those who would come to settle he would grant greater privileges and better justice than to any other men in his seignory. When this became known, first of all, seven men came from Canfranc to settle in the place, and afterwards others came from very many other localities."

Villes neuves

Walls and Streets

By the end of the twelfth century the town walls were usually built of stone, with towers at such intervals that each section of the wall could be covered by the archers in two

adjacent towers. At London round towers forty feet high were built every two hundred and fifty feet; the wall itself was twenty-two feet high, and extended around the town except along the river-front. Its total length, even in the fifteenth century after extensions had been made, was less than two and one-eighth miles, and it inclosed a space of less than a square mile. Ordinarily a ditch was dug outside the wall, unless there was some natural defense, such as a river Inside the wall was a street extending around the whole circuit, so that defenders might easily get from one part to another. Running through the town from gate to gate, there were usually one or two main streets wide enough for the huge carts that brought in produce to the market-place. Other streets were narrow lanes. Even in Paris the most important streets were only from seventeen to nineteen feet wide; others were from five to ten feet in width; and the space was lessened by projecting houses or by the shops when open. In London the middle of the streets was kept in repair from the income of a special tax, called pavage, levied on carts entering the city. Each householder was required to maintain the foot-path in front of his house at the same level as his neighbor's, and was expected to clear away rubbish. Nothing was to be thrown from the windows into the streets. But keeping the streets clean, as far as it was done, was really due either to the rain, which washed the rubbish down the gutter in the middle, or else to kites, crows, and pigs, which acted as scavengers. Under Edward I a law was enacted that no pigs, except those belonging to St. Anthony's Hospital, should be allowed to run in the streets of London. Any one finding other pigs in the street might kill and keep them. But apparently the law was not observed. The citizens were permitted to keep pigs "within their houses." Later only bakers were to keep pigs, and finally an ordinance was made that "swine, cows, and oxen shall on no account be reared in houses within the city." In cities less advanced than London the pigs were not so restricted, and lived in the streets.

Houses

In the early days houses were built of wood, thatched with straw or reeds. Fires were common and very destructive. In the reign of Richard the Lion-Hearted, the first mayor of London published a building ordinance which required that houses were to have party-walls of stone, sixteen feet high and three feet thick. From the party-walls the wooden framework of the roof ran up to a point, with the gable end toward the street. This building ordinance was not enforced strictly, especially in the poorer quarters, and many old wooden houses remained. The

CHAP. XXIX

roofs were later made of tile, lead, or stone, with gutters to carry the rain into the street. There were few, if any, chimneys until the thirteenth century. Other towns were more backward than London, and did not require that even the party-walls should be of stone. On the ground floor was usually a shop, a room with a large opening at the front, covered by shutters at night. The shutters were divided horizontally, and in the daytime the lower half was let down to form a shelf for the display of goods, while the upper half was raised and fastened to form a shelter for the goods displayed below. On the floor above the shop were the few dwelling-rooms, often shared by more than one family; overcrowding was the rule, for the space in a town was small, and, although houses were built in every possible place, on the city walls, even on the bridges at London and Paris, there were seldom enough houses. There are no accurate figures for population in the Middle Ages. From the amount collected in London by the poll-tax in 1379 it has been estimated that there may have been about 56,000 people living in London. This was after the ravages of the "black death," which swept away a large part of the population. If this estimate is correct, the density of population in London in 1379 was approximately the same as on Manhattan Island in 1905. The overcrowding was certainly greater in London than in New York, because the houses were low, frequently only one story above the ground floor. And London was probably not more crowded than many another town.

Churches

The only open places in medieval towns were around the churches. There, in addition to a cemetery, was usually a plot in front of the church where a market was held. This custom has survived in many European towns. In the larger towns there were many churches, and the parishes were frequently very small in extent. In London, parishes of from two to four acres were common; along the river-front, in a space a mile long and four hundred feet wide, there were eighteen parishes. Fitzstephen, writing in the twelfth century, says that, in addition to Paul's cathedral, "there are also in London and in the suburbs thirteen large conventual churches, besides one hundred and thirty-six lesser parochial ones."[1] In addition there were also by the thirteenth century some hospitals and lazar (or leper) houses; these were frequently outside the town. Three of the

[1] It is interesting to note that, according to this writer, London sent to a muster in the time of Stephen 20,000 armed horsemen and 60,000 infantry. Probably this is an exaggeration.

churches possessed schools, and some other schools were permitted "upon sufferance."

Life in the towns seems to have been full of zest and interest. People of the same trade lived usually in the same street or lane, and work was done in the open shops. There were many festivals. Fitzstephen has left a lively description of the sports: cock-fighting, football, dancing, bull-and bear-baiting, hawking, hunting, and fun on the ice. In describing the latter he says: "Others are more expert in their sports upon the ice; for, fitting to and binding under their feet the shin-bones of some animal, and taking in their hands poles shod with iron, which at times they strike against the ice, they are carried along with as great rapidity as a bird flying or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow." A thirteenth-century poem gives an account of the street criers of Paris. At dawn a crier proclaimed that the baths were open and the water hot; then followed others crying fish, meat, honey, onions, cheese, old clothes, flowers, pepper, charcoal, or other wares. The begging friars and members of other orders were everywhere, seeking alms. The public criers announced deaths and any news. Undoubtedly this interesting activity in the towns attracted men from the country then, just as it does now.

Attractions of Town Life

The towns also offered greater freedom. Beginning in the eleventh century, there was a revolution that gradually spread throughout western Europe. It was not everywhere equally successful and it had many different outcomes; but its aims may be defined as, first, securing for a town a special jurisdiction and freer status; second, securing for the citizens the right of self-government to a greater or less degree. The German proverb "*Stadtluft macht frei*" ("City air makes free") was true on the whole, although there were many exceptions, and some cities had much less freedom than others. Usually a charter giving privileges was bought. The lords needed ready money, and frequently sold for a cash payment some of their rights of exploitation by feudal dues. Sometimes, when they realized what they had lost, they were afterward dissatisfied, and attempted to nullify the contract. In France many a "commune" had to fight, sometimes unsuccessfully, to retain the rights it had bought. The word "commune" originally meant that the inhabitants of a town had taken a mutual oath to aid one another, and not to permit a wrong to be done to a fellow-townsman if they could prevent it. It soon came to have a different meaning. Guibert, a twelfth-century abbot, says: "Commune is a new and

Privileges

CHAP. XXIX

detestable word, and this is its meaning: serfs in the future shall make an annual payment to their lord of the rent due him; if they commit any crime they are subject only to a fine, of which the amount is fixed by law; they are entirely exempt from the other payments which it is customary to demand from serfs." The kings of France seldom granted these privileges to towns under their immediate lordship, but were willing to aid other towns to secure such rights. Charters to cities varied greatly in the extent of the privileges granted, and were frequently very indefinite; but on the whole the rights secured usually included commutation of payments to their lord for a fixed sum and the selection of some, at least, of their own officials. A common provision was that any serf who came and lived for a year and a day in a town, without any demand having been made for him by his lord, should be free. In some countries and parts of countries the revolution was relatively rapid, but in many other places the movement was very slow.

Gild Merchant

The towns also offered opportunities for gaining wealth and bettering one's condition A charter in England usually contained a provision that the town should have a gild merchant. This included those who were engaged in trade, and by the charter they secured a monopoly, so that no one not a member could buy or sell in the town, except under such conditions as the gild might make. Frequently selling of certain foods was not included in the monopoly. Merchants who did not live in the town sometimes secured membership in the gild. In addition to regulating trade, the gild merchant performed many other functions. Gild meetings were accompanied by a feast, frequently called "the drinking," at which every member was expected to be present. At Southhampton, if a member was so ill that he could not attend, he was sent a gallon of wine, two loaves of bread and "a dish from the kitchen." Quarrels and fights among members were settled by the gild and not permitted to go before the lord's court, thus avoiding payment of fines to the lord. The gild was also a mutual benefit society. If a member "fell into poverty or misery," the other members were to succor him. If a gildsman was imprisoned, the officers were expected to procure his release, at the cost of the gild. When a member died, the others attended the funeral, furnished candles, made an offering for the welfare of his soul, and if necessary supported his widow and children. They also gave in charity to the lepers, to the friars, to the poor, and to the sick. If any member bought goods at a bargain, he was obliged to share his purchase with any of his fellows. The name fra-

ternity was often applied to a gild merchant. This institution was not peculiar to England, but existed with very similar customs in other countries

Craft Gilds

Gradually craft gilds superseded the gild merchant. These were associations of men engaged in the same trade, and their primary object was to make rules for the trade and to keep a monopoly for the members A craft gild usually made only one thing; for instance, one gild made arrows, another bow-strings, and a third bows. The subdivision of industry was carried to very great lengths, so that in a single town there might be more than a dozen separate gilds making leather or leather products, or a gild might specialize in a single kind of hat, as the peacock-hatters did We are fortunate in having an account of one hundred of the craft gilds, or mysteries, in Paris, drawn up by an official of Louis IX. The head men in each made a statement as to their organization and rules. There are extant rules of individual crafts in different countries and for different dates, which prove that it is safe to generalize from the statements of the mysteries in Paris. The master workman had to have a house of his own, to know his trade, and to be of good moral character. In some gilds he was allowed to have only one apprentice, but might take a second when the first had nearly completed his term of apprenticeship. This was frequently six years. The apprentice was to be treated as a son, and could appeal to the officials of the craft in case of brutality. His duties were to open and close the shop, run errands, and learn the trade He was not to be made to wash dishes or tend a baby; the master's wife was not allowed to beat him. At the end of his term he might become a master if he had money enough and could prove his ability as a workman. All work was to be done by daylight, except in the case of gilds that made luxuries for the nobles; these were not restricted as to hours of work. Each craft gild had its patron saint and attended church in a body. Craft gilds acted as mutual aid societies for burials, for the care of widows, orphans, sick, and poor. They also had banquets. They had to furnish men for the city watch. Their special duty was to maintain the quality of the product, but they seldom succeeded in doing this for any long period of time; for, in spite of stringent rules, there were many frauds. Occasionally the mysteries gave a play. Such a mystery play at York consisted of a series of scenes beginning with a representation of the creation of the world and ending with the Judgment Day. The various crafts each had a part; for example, the fishmongers and mariners represented Noah in the

CHAP. XXIX

ark, with his family and animals; the vintners represented the marriage of Cana, where the water was turned into wine.

Markets

Each town had a market, held usually either weekly or semi-weekly, where the products of the town and neighborhood were exchanged. The market was held in the open place around a church. Many authorities have traced the rise of the towns from the privilege granted by the lord to have a market. As a symbol of the right to hold a market, and of the protection that the lord gave to those who came thither, a market cross was erected. Sometimes a glove or other object was hung upon the cross; later the curious figures known as Rolands sometimes replaced the cross. Tolls paid by outsiders who bought or sold in the markets went to the lord who had granted the market privilege.

Fairs

Goods that could not be obtained from the neighborhood were bought at fairs. These were held in many places throughout Europe, usually outside of towns away from the coast. No one could hold a fair without a grant from the king or some other great lord; but such grants were very frequent, especially in England, where there were hundreds of fairs. The most noted in England were at Winchester, Stourbridge, St. Ives, and Boston; in France, the Lendit near Paris and the group of fairs in Champagne. They were usually held annually, but in some places more frequently. The lord who had given the grant erected the necessary booths and policed the fair. He received rent for the booths and tolls on the goods sold. Merchants from distant lands visited the more important fairs, and wares of all kinds were on sale. During the time of the fair all trading elsewhere in the neighborhood was prohibited.

A court was constantly in session; it was called in England "pie-powder," from the French *pied poudré* (dusty foot), probably because justice was administered to all who came, just as they were, without any delay. Crimes committed at a fair were punished with a double penalty. Suits between merchants were decided by "law merchant," an outgrowth of the customs followed by merchants of different lands in their dealings with one another. Contracts made at fairs were held to be especially valid, debts contracted had to be paid at the next fair. Besides the merchants and the customers, minstrels and jongleurs frequented fairs. During the week or the fortnight of the fair there was constant excitement. The people from the surrounding country flocked in, partly to make necessary purchases, but chiefly to see the acrobatic feats or a dancing bear or some other show, and to stroll among the booths.

CHAP. XXIX

Hindrances to Trade

In traveling to and from the fairs merchants met with many hindrances due to poor roads and lack of bridges. In order to protect themselves from robbery, they usually traveled in bands. But they could not avoid paying the tolls that every feudal lord levied on any merchant entering his land. These were often heavy and exacted arbitrarily. If a vessel was wrecked on the coast of his fief, the lord seized all the goods that were washed ashore, under the right of flotsam, jetsam, and strandage. Frequently the lords were believed to cause wrecks by false signals in order to gain great profit. The same right was extended to include goods capsized at a ford Another hindrance to trade was the great variety and poor quality of the coins used in different countries. In England the king had the sole right to coin money, but on the continent many lords and many cities had received or usurped this right. In consequence there was no uniformity of size, weight, or composition. Many minters were dishonest. In 1125 Henry I commanded that every one of the mint-men in England should have his right hand cut off. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: "And that was all in perfect justice, because that they had undone all the land with the great quantity of base coin that they all bought."

Usury

The economic doctrines taught by the Church have frequently been spoken of as hindrances to trade, and they undoubtedly would have been if the merchants had followed them. The Church condemned all taking of interest as usury, and threatened all usurers with eternal damnation unless they repented and made restitution of their ill-gotten gains. Merchants were lenders rather than borrowers, and paid little heed to the Church's prohibition of interest-taking. The Church's attitude may have contributed to make the rate of interest so high — usually more than fifty per cent. annually — and thus actually have enriched the money-lenders.

Just Price

The Church also taught that no one ought to charge more than the "just price" for anything he sold. The "just price" was the theoretical, objective value of an article, without regard to any consideration of supply and demand. The Church taught that a merchant had no right to make an unfair profit by charging whatever he could get from the buyer. The "just price" of any article would be "such as would cover the just price paid for it by the merchant himself, together with such gain as would secure for the merchant what public opinion regarded as the necessaries of life for a man of his class." For any article made by a member of a craft gild the "just price" would be the cost of the material plus a payment for the time consumed in

CHAP. XXIX

making it, sufficient to enable him to live as the average member of his craft lived. It is needless to say that a merchant was generally reputed to pay little attention to any idea of a just price when he was dealing with a customer. Trade was looked upon by the Church as an occupation in which a man was peculiarly exposed to temptation. This may have had some effect on the attitude of the merchants toward the Church.

Italian Cities

Goods from the Orient were carried to the fairs mainly by merchants from the Italian seaports. These and other Italian towns became wealthy and secured the right of self-government earlier than the cities in the north. After the reign of Charles the Great the emperors were unable to control them. Feudalism never became as strongly established and commerce never died out to as great an extent in the Italian peninsula as in the lands to the north. There was always some trade maintained with the Orient. This was fostered by the crusades, and the towns became wealthy and populous. The lesser nobles frequently resided within the towns and engaged in trade to some extent. They were trained knights and their aid in warfare made the towns stronger. The success of the Lombard League against the Hohenstaufens has already been described.

By 1200 the more important cities had developed a form of democratic government, although the poorer citizens usually had no share in it. By the peace of Constance, in 1183, Frederick Barbarossa had recognized the right of the citizens to elect their own officials. In the thirteenth century the poorer inhabitants, grouped in craft gilds, began to demand a share in the government, and this led to many struggles. The nobles in the cities fought among themselves. Factions known as Guelfs and Ghibellines contended for the control of the city. To escape these evils the cities chose as their chief magistrates, or podestàs, nobles from other cities. Villani says of the choice of the first podestà in Florence in 1207: "But afterwards, when the city had increased in population and in vices, and there had come to be more ill-deeds, it was agreed for the good of the commonwealth . . . that they should invite a gentleman from some other city, who might be their podestà for a year, and administer civil justice with his assessors and judges, and carry into execution sentences and penalties." In this way they sought to secure justice for all and peace within the city. The term of office of a podestà was usually one year or less, but the salary was frequently very large. Neighboring cities were usually at war with one another, as each was trying to extend its territory as widely as possible and to reduce the neighboring towns to

subjection. The constant fighting within and without the city and the great power given to a podestà made it easy for "tyrants" like Ezzelino da Romano or Este or Malatesta to secure the power over a city. But the period when the rule of tyrants was at its height comes after the thirteenth century and consequently is outside the scope of this chapter.

The evolution described above did not always follow the same course, not even in all the Italian cities. In fact, in treating of the communal revolution in western Europe, any attempt at generalization is dangerous, for diversity, not uniformity, was the rule. But almost everywhere there was a desire on the part of the citizens to free themselves from the power of their lords, and the spread of revolutionary attempts followed the usual trade routes from south to north. When the merchants carried their wares they also took with them the news of improved conditions in this town or that town, and thus fanned the desire for progress. Cities in southern France and those on the great rivers, such as the Rhine, eagerly followed the example of the Lombard communes. In the north, along and near the Baltic, the cities formed the Hanseatic League for mutual protection and advantage in trade. Just as the Italian seaports had their agents, called consuls, in the important Oriental seaports, so the Hanseatic League established agents in many western cities, even as far distant as Venice. But the period of the greatest importance of the Hanseatic League came later than our period.

Progress in Other Cities

In general, the thirteenth century saw only the beginnings of the importance that the merchants were destined to attain. Yet within this century the rise of this class brought many changes. No longer was it possible for any one to consider only those who did the fighting and those who did the praying as worthy of attention. While the great mass of those who did the work still remained without power and inarticulate, the merchants had secured for themselves an established position in the social order. Knights as a class were becoming impoverished; the merchants were acquiring wealth. Many a noble was glad to marry the daughter of a rich tradesman. The kings were learning to depend more and more upon the cities. St. Louis in his advice to his son said: "Preserve the good towns and the good cities of your kingdom in the estate and liberty in which your predecessors kept them, and if there be anything to amend, amend and redress it, and preserve their favor and their love. For it is by the strength and the riches of your good cities and good towns that the native and the foreigner, especially your peers and your barons, are deterred from doing ill to you. I well

Rise of Merchant Class

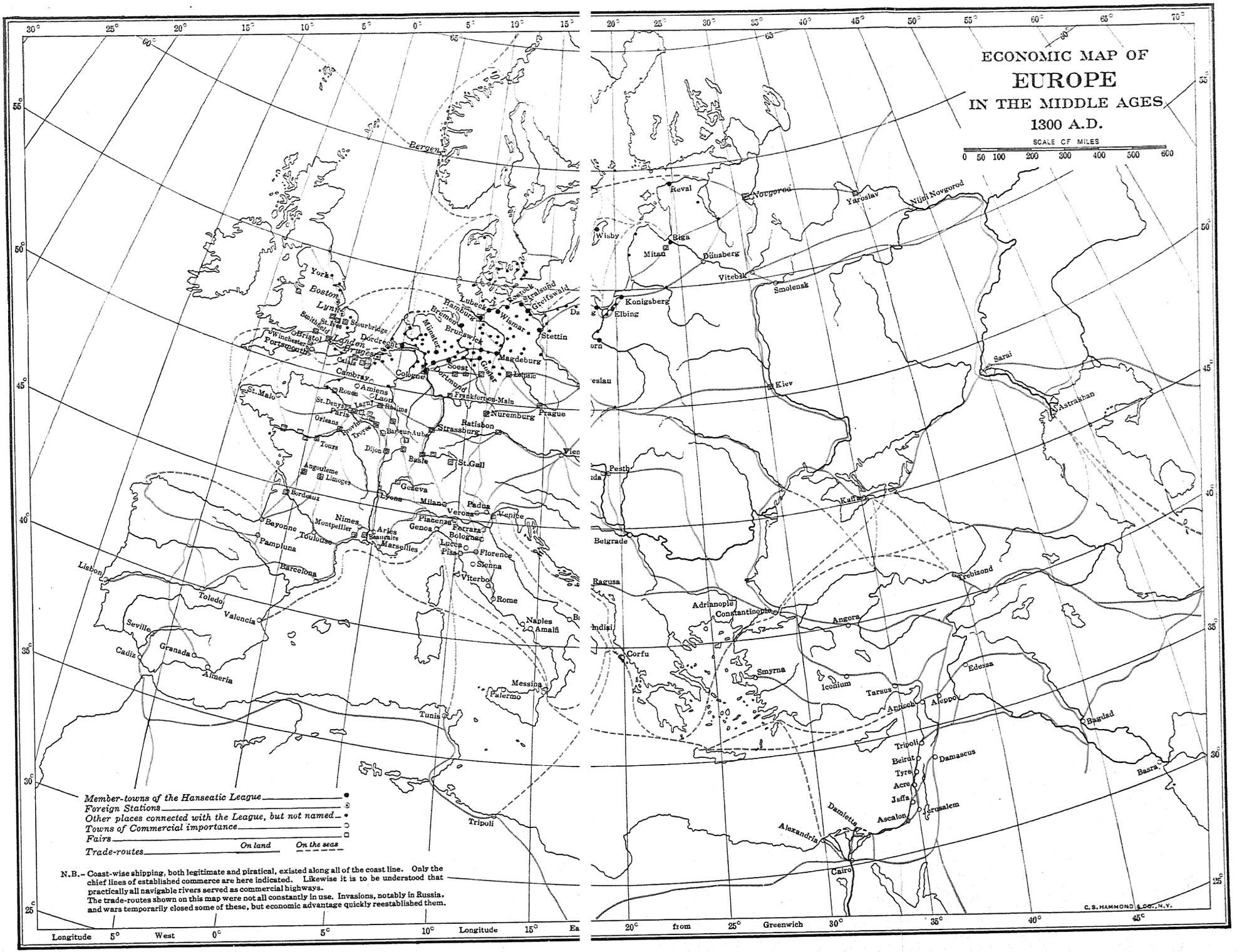
CHAP. XXIX

remember that Paris and the good towns of my kingdom aided me against the barons, when I was newly crowned." In England Simon de Montfort sought to gain the favor and support of the towns by summoning their representatives to a parliament, and Edward I, his pupil, gave townsmen a place in the Model Parliament.

Fabliaux

The merchants too, had their literature. For their pleasure jongleurs recited *fabliaux,* or "laughable stories told in verse." These were very realistic and vulgar, their themes often being deceived husbands and immoral clerks; it has been stated that in all the *fabliaux* there is not a single good woman nor a poor priest. Most of them are too indecent to be told at the present day; but as a historical source they are very valuable. They give a detailed picture of the conditions in which the merchants and peasants lived, of the way the houses were furnished, and of a multitude of other details. From them we can also learn something of the ideas of the day. Many of the tales illustrate the way in which the merchants were breaking away from traditional points of view. Some are irreverent, like the story of St. Peter and the jongleur, who shake dice for the souls in hell, or of the villein who gets into heaven by taunting St. Peter and the other apostles with their misdeeds on earth. Some tales are satirical at the expense of the nobles and clergy, to whom the merchants no longer looked up as superior beings. Deceit, cunning, and revenge led to success in the *fabliaux* and were suggested as qualities to be emulated. Their moral tone is on a par with that of *Reynard the Fox,* which was also a favorite tale with the merchant class. The grossness and lack of morality did not prevent these *fabliaux* from becoming popular even with the nobles and clergy, who were influenced by the bourgeois spirit. Moreover, these tales were told in mixed society; many a subject was then freely discussed, even in the presence of women, which would now be taboo. At a later date Chaucer had the *Miller,* the *Reeve,* and other characters tell tales similar to the *fabliaux* while on a pilgrimage and in the presence of ladies.

The rise and influence of the merchants caused a decline in the relative importance of both the nobles and the clergy. The kings favored the merchants because of their wealth and their command of ready money. With the taxes that the merchants paid in lieu of military service the kings hired mercenary soldiers. Philip Augustus by this means was able to maintain a small but efficient standing army, which made him more independent of his noble vassals. Whenever taxes were to be raised or money


ECONOMIC MAP OF
EUROPE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES
1300 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
Member-towns of the Hanseatic League
Foreign Stations
Other places connected with the League, but not named
Towns of Commercial importance
Fairs
Trade-routes
On land
On the seas
N.B.– Coast-wise shipping, both legitimate and piratical, existed along all of the coast line. Only the chief lines of established commerce are here indicated. Likewise it is to be understood that practically all navigable rivers served as commercial highways.
The trade-routes shown on this map were not all constantly in use. Invasions, notably in Russia, and wars temporarily closed some of these, but economic advantage quickly reestablished them.
Longitude 5° West 0° 5° 10° Longitude 15° East from Greenwich 20° 25° 30° 35° 40° 45°
C. S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.
Bergen
York
Boston
Lynn
Bristol
London
Winchester
Portsmouth
Dordrecht
Bruges
Calais
Cambray
Amiens
Rouen
St. Malo
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Pampluna
Lisbon
Toledo
Seville
Cadiz
Granada
Almeria
Barcelona
Valencia
Montpellier
Nimes
Arles
Marseilles
Toulouse
Angouleme
Limoges
Dijon
Basle
Geneva
Lyons
Milan
Genoa
Pisa
Lucca
Florence
Siena
Viterbo
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Messina
Palermo
Tunis
Tripoli
Padua
Verona
Venice
Placenza
Ferrara
Bologna
Strasburg
Ratisbon
Nuremburg
Prague
Frankfort-on-Main
Cologne
Dortmund
Soest
Munster
Brunswick
Hamburg
Bremen
Lubeck
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Stettin
Magdeburg
Leipsic
Gotha
Hamelen
Hildesheim
Duisburg
Utrecht
Arnheim
Zutphen
Deventer
Groningen
Kampen
Harderwyk
Amsterdam
Haarlem
Leyden
Dordrecht
Middleburg
Ghent
Bruges
Ypres
Lille
Arras
Calais
Boulogne
Abbeville
Rouen
Caen
Cherbourg
Honfleur
Harfleur
Dieppe
Rouen
Evreux
Barsur-Aube
Troyes
Provins
Rheims
Laon
Lagny
St. Denys
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Dijon
Basle
St. Gall
Strassburg
Ratisbon
Nuremburg
Prague
Vienna
Frankfort-on-Main
Cologne
Soest
Dortmund

CHAP. XXIX

Importance of Merchants

borrowed, the merchants had to be humored, and thus they came to have a greater importance in political matters. The position of the clergy was affected by the new attitude on the part of the merchants, who were not as submissive as formerly to the rule of the Church. By their contact with people of other countries holding different religious beliefs, the merchants had lost much of their dread of the Church's censures and means of discipline, and many of them were very irreverent. Heresies spread along the routes of trade Finally, the merchants felt their own importance; and, as is shown by their literature, they were inclined to ridicule the ideals and pretensions of both nobles and clergy.

CHAPTER XXX

HERESY AND THE FRIARS

CHAP. XXX

Weakening of the Church's Authority

MANY causes contributed to weaken the authority of the Church. The investiture struggle caused the opponents of the Church to dispute its claims to jurisdiction and to condemn its use of excommunication as a spiritual weapon. The new knowledge gained through the crusades led some to question the accuracy of its teachings. The schisms in the Church and the election of anti-popes shook the unquestioning faith of those who were on the losing side. The wealth that the Church was obtaining provoked unfavorable criticism. As Bernard of Clairvaux said, "The Catholic faith is discussed in the streets and market-places. We have fallen upon evil times."

Criticism from Within

Bernard himself was one of the most outspoken in condemning the Church's wealth and her absorption in temporal affairs. He wrote to the pope: "Who will permit me to see before I die the Church of God so ordered as it was in the old days, when the apostles cast their nets to fish for souls and not for gold and silver?" This feeling that the Church was in need of a general reformation was shared by all the more earnest Christians. The rise of the new monastic orders was in effect a condemnation of the laxity of the existing orders. The founding of the Premonstratensian and other orders of canons was, as has been stated, partially due to the feeling that the priests were neglecting their duties. There was a constantly rising tide of criticism within the Church, voicing a demand for a radical improvement in the conduct of its officials. This may be seen in the letters of the popes, the actions of the councils, and the writings of the leading churchmen.

Effect of Disciplinary Action

One disciplinary measure for the enforcement of the celibacy of the priesthood needs especial mention. In 1059 the synod of Rome forbade any one to attend mass when the celebrant was known to have a wife or concubine. Fifteen years later Gregory VII attempted to enforce this and raised a storm of opposition. A very large proportion of the priests were affected, and their parishioners were virtually asked to sit in judgment upon them. Gregory's enemies claimed that he had fallen into the Donatist

CHAP. XXX

heresy that the sacrament is polluted in unworthy hands. Gregory and Urban II insisted that this action was merely a matter of discipline, and did not in any way deny that the sacrament was efficacious to the faithful, even when administered by a priest who was a vile sinner. The general public did not recognize any such distinction, and this disciplinary action of the popes and councils had far-reaching effect, as will be seen in the discussion of the heresies.

Abelard

Before taking up the heresies, however, it is necessary to note another influence, which Bernard of Clairvaux considered very dangerous to the Church This was the teaching of Abelard (1079–1142), who wrote an interesting autobiography under the title *Historia Calamitatum*. We see the eager young noble renouncing his inheritance in order to win applause as a scholar. The art of disputation, or dialectics, was then the favorite study, and Abelard soon became an adept in this. He tells of his victories in the provinces and then at Paris, where he confuted the most celebrated teacher of the day and "dared to aspire to become the head of a school." He was successful. Next he took up the study of theology at Laon under Anselm, the leading theologian of the day, and began to criticise him and his methods. Soon Abelard was lecturing on theology amid the applause of those who had been his fellow-pupils. He returned to Paris, whither students flocked to hear him. When he was thirty-six years old occurred the love episode with Héloïse which has made their names immortal. In writing of it he says: "Considering myself henceforth the only philosopher on earth and having no doubt as to the future, I began to give free rein to my passions, I who had always lived in the greatest chastity. And the farther I advanced on the road of philosophy and sacred learning, the farther I separated myself by the inferiority of my life from the philosophers and the saints. My reputation was then so great, my youthful beauty and the perfection of my figure gave me so great a superiority over other men, that I might have courted any woman without hesitation. Any woman would have considered herself honored by my love, and I had no refusal to fear." His account of the course of his intrigue with Héloise can be read in his autobiography, where he lays bare his contemptible conduct with the most brutal frankness. The only redeeming feature was the wonderful love of Héloïse for him.

Héloïse

Abelard's self-reliance led him to be impatient of authority. The keynote to his method of teaching is found in the prologue to his *Sic et Non*: "The first key to wisdom is this — constant and frequent interrogation. . . . For by doubting we are

"Sic et Non"

CHAP. XXX

led to question, by questioning we arrive at the truth." The work consists of one hundred fifty-eight theses. Under each Abelard said: "We have collected diverse statements from the fathers to provoke young readers to seek out the truth with the greatest diligence, and to render them more acute by the search." Abelard made no comments. He merely collected the contradictory views and showed how greatly the authorities disagreed. His theses included important phases of theology and morals: for example, "That God is threefold, and the contrary"; "That sin is pleasing to God, and the contrary"; "That nothing happens by chance, and the contrary"; "That no one can be saved without the baptism of water and the contrary"; "That it is lawful to lie, and the contrary." Naturally, his students' reverence for the authority of the Church would be shaken when they studied such a work and attempted to form their own opinions. The prologue to the *Sic et Non* deprecates any such result. Abelard writes, "Even if the sayings of the fathers do not agree, it is not to be judged that they are untrue. The seeming disagreement may come from our lack of ability to understand them, not from their mistakes."

Abelard's Method

This method that Abelard introduced became the usual one followed in theological works. For example, Peter Lombard, in his *Book of Sentences,* collects the different authorities, pro and con. Gratian did the same in his collection for the Canon Law, his *Decretum.* St. Thomas Aquinas lent the weight of his great prestige to the method. But all of these men did one thing more than Abelard did in his *Sic et Non* — after citing the quotations pro and con they gave a solution; Gratian's work was called *Concordantia discordantium canonum.* Thus a new authority was substituted, a result wholly different from Abelard's method in his *Sic et Non* of throwing the discussion open and not telling the students how to solve it. Such an appeal to human reason Bernard rightly judged to be dangerous and likely to provoke doubt.

Other Writings

Equally dangerous from the standpoint of medieval theology were Abelard's *Ethica,* or *Scito Teipsum,* and his dialogue between the philosopher, the Jew, and the Christian. In the first, for instance, he argues that no one sins except when acting against his own conscience; in the second the philosopher urges that it is not necessary to follow the Jewish or the Christian faith in order to be acceptable to God. We need not discuss his more technical writings, which exposed him to condemnation as a heretic. The general character of his teaching made his pupils potential sources of danger to the established authorities.

One of the most noted of Abelard's pupils was Arnold of

CHAP. XXX

Arnold of Brescia

Brescia, the radical reformer. He taught that the Church ought to live from its tithes and the free gifts of the faithful and ought to confine itself to spiritual functions. After an active career in northern Italy, Zürich, and Swabia, he went to Rome about 1145, and soon became the actual leader of the commune that the Romans had set up. Arnold preached against the greed of the pope and cardinals. Bernard who had written in a similar strain, but supported the Church, while Arnold was undermining its influence, described the latter as "the man whose speech is honey, whose doctrine is poison, whom Brescia has vomited forth, whom Rome abhors, whom France drives to exile, whom Germany curses, whom Italy refuses to receive." Eventually Arnold was seized by Frederic Barbarossa, who wished to gain the pope's support, and was burnt. But his influence lived after him and secret associations were formed of Arnoldistas, or "Poor Men," who held as one of their tenets that the sacraments could be administered only by men of virtue. They were frequently condemned as heretics.

Anti-sacerdotalists

Similar ideas were widespread, especially in France. One of the two great classes of heretics, in which the Arnoldistas would be included, may be termed "anti-sacerdotalists." They thought themselves to be good Christians, and at first opposed only the evil lives of the priests and the worldliness of the Church. They came almost entirely from the lower classes of society. They gathered eagerly about any leader who denounced the abuses that were due mainly to an ignorant and degraded priesthood. Bernard of Clairvaux and many another orthodox churchman ascribe these heresies wholly to the lack of proper teaching and the greed, lust, and crimes of the wolves in sheep's clothing who acted as priests. Almost the only heretical belief that was common to all the anti-sacerdotalists was the Donatist heresy that the sacraments are polluted in unworthy hands.

Tanchelm

Early in the twelfth century, Tanchelm, who may have been a monk, preached reform in Flanders, and eventually made Antwerp his headquarters. In that wealthy city there was only one priest, and he was well known to be leading a vile life. Consequently Tanchelm soon had a large following. All our information about him comes from his enemies and may not be true. It is evident that he did not consider himself a heretic, and probably the pope did not, as Tanchelm went to Rome to ask that changes should be made in the boundaries of the episcopal dioceses in order that the Church might be administered better, and he was allowed to return without any hindrance. But the priests in Flanders and the neighboring lands considered him

CHAP. XXX

a heretic and told many tales of his alleged false teachings. After one narrow escape he was finally killed by a priest. A decade later his followers were won back to the Church when Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensian order, took charge in Antwerp and his virtuous canons practised what they preached Then heresy there quickly came to an end.

Eon

In Brittany a little later a heretic named Eon gained a great following, with whose aid he plundered the churches and gave the wealth to the poor. Many of his followers were captured and burned. He himself was clearly insane, and fortunately fell into the hands of Suger, who had him cared for. His insanity took the form of a belief that it was he who was to judge the quick and the dead at the day of judgment. He based this belief upon the Biblical passage: *Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculm per ignem.* He said that *eum* was merely the Latin form of his own name, Eon.

Peter and Henry

About the same time, in the south of France, Peter of Bruys was preaching with great success against infant baptism, transubstantiation, offerings for the dead, reverence for the priesthood, and other articles of the faith. After he had been burned alive many of his followers joined an apostate monk named Henry of Lausanne. The heretics became very bold. The nobles aided them, for they too disliked the priests. Bernard of Clairvaux was summoned to rescue the Church, and according to his biographers had a great success in bringing the heretics back into the fold.

Waldensians

The most important of all the anti-sacerdotal movements was the Waldensian. This took its name from Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons. It is said that one day he stopped in the market-place to listen to a jongleur, who chanced to be telling the story of St. Alexis, and he was so moved by the tale that he determined to imitate Alexis as far as lay in his power. After providing for his wife and daughters he gave the remainder of his wealth to the poor. Then he gave himself up to preaching the gospel. He had the New Testament translated into the vernacular, and studied it eagerly. Soon other men and women joined in his work. They adopted a special costume and took as their name the "Poor Men of Lyons." In vain they sought permission to preach from two different popes and from the Third Lateran Council, in 1179, and finally they were forced into opposition to the Church. They, however, continued to insist that they were good Christians. As far as their conduct was concerned they certainly were; every one bore testimony to their character; they were generally known as the "good people"; but

CHAP. XXX

in doctrine they had separated themselves widely from the orthodox beliefs. They refused obedience to the authority of the pope and prelates. They held that laymen and even women might preach; that God was to be obeyed rather than man; that masses, prayers, and alms for the dead were of no avail; that prayer anywhere — in bed or in a stable — was as efficacious as in church. The Waldensians were active missionaries, and their faith spread to Aragon, Savoy, Pomerania, Bohemia, and elsewhere

Manicheans

The second class of heretics were the Manicheans, who believed in the two principles of good and evil and their eternal warfare. St. Augustine had held and then combated this heresy; emperors had persecuted its adherents; but it had persisted in the Orient, and many of its sectaries had been colonized in the Balkans; thence, following the trade routes, it had introduced itself into many parts of Europe. At the close of the twelfth century it was especially strong in Languedoc, where its sectaries were known as Albigenses, or Albigensians, from the town of Albi, one of their strongholds. In other parts of Europe heretics who held similar beliefs were known by very many different names. But elsewhere it was not so dangerous to the Church as in southern France. There feudal anarchy prevented any strong government. The mixed population was very tolerant. The Jews were numerous and held a high social position Priests were looked down upon; as Innocent III wrote, "Prelates in this region are the laughing stock of the laity." A favorite exclamation to express strong distaste was, "I'd rather be a priest than do that."

Popular Favor

On the other hand, the leaders of the heretics were admired for their virtuous lives and asceticism. They preached in public. They had their own cemeteries, where even Catholics sought to be buried in order that they might be among the "good people." Men traveled, if possible, in company with the heresiarchs, so as to be protected by the reverence that these inspired. Noblemen frequented their society and desired their ministrations when at the point of death. Their success was enhanced by the doctrine they taught. While the leaders, "the perfect," led a very ascetic life, they did not demand such a sacrifice from their followers. The latter, if they had faith, could attain salvation if they received the last rite, the *consolamentum,* from the hands of the "perfect." They taught that there was no purgatory and no hell. They inveighed against the wealth and iniquity of the clergy. They believed themselves to be Christians, asserting that the Catholics had gone astray. While their doctrine was very different from Christianity, they used the Bible to prove their statements. They insisted that the principle of evil had created the world and all

CHAP. XXX

material things, and quoted texts from the Bible in proof of this. The sacraments that they retained were not fundamentally unlike the Catholic.

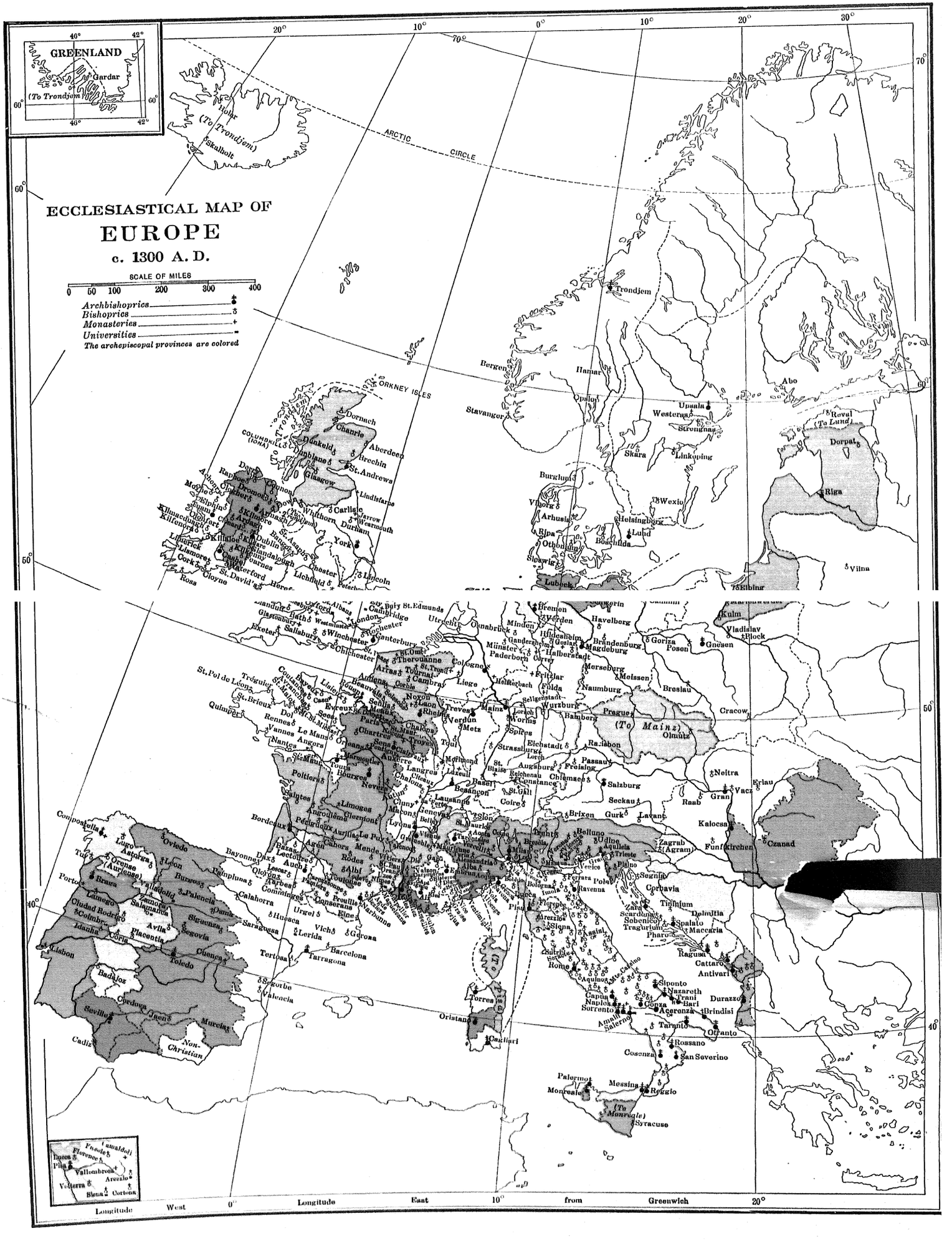
The orthodox Church in Languedoc was too weak to crush them and too degenerate to keep its own adherents firm in the faith. Innocent III wrote of the clergy and of the archbishop of Narbonne: "Blind men, dumb dogs, who are no longer able to bark, and simoniacs who sell justice, who absolve the rich and condemn the poor. They do not even observe the laws of the Church; they accumulate benefices and intrust sacerdotal and ecclesiastical functions to unworthy priests and illiterate children. That is the cause of the insolence of the heretics and the contempt felt by lords and people for God and his Church."

The pope made every effort to stamp out the heresy. He sent legates armed with full power and commanded them to offer to the French king and to nobles who would aid in extirpating the heresy the same plenary indulgence as for a crusade to the Holy Land. The offer was in vain. In 1207 a crusade was preached against Count Raymond of Toulouse, and great privileges were offered to crusaders, but with no result. The murder of a papal legate the following year by one of Raymond's followers finally aroused such indignation that many nobles took the cross and recruits hastened to win the rewards, both spiritual and temporal, that were offered for only forty days' service. The crusade lasted with varying success for several years. The people in the threatened land fought bravely, both Catholics and heretics side by side, in what soon became a war between the North and the South. It was decided by the overwhelming power of the North, and all Toulouse eventually passed to the French crown. The war had been very bloody and in some captured places the whole population had been slain.

Crusade

But the heresy had not been crushed. In order to accomplish this there gradually was formed a new tribunal, known as the "inquisition." Bishops had long been intrusted with inquisitions for heretics in their dioceses. Some had been zealous, but others had neither the inclination nor the knowledge for the task. The spread of heresy in the last quarter of the twelfth century had shown that some other action must be taken if its progress was to be checked. In the first half of the thirteenth century two factors made it possible for the pope to establish a papal inquisition that should work more uniformly and more certainly than the episcopal had done. One of these factors was the enactment of laws against heretics by lay rulers, especially by the free-thinking and frequently excommunicated

Inquisition


GREENLAND
Gardar
(To Trondjem)
Iohr
(To Trondjem)
Skalholt
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF
EUROPE
c. 1300 A. D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Archbishoprics
Bishoprics
Monasteries
Universities
The archepiscopal provinces are colored
ORKNEY ISLES
COLUMBA (IONA)
Trondjem
Berger
Hamar
Opslo
Stavanger
Abo
Upsala
Westeras
Skara
Linkoping
Reval
To Lund
Dorpat
Riga
Wexio
Helsingborg
Lund
Boschilda
Vilna
Elbing
Lubeck
Bremen
Verden
Minden
Osnabruck
Munster
Paderborn
Cologne
Liege
Treves
Mainz
Worms
Spires
Strassburg
Augsburg
Freising
Passau
Salzburg
Ratisbon
Prague
(To Mainz)
Olmutz
Cracow
Breslau
Meissen
Naumburg
Wurzburg
Bamberg
Havelberg
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Merseburg
Fritzlar
Fulda
Hildesheim
Gnesen
Posen
Kulm
Vladislav
Plock
Neitra
Gran
Raab
Vacz
Erlau
Kalocsa
Funfkirchen
Czanad
Agram
Zagrab
Seckau
Brixen
Gurk
Lavant
Trent
Belluno
Udine
Aquileia
Trieste
Pisino
Segnia
Cornavia
Ravenna
Ferrara
Bologna
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
Arezzo
Siena
Cortona
Volterra
Pistoia
Fiesole
Vallombrosa
Pia
Lucca
Rome
Aquino
Capua
Naples
Sorrento
Amalfi
Salerno
Siponto
Nazareth
Trani
Bari
Conza
Acerenza
Brindisi
Durazzo
Tarento
Otranto
Rossano
Cosenza
San Severino
Palermo
Monreale
Messina
Reggio
(To Monreale)
Syracuse
Cagliari
Oristano
Torres
Sardinia
Ragusa
Cattaro
Antivari
Scardona
Sebenico
Tragurium
Spalato
Maccaria
Pharo
Tibinium
Delmitia
Zara
Arbe
Veglia
Pola
Trieste
Aquileia
Grado
Venice
Padua
Verona
Mantua
Milan
Vercelli
Novara
Turin
Asti
Alba
Genoa
Savona
Nice
Ventimiglia
Albenga
Marseilles
Arles
Avignon
Nismes
Montpellier
Narbonne
Toulouse
Carcassone
Beziers
Agde
Lodeve
Maguelone
Aix
Frejus
Toulon
Orange
Vaison
Cavaillon
Apt
Riez
Digne
Embrun
Gap
Die
Vienne
Valence
Grenoble
Geneva
Lausanne
Sion
Basel
Coire
Constance
Chiemsee
Seligenstadt
Eichstadt
Ratisbon
Olmutz
Lorch
Metz
Toul
Verdun
Rheims
Soissons
Laon
Noyon
Amiens
Arras
Tournai
Cambrai
Corbie
Thereouanne
St. Omer
Boulogne
Canterbury
Rochester
London
Westminster
Winchester
Salisbury
Bath
Exeter
Glastonbury
Chichester
Bury St. Edmunds
Cambridge
Utrecht
Liege
Cologne
Aachen
Fritzlar
Fulda
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
Merseburg
Meissen
Naumburg
Breslau
Prague
Cracow
Olmutz
Ratisbon
Passau
Salzburg
Chiemsee
Freising
Augsburg
Constance
Basel
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Sion
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Veglia
Zara
Scardona
Sebenico
Tragurium
Spalato
Maccaria
Pharo
Ragusa
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Rossano
Cosenza
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Monreale
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Reggio
(To Monreale)
Syracuse
Cagliari
Oristano
Torres
Sardinia
Rome
Aquino
Capua
Naples
Sorrento
Amalfi
Salerno
Gaeta
Terracina
Velletri
Tivoli
Subiaco
Anagni
Ferentino
Alatri
Veroli
Sora
Aquila
Rieti
Spoleto
Foligno
Assisi
Perugia
Orvieto
Viterbo
Sienna
Arezzo
Florence
Fiesole
Pistoia
Lucca
Pisa
Volterra
Vallombrosa
Pia
Ancona
Fano
Pesaro
Rimini
Urbino
Gubbio
Cesena
Forli
Faenza
Imola
Bologna
Modena
Reggio
Parma
Piacenza
Cremona
Brescia
Bergamo
Como
Novara
Vercelli
Asti
Alba
Turin
Saluzzo
Susa
Aosta
Sion
Martigny
Geneva
Lausanne
Basel
Coire
Constance
Chiemsee
Salzburg
Passau
Freising
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Olmutz
Prague
Cracow
Breslau
Meissen
Naumburg
Merseburg
Halberstadt
Fritzlar
Fulda
Hildesheim
Paderborn
Minden
Osnabruck
Munster
Cologne
Aachen
Liege
Utrecht
Bremen
Verden
Havelberg
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Gnesen
Posen
Kulm
Vladislav
Plock
Neitra
Gran
Raab
Vacz
Erlau
Kalocsa
Funfkirchen
Czanad
Agram
Zagrab
Seckau
Brixen
Gurk
Lavant
Trent
Belluno
Udine
Aquileia
Trieste
Pisino
Segnia
Cornavia
Ravenna
Ferrara
Bologna
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
Arezzo
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Cortona
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Pistoia
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Vallombrosa
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Naples
Sorrento
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Siponto
Nazareth
Trani
Bari
Durazzo
Conza
Acerenza
Brindisi

CHAP. XXX

Frederic II, which gave to the Church the support of royal officials in dealing with heretics. The Church had long striven to get this aid, and finally the kings had thought it wise to yield to the pressure. The other was the founding of the mendicant orders, which furnished agents of ability, impartiality, and zeal to carry out the papal decrees. The papal inquisition was gradually evolved, in part with the assistance of the bishops, from the procedure that the bishops had used to seek out heretics; in part by new enactments that eventually made the inquisitors the special papal legates in matters of heresy. But the inquisition did not attain its full development in the period to which this chapter is limited.

Before the crusade zealous churchmen had attempted to win back the heretics by persuasion and by preaching the true faith. These efforts never ceased, although during the fighting they were usually of little effect. In 1207 one of the Waldensian leaders in Aragon, Duran de Huesca, had taken part in a disputation concerning the faith, and had been converted from heresy. He, in turn, was anxious to convert others, and founded an order devoted to poverty and good works. Innocent III approved of his plan, and he soon had many followers. They called themselves "Poor Catholics," and practised asceticism. They devoted themselves to preaching, caring for the poor, and helping the sick. The idea spread rapidly, and by 1209 six branches of the order had been established. But, in spite of the pope's support, their work was hindered by the opposition of the clergy and by the spread of intolerance among the crusaders, who preferred to exterminate the heretics rather than convert them. After a few years of work the "Poor Catholics" were no longer prominent. But the spirit that actuated them was destined to bear fruit in the great mendicant orders.

"Poor Catholics"

Among the preachers who were active in Languedoc in the early years of the thirteenth century was Dominic. He was born in Spain in 1170, and had studied for ten years at Palencia in preparation for the priesthood. He chanced to accompany his bishop to Languedoc, and soon began to preach in an attempt to convert the heretics. Of his labors we know comparatively little. It is significant that all the miracles related to have been wrought by him were beneficent ones. Dante's characterization of him summarizes the general opinion:

Dominic

> Therein the zealous lover was revealed
> Of Christ's true faith, the athlete consecrate,
> Kind to her friends, to those who hate her steeled.

He established, with the aid of the bishop of Toulouse, a mon-

CHAP. XXX

astery for women at Prouille, where converted heretics might find shelter and "poor girls of gentle blood" might receive an education. This was soon richly endowed. Dominic went to the Fourth Lateran Council and in 1216 obtained from Honorius III recognition of the fraternity that he had established. At that time there were only sixteen members, but they were picked men from different countries Six of them were Spaniards; with these were associated not only men from Toulouse, Provence, and Navarre, but also men from England, Normandy, Northern France, and Lorraine.

Dominicans

Dominic and his associates adopted the rule of the canons regular of St. Augustine. They took the name of "Preaching Friars," which Innocent had used in speaking of them. This name denotes their ideals. They were to preach, and, in order to be able to do this, to devote themselves to study, they were to be friars, not monks; to live, not secluded in a convent, but in the busy haunts of men; the world was to be their cloister. In 1217 Dominic sent them forth on their mission. He said: "You are still a little flock, but already I have formed in my heart the project of dispersing you abroad. You will no longer abide in the sanctuary of Prouille. The world henceforth is your home, and the work God has created for you is teaching and preaching. Go you, therefore, into the whole world, and teach all nations. Preach to them the glad tidings of their redemption. Have confidence in God, for the field of your labors will one day widen to the uttermost ends of the earth." Accordingly some went to Spain, some to Paris, and some to Bologna Their success was very rapid. Four years later, when Dominic died, the order was organized into eight provinces — Spain, Provence, France, England, Germany, Hungary, Lombardy, and Romagnuola, and had sixty convents. It had adopted the vow of poverty and had become a mendicant order.

Activities

The Dominicans' special sphere of activity was in the university towns. They were noted for their learning; and Dominican masters, or professors, in spite of opposition, were soon teaching at Paris, Oxford, Cologne, Montpellier, Bologna, and Toulouse. Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas were their most illustrious scholars; Vincent of Beauvais, another Dominican, wrote the thirteenth-century encyclopedia. It was chiefly because of their learning that the inquisition eventually came to be under their control.

Francis of Assisi was younger than Dominic, since he was born in 1182. He was the son of a rich merchant, and as a youth led a joyous life. As a result of a dangerous illness he

was converted when he was about twenty. Henceforth he devoted himself to poverty and charity. Other men of like mind gathered about him until there were twelve in all. Then they sought the pope at the Lateran Council, in 1215, to have their undertaking confirmed. They fared better than the Poor Men of Lyons had done, and the "Minorites," or "Friars Minor," as they called themselves in their humility, were allowed to begin their work. From the first, Francis insisted upon absolute poverty. The brethren were to labor with their hands, but were not to receive wages in money. They were to take no thought for the morrow, and to give to the poor all that was not absolutely necessary for the day. The rule orders: "The brethren shall appropriate to themselves nothing, neither house, nor place, nor other thing, but shall live in the world as strangers and pilgrims, and shall go confidently after alms. In this they shall feel no shame, since the Lord for our sake made himself poor in the world. It is this perfection of poverty which has made you, dearest brethren, heirs and kings of the kingdom of heaven. Having this, you should wish to have nought else under heaven."

Friars Minor

The success of the order was due to the spirit of Francis, which many of his earliest followers imbibed. He tried to follow the precepts of Christ and to imitate His life; he delighted in sacrifice for the poor, and especially for the lepers, who were the outcasts of society. He loved all created things. He was always gay and at times even playful. Brother Juniper he named "the plaything of Jesus Christ"; the brethren, "the Lord's jugglers."[1] "Is it not in fact true," he said, "that the servants of God are really like jugglers, intended to revive the hearts of men and to lead them to spiritual joy?" He was patient and humble, yet he "possessed an original and well-balanced mind, extraordinary common sense, an iron will, and indomitable courage." In his youth he had wished to be a knight or troubadour: after his conversion he adopted "My Lady Poverty" as his mistress, and sang her praises. He was very eloquent and by his preaching swayed men to do his will. Of all the medieval saints he was probably the one who would seem least out of place in the twentieth century.

Success

The growth of the order was astonishingly rapid. It soon spread throughout the civilized world and numbered its members by the thousands. Its spirit was different from that of the Dominicans, and the difference was emphasized by the lapse of years. Yet at first the two mendicant orders were very similar

Growth of the Order

[1] *Joculatores,* here and elsewhere translated as jugglers, is an inclusive term for entertainers, players, showmen, acrobats, gleemen.

CHAP. XXX

in many respects, and were equally popular. "Wandering onward over the face of Europe, under burning suns or chilling blasts, rejecting alms in money, but receiving thankfully whatever coarse food might be set before the wayfarer, or enduring hunger in silent resignation, taking no thought for the morrow, but busied eternally in the work of snatching souls from Satan and lifting men up from the sordid cares of daily life, of ministering to their infirmities and of showing to their darkened souls a glimpse of heavenly light — such was the aspect in which the earliest Dominicans and Franciscans presented themselves to the eyes of men." Naturally, the people held them in veneration and were anxious to give them great gifts. Many men and women wanted to join one or the other of the two orders. Both the Franciscans and the Dominicans established monasteries for women, and in addition each had connected with it an organization of the laity by which men and women, while continuing their activities in the world, might be associated with the order and to some extent be under its discipline and protection. The Franciscan association was known as the "Brothers and Sisters of Penitence" or as the "Tertiary Order of Minorites"; the Dominicans as the "Militia of Jesus Christ." Many persons of all ranks and ages eagerly enrolled themselves as members. St. Louis of France was a tertiary of St. Francis.

Missionary Work

The mendicants also engaged in missionary work among the heathens and among the schismatic Christians in the East. Francis himself went to Syria to convert the sultan of Babylon, but without success. The Dominicans were successful in converting the Jacobites to the orthodox Catholic faith, and a Franciscan baptized the khan of Tartary. One of the kings of Armenia became "Friar John." Ninety Dominicans suffered martyrdom at the hands of followers of Genghis Khan. In 1258 the pope addressed a bull to the Franciscans "in the lands of the Saracens, Pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans, Ethiopians, Syrians, Iberians, Alans, Cathari, Goths, Zichori, Russians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Indians, Muscovites, Tartars, Hungarians, and the missionaries to the Christian captives among the Turks." The wonderful missionary work of the Dominicans in America, in Japan and in China, and in many other parts of the world, was a continuation of the activity of their early years.

Special Privileges

The members of the two orders were highly privileged. In 1227 the pope had given them the right to preach, hear confessions, and grant absolution in any parish. A few years later they were made entirely independent of the regular hierarchy.

CHAP. XXX

These privileges provoked much opposition from the bishops and priests, who found in the mendicants dangerous rivals. Their parishioners often preferred mendicants as confessors, and the priests found both their prestige and their revenue diminished; for the early friars won the hearts of all but the priests by their eloquence, by their care for the wretched, and by their exemplary lives. Consequently the opposition of the bishops and priests, and even of the older monastic orders, sometimes became very bitter. But the opposition was in vain as long as the mendicants retained their primitive purity.

Decline of the Orders

Even before Francis died he is said to have predicted divisions within his order because some would not follow the rule of poverty. Soon a distinction was made between the poverty of the individual members and the wealth that was permissible for the communities as a whole. Those who clung to the ideas of Francis were in the minority, and in 1257 Bonaventura, the general of the order, felt it necessary to utter a warning against the greed, idleness, and other vices that had become so prevalent. But some kept to the path shown by Francis, and the founding of the order had led to a real awakening. Francis and his followers had emphasized the dignity of manual labor, the duty of Christians to care for those in want, and the need for reform in the lives of the clergy.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE UNIVERSITIES

CHAP. XXXI

"Grammar"

IN the twelfth century the abbot Guibert wrote: "I see villages and towns fairly burn with eagerness in the study of grammar." Grammar, as he uses the word, included the study of the Latin poets and historians and the art of correct speaking and writing. Chartres was the most important center for this subject, and John of Salisbury, who had been a pupil of Abelard, was the foremost teacher. Yet, in spite of Guibert's statement, John found it necessary to write a treatise in defense of the classics against those who were urging the claims of more practical studies. The arguments used by each side have an interesting resemblance to those with which we have become so familiar in recent times.

Dialectics

The greatest rival of grammar in the schools was dialectics, in the study of which Abelard became famous. As handled by such a master it was believed by many to be the means by which all learning might be mastered. Its popularity was greatly enhanced by the acquisition of writings of Aristotle, which had been unknown in the west of Europe. The interest in this new material for study was intense and the admiration for the author so great that he was generally styled "the philosopher."

Law

A second rival, and in some places a more dangerous one, was the study of law. Roman law was taught in the eleventh century at several schools in southern France and Italy; possibly the most important center for its teaching was Ravenna, where the teachers were on the emperor's side in the investiture struggle. To counteract their influence the countess Matilda wished to establish a school that would take the papal side. Irnerius, her protégé, began to lecture at Bologna on the Pandects toward the close of the eleventh century. He applied the dialectical method to the exposition of the Corpus, and endeavored to secure a better text and to interpret it literally. He had great success, and students flocked to hear him, just as a little later students gathered at Paris to hear Abelard.

The students who were not natives of the city were exposed

to many dangers and disadvantages, both while traveling and while residing at Bologna or Paris or any other place. They had to have supplies sent from home, and their messengers were often robbed. If any dispute occurred between them and a citizen, the latter had the advantage in the local court. In 1158, Frederic I granted a privilege "to all scholars who traveled for the sake of study, and especially to the professors of divine and sacred laws. . . . They may go in safety," he said, "to the places in which the studies are carried on, both they themselves and their messengers, and may dwell there in security. . . . In the future no one shall be so rash as to venture to inflict any injury on scholars or to occasion any loss to them on account of a debt owed by an inhabitant of their province. . . . If any one shall presume to bring a suit against them on account of any business, the choice in this matter shall be given to the scholars, who may summon the accusers to appear before their professors or the bishop of the city, to whom we have given jurisdiction in this matter." The last was especially important, as the penalties in the ecclesiastical courts were very light in comparison with those inflicted by lay courts.

Privilege by Frederic I

In the year 1200 Philip Augustus gave a similar privilege to the students at Paris. The grant was the outcome of a riot, followed by a fight between the students and the king's troops, in which the students had been defeated and some had been killed. They were greatly dissatisfied, and there was a probability that they would go elsewhere and that the schools would be deserted. Consequently Philip Augustus condemned his own official, who had put down the trouble, and gave the students full guarantees for the future. The most important privilege that he granted was freedom from arrest by royal officials unless a serious crime had been committed; in that case a student might be arrested but should immediately be handed over to an ecclesiastical judge. The chattels of the students were not to be confiscated in any case.

Privilege from Philip Augustus

In 1231 Pope Gregory IX published a statute that was looked upon as the Magna Carta of the University of Paris. The members of the university were granted the right of making "constitutions and ordinances regulating the manner and time of lectures and disputations, the costume to be worn, the burial of the dead; and also concerning the bachelors, who are to lecture and at what hours, and on what they are to lecture; and concerning the prices of the lodgings or the interdiction of the same; and concerning a fit punishment for those who violate your constitutions or ordinances, by exclusion from your society." "If the

Privilege from Gregory IX

CHAP. XXXI

assessment of the lodgings is taken from you," the pope wrote, "or anything else is lacking, or an injury or outrageous damage, such as death or the mutilation of a limb, is inflicted on one of you, unless through a suitable admonition satisfaction is rendered within fifteen days, you may suspend your lectures until you have received full satisfaction. And if it happens that any one of you is unlawfully imprisoned, unless the injury ceases on a remonstrance from you, you may, if you judge it expedient, suspend your lectures immediately."

Right of Migration

The last point deserves emphasis. By it the right of migration was recognized; that is, if the members of the university felt aggrieved they could leave the city and go elsewhere. It was very easy for them to remove to another city, because the university had no buildings. All lectures were delivered in hired rooms. This custom of migration caused the rise of many new universities. Oxford received a great impetus by reason of the trouble of which the great charter of Gregory IX was the outcome, as of the students who left Paris in 1229 many had gone to Oxford. Later Oxford, in turn, was to suffer from a similar migration. Several Italian universities were founded by such withdrawals of students from Bologna during the thirteenth century.

Armed with these privileges, schools developed their organization rapidly. But the term university was not used for them until much later; it meant originally "the members" of any group, and was applied indifferently to a learned corporation, a gild of artisans, soldiers on a crusade, or any other collective body; the restriction of it in later times to a particular kind of corporation was a mere accident. The original term for an academic institution was *studium,* qualified usually by *generale* or some similar adjective. The addition of *generale* meant that students from other countries were received. Owing to the special privileges granted to such *studia,* a more exact definition became necessary. According to Rashdall, three characteristics were connoted by the term at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century: first, as above, that it should receive, or at least invite, students from all parts; second, that it should contain one at least of the higher faculties; third, that there should be a plurality of masters.

Studium Generale

Two Kinds of Universities

A university originally might be composed of the masters of arts, as at Paris, or of the students, as at Bologna. The masters at Paris formed themselves into a corporation similar to the gilds of artisans. Given the organizing spirit of the twelfth century, this was to be expected. The rise of the university of students may need more explanation. It arose at Bologna from the need

felt by foreign students of association for protection. It was recognized by the municipal authorities, since it was in line with their previous ideas of legal rights and since it also afforded some kind of police control over the unruly students. The professors at Bologna had felt no need of forming an organization. It is significant for an understanding of this corporation of students that, although a native of Bologna was free to attend lectures, he was not allowed to join the university. The students assumed more and more rights until they dictated to the professors, even regarding the subjects they were to teach, the pay they were to receive, and the costumes they were to wear.

Nations

The government of a *studium* was in the hands of a double organization — the nations and the faculties. Students from the same country naturally came together for mutual protection and society. The English students at Paris would form a club. Those who came from a country that had only a few students at the *studium* affiliated themselves with others in like position. Gradually these associations grouped themselves together into a larger or smaller number of "nations." At Paris there were four: "the honorable nation of the Gauls," "the venerable nation of the Normans," "the very faithful nation of the Picards," "the very constant nation of the English." Each was subdivided into provinces, and in a "province" might be included men from many lands; e. g., in the province of Bourges were the Berrichon, Spanish, Italian, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, and Armenian students who might be studying at Paris. At Bologna there were more "nations" than at Paris. Each one of the four at Paris had its own organization and had a key to one of the four locks of the chest that held the university funds, when there were any. The chest could be opened only when representatives of all four nations were present, so that each one of the locks could be unlocked.

Faculties

The faculties varied in the different universities. At Paris there were faculties of liberal arts, theology, medicine, and law; and the same was true of some of the other universities. The importance of the faculties varied at the different universities. In the government of each university, however, the faculty of arts was apt to be the strongest, because a student had to become a master in arts before he could proceed to further study. When he received the mastership he had to take an oath to obey the decrees of the faculty of arts. Consequently that faculty was usually able to control the university. But within the faculty of arts the nations had full control. Usually a rector was elected as the head of the university; in a university of masters, as at

CHAP. XXXI

Paris, he would be a master; in a university of students, as at Bologna, he would be a student. Generally the term of office was short, but the power great; for the time being he represented the university.

The Faculty of Arts

A student had to begin with the course in liberal arts. There were no entrance examinations, but it was necessary to know Latin, the language in which the lectures were given. A student might be of any age; probably most of them were very young, because, according to the statutes, it was necessary to study for at least six years before becoming a master, and no one could be a master before he was twenty. Logic was the principal study prescribed for those who wished for a license to teach Not one classical author, except Aristotle, was included in the list of required subjects. But the Latin classics were taught and studied at Paris in the first third of the thirteenth century, after that they seem to have been entirely supplanted by the subjects that were considered more practical. The study of a subject that was not prescribed was possible, because the required studies would take only part of the time of a diligent student. Such a student probably attended three lectures a day, each two hours in length. Unless he was wealthy he would not be able to afford to buy parchment on which to take notes, and consequently would be obliged to attempt to memorize the lectures.

When he had studied the required length of time he would go to the chancellor to get permission to be examined. It is probable that the examinations were not a farce, because each student had to take an oath that if he failed in the examinations he would not use a dagger or a knife on the examiner. If successful he might be enrolled in the gild of masters, and he had to promise that he would lecture for at least two years, "unless he was prevented by some good reason." Many never lectured at all, because they were engaged in study in one of the other faculties. Paris was especially noted for its training in the liberal arts, and later Oxford, which owed its importance very largely to the influx of students who came from Paris in 1229, also came to be known for its study of the liberal arts.

The Faculty of Law

Although the study of Roman law was for a time prohibited at Paris, it was carried on with the study of canon law, and seems to have been the more popular of the two. It furnished a ready means of earning a living in the service of some monarch. Some students aspired to the mastery of both the Roman and the canon law; it is significant that our common honorary degree to-day is LL.D. or J.U.D. — Doctor of Laws or Doctor of Both Laws. The canon law was also in high favor at Paris, and second only to

the Roman law. Many students in the law faculty, however, did not aspire to proficiency in the laws themselves, but were content with the more humble but lucrative study of the *ars dictaminis*, or *ars notaria*. This was the form the study of rhetoric had taken, and the *ars dictaminis* may be styled the complete art of letter-writing. At Bologna, in particular, this was a favorite study, and the models used for letters were drawn chiefly from the writings sent out from the papal curia and the imperial chancery. Hence a knowledge of this art was especially useful in law matters and came to be known as the *ars notaria*. Skill in this branch of knowledge fitted a man for a lucrative profession. Bologna was the chief center for law studies, and was probably the first school that can properly be called a university. North of the Alps, Orleans was the most important law school.

The Faculty of Medicine

At the University of Paris the course in medicine was five and a half or six years in length. The text-books were either of Greek or Arabic origin, and Galen was the most famous of the authorities. Students were expected to listen at least three times to the most important of the books. There was little if any dissection of the human body practised in the thirteenth century, and knowledge of human anatomy was gained from text-books or from the study of the anatomy of animals, especially of pigs. "The year 1300 is almost exactly the date for which we have the first definite evidence of the making of [human] dissections, and the gradual development of anatomical investigation by this means in connection with the Italian universities." In the earlier centuries Salerno had been the chief center for medical studies and had numbered among its teachers many noted Mohammedan scholars. It continued to be important after Frederic II had incorporated it with the University of Naples, which he established in 1224. A few years later Frederic II issued a law regulating the practice of medicine in his kingdom of Sicily. This law required that a student, after a general training for three years must study medicine and surgery for three years, must practise under the guidance of an experienced physician, and must have a certificate that he had studied the anatomy of the human body, before he could obtain a license to practise independently. Montpellier was the most noted medical school north of the Alps. But medicine was a very popular study at other universities, because its practitioners could amass large fortunes. As one of the advocates of the liberal arts, who disliked the attention paid to medicine, wrote: "With the copper and silver which they receive for their poisons, they build them fine houses in Paris"; "she [i.e., chirurgery] has such bold hands that she

CHAP. XXXI

spares no one from whom she may be able to get money"

The Faculty of Theology

In the faculty of theology the book that was most studied was Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*. This received far greater attention than the Scriptures. The course lasted for eight years at the University of Paris, and early in the fourteenth century it was extended to fourteen years. A candidate for the doctorate had to be at least thirty-five years of age. While theology is commonly spoken of as the "queen of the sciences" and the seven liberal arts are termed its handmaidens, the faculties of theology did not enroll a very large number of students in the thirteenth century. Both law and medicine were more popular. A reputation as a canon lawyer might lead to advancement in the Church quite as rapidly as proficiency in theology Paris was the great center for the study of theology.

Study of Science

Many students never aspired to become masters Many preferred studies not included in the required curriculum. During the thirteenth century the sciences were probably the favorite subjects. They were usually called mathematics because they were all included in the quadrivium under either geometry or astronomy. These subjects were frowned upon by many of the clergy, and even Abelard called them "nefarious." John of Salisbury said, "mathematicians rashly predict the future"; and "the trivium discloses the secrets of discourse, the quadrivium discloses the secrets of nature." For this reason, the desire "to scrutinize the bosom of nature in its innermost recesses," men studied the sciences. The black art, which was thought of as a branch of mathematics, was taught by adepts from Toledo and Naples. Early in the thirteenth century Aristotle's *Natural Philosophy* was proscribed at the University of Paris, but in 1229 it was allowed to be read at the University of Toulouse and in 1254 it was prescribed in the course in the liberal arts at Paris. Many of Aristotle's writings on scientific subjects came to be known in the West by the middle of the thirteenth century, partly through Arabic translations, partly through translations from the Greek originals It seems probable that some were brought back after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Devotion to the sciences was condemned by some of the more strict churchmen, but in vain. The students believed that they could master the secrets of nature and they found in the writings of Aristotle a plausible explanation for many of the subjects in which they were most interested and which they most frequently discussed.

Each student was supposed to have a regular master under whom he studied. But he was left almost entirely to his own

devices and there was little or no discipline. Many students were poor, and it was considered a charitable work to furnish them with food and lodging during their course of study. In order to do this colleges were founded The most noted was the Sorbonne, founded by Robert of Sorbon about 1257. This was a building where the students roomed and had their meals and were under the charge of a master. The students recited their lessons to the master, dined in common, and formed a compact body. The number was restricted to sixteen, who must be masters in arts studying theology. This foundation suited the needs of the times, so elsewhere others followed the example of Robert, and colleges were soon established at all of the leading universities. In most the colleges have disappeared, but the ideal is still preserved in part at Oxford.

Colleges

As there was no discipline maintained for the mass of students, and as they lived wherever they pleased and did as they pleased, the students formed an unruly body. They were not required to attend any lectures. Many of them never took an examination, as there was none except for the license to teach. They were of all ages from twelve to sixty or more They were from all ranks of society; and those who were noblemen brought in their train numerous retainers. Men from the different nations frequently engaged in battle "They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various sects or about some discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds, and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another. They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; the sons of France proud, effeminate, and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians were considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reputed to be fickle and changeable, and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, vicious, and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent, and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical and cruel; the inhabitants of Brabant, men of blood, incendiaries, brigands, and ravishers; the Flemish, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults from words they often came to blows."

Disorders

The students at Paris lived together on the left bank of the Seine, which came to be known as the "Latin quarter." There was great solidarity among the whole body, even if the students from different countries fought among themselves. When there

CHAP. XXXI

was a town-and-gown row, all the students made common cause against the citizens. The latter tolerated and even welcomed the students to the city, because of the money that the students spent; but they never liked them. The students took advantage of their privileges and were often guilty of great excesses. They were impatient of all authority. The documents in the *Chartularium* show that the students were often extremely irreverent. In 1274 masters at the University of Paris had to issue a decree ordering that no student should shake dice on an altar in Notre-Dame while mass was being celebrated. As the masters said in explanation of their action, the custom of dice-shaking on the altar seemed to indicate some heretical pravity.

License

The question of heresy was an important one in the university. In their disputations the students frequently discussed heretical propositions. From time to time the masters were compelled to make a list of certain theses that could not be discussed; but these were discussed in spite of the repeated enactments Among the errors that were condemned, students were ordered not to debate upon such statements as that "there never was a creation or a first man"; that "all sin is not forbidden"; that "there is no more blessed state than the study of philosophy"; that "all things done on this earth are governed by the heavenly bodies"; that "the world is eternal"; that "matter can not be created."

Errors

Very many of the errors were drawn from the writings of Aristotle. But while some were led away by a study of the works of "the Philosopher," others sought to reconcile the Aristotelian doctrine with the orthodox teachings of the Church. The most noted scholars engaged in this task were two Dominicans, Albert the Great and his pupil, Thomas Aquinas. Each of these men did his most important teaching at Paris, during the reign of St. Louis. Albert attempted to rework the material in Aristotle's writings so that it would be useful to Christians, and to correct it so that it would conform to the dogmas of the Church. Thomas continued Albert's work, seeking to find the literal meaning in Aristotle's writings and, wherever possible, to show that it was not in contradiction to Christian dogma. At times even Thomas found this impossible and was forced to condemn some of the opinions held by "the Philosopher." The *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas is the most important theological work of the Middle Ages, and is still held in the highest honor. Pope Leo XIII wrote in 1899: "Is it necessary to add that the book par excellence in which students may with most profit study scholastic theology is the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas?"

Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas

Roger Bacon

From Aristotle, too, came much of the inspiration for the study of the sciences. Of these branches Roger Bacon, a Franciscan, stands out as the most conspicuous representative during the Middle Ages. Very unjustly, his reputation has almost eclipsed that of all the other scholars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who were interested in the natural sciences, although in the latter century there were many such students at the University of Paris. In praise of one, Peter of Maricourt, Bacon wrote: "What others strive to see dimly and blindly, like bats in twilight, he gazes at in the full light of day, because he is a master of experiment. . . . If philosophy is to be carried to its perfection and is to be handled with utility and certainty, his aid is indispensable. As for reward, he neither receives nor seeks it. If he frequented kings and princes, he would easily find those who would bestow on him honor and wealth. Or, if in Paris he would display the results of his researches, the whole world would follow him. But since either of these courses would hinder him from pursuing the great experiments in which he delights, he puts honor and wealth aside." In his writings Bacon insists that truth can be obtained only by observation and experiment. He says: "Experimental science controls the conclusions of all the other sciences; it reveals truths which reasoning from general principles would never have discovered; finally, it starts us on the way to marvelous inventions which will change the face of the world." Bacon's most important works, the *Opus Majus, Opus Minus,* and *Opus Tertium,* were written at the request of the pope. It is interesting to note that Bacon says: "I confess that there are several men who can present to your wisdom in a better way than I can these very subjects of which I treat" In fact, Bacon was not an isolated genius, but one of a considerable number of scholars who were trying to discover "the secrets of nature."

Spirit of Students

The interest in the natural sciences was one indication of the spirit that prevailed in the thirteenth-century universities. Cardinal Jacques de Vitry, in his harsh criticism of the students, charges that "almost all the students at Paris desire to learn or hear something new." This desire caused thousands of young men from all parts of Europe to undergo hardships and dangers in order to be students. Universities sprang up rapidly in Italy, France, England, and Spain. The numbers at these universities can not be ascertained accurately. One contemporary states that there were thirty thousand at Paris. Rashdall thinks that there may have been as many as six or seven thousand at Paris and Bologna; from fifteen hundred to three thousand at

CHAP. XXXI

Oxford; two thousand at Toulouse; and fewer at the other universities.

Popes and Universities

It was very important for the Church to have the support of these universities. The popes placed them directly under papal control wherever possible, and vied with the kings in granting them privileges. They freed them from the control of the chancellor, ordering him to grant to all competent candidates the license to teach. They favored the students even against the bishops. All students north of the Alps were considered members of the clergy, and many of them looked forward to careers in the Church; some rose to the highest ranks, as bishops, cardinals, and popes.

Student Songs

Yet in their songs the students criticized the Church and its officials in the harshest manner. No rank was safe from their gibes. They described the pope and the cardinals as greedy for gold. They ridiculed the monks. Many of their songs are too irreverent to be quoted here. Their parodies of the gospels were outrageous in thought and language. Here, too, the students showed the same license as in their deeds. The songs also portray their favorite amusements. Many have wine as their theme. Drinking was universal even among the "good boys" for whom Robert of Sorbon founded his college. No feast or other celebration took place without a great deal of wine-drinking. The students had none of the amusements and sports that are now common among students, and their free time was spent mainly in fighting, drinking, or wandering about the country. The wandering students formed a very large proportion of the whole number in summer-time. Frequently the courses were planned so as to close at Easter-time, when the weather became warm enough to enjoy life out of doors. Then the students left their unheated damp lodgings, where they had been herded together, and took to the open road. Their songs depict their delight in the month of May and in the country. They sang blithely of the dance on the village green, of the shepherdesses, of the joy and zest in the life of a goliard, or wandering student.

CHAPTER XXXII

INNOCENT III AND THE CHURCH

Weakness of the Papacy

BEFORE Innocent III was elected, the temporal power of the papacy had been almost completely destroyed. The author of the *Gesta* of Innocent says that the emperor Henry VI "had taken possession of the whole Kingdom of Sicily and the whole patrimony of the Church up to the gates of the city, except the Campagna, and even in the city he was more obeyed than the pope himself." The prefect of Rome had become an imperial vassal. The people of the city had asserted their independence of the pope. After Henry's death the more distant portions of what had been the papal states were held by German counts, who had received them as fiefs. The environs of the city were held either by the local nobles or by the senate elected by the people. In addition, the papal treasury was sadly depleted.

A strong pope was needed, and was found in the person of Lothario Conti. He belonged to one of the most distinguished Roman families and had received an excellent education. He had studied "letters" at Paris and then had gone to Bologna to study law. He was, according to the *Gesta,* "eloquent both in the language of the people and in that of the learned, and skilled in music and singing" When he was only twenty-nine he was made a cardinal. While holding this office he wrote his work *On the Contempt of the World,* or, as it is entitled in the first English edition, *The Mirror of Man's Lyfe, plainly describing what weake mould we are made of.* This book was long popular, and was translated into several languages; but it does not represent the dominant side of Lothario's nature. Later he expressed his own preference when he said, "If the contemplative state is safer, the active is more fruitful; if the former is sweeter, the latter is more profitable. In fertility of offspring the blear-eyed Leah excelled the comely Rachel." On the death of Celestine III, Lothario, although only thirty-seven years of age, was elected pope, and took the name of Innocent III.

Election of Innocent

When crowning Innocent as pope, the archdeacon said, "Take the tiara, and know that thou art the father of princes and kings,

CHAP. XXXII

Innocent's Ideas

the ruler of the world, the vicar on earth of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, whose honor and glory shall endure through all eternity." This formula was a part of the regular ceremony, but Innocent intended to make the facts correspond to the formula. In his letter announcing his accession to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Innocent wrote that God had caused him "to obtain the most glorious possession to be found among men, the throne of Peter" In other letters he said: "The Lord gave Peter the rule not only over the universal Church, but also the rule over the whole world." "No king can reign rightly unless he devoutly serves Christ's vicar." "The priesthood is the sun, the kingdom the moon. Kings rule over their respective kingdoms, but Peter rules over the whole earth." Many another similar expression might be quoted from Innocent's letters.

States of the Church

The pope's first care was to regain control over the states of the Church; for, as he said, "the patrimony of blessed Peter was his portion, his desirable and magnificent heritage." Immediately after his coronation he forced the imperial prefect of Rome to take the oath of vassalage to him. Then he gradually regained one strong place in the patrimony after another, so that within two years he was recognized as the overlord in the states of the Church as these had been described in the *Donation of Pippin*. But his rule was never fully effective in some parts, and he had to lay an interdict on more than one city to reduce it to obedience. He owed his success partly to his own indomitable energy and partly to the revolt of the Italian population against the German lords whom Henry VI had set over them. Innocent was able to gain much power as the champion of Italian independence. On the news of Henry's death there had been a general rising against his men, so that even his brother Philip had been compelled to flee to save his life.

Innocent and the Empire

Philip was elected emperor, but only by the Ghibellines. The Guelfs elected Otto, son of Henry the Lion. This contested election gave Innocent an opportunity to act as arbiter. Each contestant was anxious to gain his support. For three years Innocent delayed making a decision; then he decided in favor of Otto. The latter had renounced all imperial claims to the patrimony of St. Peter. The papal states, with the boundaries then agreed upon, remained practically unchanged for more than six hundred years Innocent now did all in his power to support Otto; but gradually the Germans turned to Philip, and Otto steadily lost adherents. After Philip had been murdered by a private enemy in 1208, Otto married Philip's daughter and secured recognition as his successor. He was crowned emperor

by the pope, but refused to keep his promises; and Innocent, as has been related already, turned to his ward, Frederic II, who soon secured the empire. Here we need only recall that Frederic's lack of success as emperor was due mainly to the leagues of Italian cities, which Innocent had done so much to encourage.

Innocent and the Kings

Innocent lost no opportunity to exert his power over the other kings. We have already described the manner in which Philip Augustus, the most powerful monarch in Europe, was disciplined by the pope [1] In this case Innocent acted because Philip had violated the marriage sacrament. John of England was excommunicated and finally compelled to become a vassal of the pope. [2] Peter of Aragon came to Rome to be crowned, and made his land a perpetual fief of the Holy See. Sancho of Portugal was forced to place his kingdom under the papal overlordship. Alfonso of Leon was compelled to break off a marriage with his cousin. The rulers of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Denmark were submissive to the pope. In the East the Latin emperors of Constantinople and the king of Armenia sought his aid. Finally, it must be remembered that Sicily had long been held as a fief from the papacy.

Innocent and the City of Rome

While Innocent was exercising so great power throughout the Christian world, he was having trouble in Rome. When he was first elected pope the rule over the municipality was exercised by a senator, who represented the people. Innocent succeeded in getting the right to nominate the senator, and the latter took an oath to be faithful to him It is significant of the conditions in Rome that the senator, in his oath to the pope, swore "to guarantee to the cardinals, to their following and to thine, perfect security when they go to church, while they remain there, and on their return." But in Rome there was constant strife between the papal adherents and their opponents. Twice, at least, Innocent was forced to flee from the city. It was not until after he had been pope for ten years that he was able to live in security in the city of Rome.

Innocent's Work

Innocent made the papacy stronger than it had ever been before, and his reign, from 1198 to 1216, marks the apogee of its temporal power. We may take this opportunity to summarize his work, which has been described in this and the preceding chapters. Innocent had restored the temporal authority of the Holy See in the patrimony, and had secured full recognition of his rights from the emperors, so that he is sometimes called "the founder of the papal states." He had encouraged and

[1] See Chapter XXIII.
[2] See Chapter XXII.

CHAP. XXXII

upheld the leagues of Italian cities. He had acted as arbiter between rival candidates for thrones, and had made monarchs his vassals. He had suppressed heresy in the south of France, by means of the Albigensian crusade. He had commissioned and favored Francis and Dominic, whose followers were to be so influential in the service of the Church. He had seen the submission of the Eastern empire to the Roman Church, as a result of the Fourth Crusade. He had, through his legate, reformed the course of study in the University of Paris There is no space to mention the other activities recorded in his thousands of letters.

The Fourth Lateran Council—1215

In 1213 Innocent wrote to all the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, both in the West and in the Orient, ordering them to come to Rome for a council to be held two and one half years later. He said, "Two things I have especially at heart: the reconquest of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church universal." Accordingly, in November, 1215, an ecumenical council was held in the Lateran. More than four hundred bishops, eight hundred abbots and priors, and a great host both of the clergy and the laity met to do the pope's bidding. Seventy-one primates, including the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, envoys from the emperor Frederic and from the kings of France, England, Aragon, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Cyprus, and representatives of Italian cities, were present "The whole world seemed to be there." The council determined on a new crusade, for which the pope had long been preparing and which he offered to lead in person. The canons that the council enacted covered a wide range of subjects. The Waldensian and Albigensian heresies were condemned, and punishment of all unrepentant heretics was prescribed. In an endeavor to reform the discipline of the Church and the life of its members, the council ordered that the granting of indulgences should be restricted, that bishops should appoint competent men to preach, and should provide free instruction in grammar and theology for poor scholars. It forbade priests to officiate at ordeals or the wager of battle, thus practically prohibiting these two methods of trial, as they were of no effect without the religious sanction. It ordered that Jews and Saracens everywhere should wear a distinctive costume, and that Jews should hold no public office that would give them authority over Christians. Some of the other reforms that it attempted will be mentioned later. This council was the culminating act in Innocent's life. He died the following year.

There was urgent need for the reforms that the council had

attempted. Innocent's letters and acts are the best testimony to this. He did all in his power to stop the exaction of bribes in the papal curia and to expedite justice. He took personal cognizance of the more important cases; and yet, against a high official in the Church, even he was not always able to get justice done. Frequently cases dragged on for years. Jacques de Vitry, in describing the members of the curia, says: "All were so taken up with worldly and temporal affairs, with kings and kingdoms, lawsuits and quarrels, that they would scarcely permit a word on spiritual matters." This was just after Innocent's death. Many of the officials did not share Innocent's zeal for reform, as they looked upon an office in the curia merely as a means of earning a living. This is illustrated by the action of the council in prohibiting the extortions that the papal legates had been practising. Under weaker or less conscientious popes the conditions were extremely bad. The curia became notorious for its venality and chicanery

Need of Reform

There were always devout bishops, and it would be easy to draw up a roll of honor that would include many a humble Christian and many an earnest reformer. Yet these did not form the majority, and their efforts were too frequently in vain. The power and wealth that a bishopric conferred caused the office to be sought by ambitious and worldly men. Innocent's characterization of the archbishop of Narbonne has already been quoted. The pope's letters refer to a number of other wicked bishops. At the beginning of Innocent's reign the archbishop of Besançon was accused by his chapter of perjury, simony, and incest, and the charges were apparently true. Yet he retained his bishopric for sixteen years, until he was driven out by the indignant citizens. In 1202 the chapter of the cathedral at Toul appealed to Innocent to depose their bishop. This was accomplished only after eight years, during which the bishop led a life of debauchery and incest. Any one who is curious to learn the depths of iniquity to which these and other bishops sank can find their crimes eloquently condemned in the pope's letters. The evils that Bernard of Clairvaux had denounced still continued, and the office of a bishop was a by-word not only in the mouths of irreverent students and imperial partisans, but also in the invectives of reformers zealous for the Church's good. Cæsarius of Heisterbach quotes a clerk at Paris as saying, "I can believe everything, but I cannot believe that any German bishop can be saved." Again he quotes a monk: "The state of the Church has already come to this — that it is not worthy to be ruled except by reprobate bishops."

Character of Bishops

CHAP. XXXII

Ecclesiastical Courts

The Lateran council tried to reform the ecclesiastical courts. It ordered that no clerk should extend his jurisdiction to the detriment of a lay tribunal. The confusion between the two kinds of courts has been referred to in preceding chapters. When students and crusaders had been granted the privilege of trial in ecclesiastical courts, these inevitably encroached more and more upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts, and the orders of the council were of no avail. Equally futile was the canon forbidding clerics to take part in any judgment that entailed the shedding of blood, for bishops had their feudal as well as their ecclesiastical courts. An even worse evil was the venality practised in the ecclesiastical courts, which Innocent so often had occasion to rebuke.

Priests

The council tried to reform the priests and to provide for better service. The bishops were to take care that candidates were properly instructed for their duties. The priests were not to throw dice or engage in similar pastimes. Excessive drinking and frequenting of taverns were prohibited. They were to dress fittingly. They were to celebrate mass frequently and reverentially. The wording of the canons show that these orders were necessary, and these reforms the council ordered for all of the clergy, not merely for the priests. One canon shows the lack of success attained by prohibiting marriage of priests, which had been insisted upon for a century and a half; for it ordained that no son, and especially no bastard, of a priest should succeed his father in office.

Office in the Church was too often looked upon as a property right. Any one who had bought a benefice was inclined to exploit it for his own pecuniary advantage. Innocent had declared that "Simony is a disease of the Church which cannot be cured by either mild remedies or fire." The council was especially intent upon mitigating this evil. It recorded the fact that fees were often demanded for the consecration of bishops, the benediction of abbots, and the ordination of clerks. It branded these as simoniacal practices that must cease It stated that simony had taken such deep root in the monasteries for women that, almost without exception, payment was required before a candidate would be allowed to enter; that many of the clergy demanded pay for the sacraments; that in some places it was the custom that money must be paid for absolution from excommunication. It decreed that, if a ban had been laid for the purpose of extorting money, the money must be given back. It renewed the prohibition against "pluralities," which "had had little effect." Its own action was equally ineffective, and clerks continued to strive eagerly to ob-

Simony and Greed

tain as many benefices as they could. The council also endeavored to protect the priests against the greed of patrons and bishops who had appropriated tithes. "In some localities the priests are said to receive only one-quarter of one-quarter of the tithes. Because of this, scarcely an educated priest can be found in those localities." But the council was unable to prevent the alienation of the tithes, and had to be content with ordering that the priest must receive "a fitting portion," so that he might be able to live.

Belief in Relics

The council forbade the sale of relics, and ordered that no new relic should be venerated until it had been approved by the pope. There was need for this action. Relics had been venerated throughout the Middle Ages, and were believed to cure the sick and to heal the maimed. They were used to enhance the binding character of an oath. In fact, they were held to be useful for so many purposes, and so many abuses had crept in, that in 1100 the pope forbade any cleric to carry relics about the country for the sake of gain. A few years later the abbot Guibert wrote a remarkable treatise on relics, questioning the genuineness of some. He tells of a head of John the Baptist in the Orient and another in the West, and says: "It is certain on the one hand that there has been only one St. John the Baptist, and on the other hand that no one can say without sin that one man has been able to have two heads." The whole work is an attack upon the manufacture and abuse of relics; but Guibert felt it necessary to console his readers by the assurance that they did not sin when they unwittingly venerated false relics, and that their prayer, if sincere, would be pleasing to God, even if they were deceived as to the sanctity of the person whose intercession they were seeking. Guibert's satirical treatise had no effect upon the general body of Christians. They sought eagerly to obtain relics, especially for their churches or monasteries, which were often enriched by the possession of a portion of a popular saint.

Relics from Constantinople

The number of relics in western Europe was enormously increased after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Villehardouin said that this city contained more relics than all the rest of the world. For centuries, and especially after the Moslem conquests, art treasures and relics had been carried thither for safety and ornament. The crusaders cared little for the art treasures, but were eager to get the relics. In fact, they were less tempted by the magnificent reliquaries in which these were set than by the relics themselves. The most precious was the true cross, which was divided up among the leaders. The total number of relics acquired at Constantinople cannot be even estimated. One abbot obtained for his church more than sixty; among these was a piece

CHAP. XXXII

of the true cross, twelve other relics from places that Christ had hallowed, two of John the Baptist, relics of four of the apostles and twenty of the martyrs, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the "place where the Lord gave the law to Moses" All of these were carried off surreptitiously by the abbot. Many of the relics taken at Constantinople were sold, and such relics often fell into private hands. For a half century after the sack the influx of relics into western Europe continued. Under these conditions many fraudulent relics could easily find a market in the West, for there was great rivalry in securing such treasures Many sermon stories tell of miracles wrought by relics, even for the ungodly. One tells how two beggars were healed against their will and afterward had to work for their living. Others emphasize the fact that even false relics are efficacious if the owner believes them to be genuine. It is clear that the action of the council had little effect in checking the trade in relics, whether genuine or manufactured

The Eucharist

This council ordered that the Sacred Host must be kept carefully, lest something unfitting happen to it. This order was soon repeated by other councils, and was necessary because superstitious practices had crept in. Some believed, for example, that the Host, dissolved in water, would protect vegetables from destruction by insects. One sermon story tells how a wicked man tried to entice away all the bees from his neighbors by concealing a Host in one of his hives. The bees actually did come to the hive, relates the story, and there they constructed a little church, and "with the greatest reverence they placed the body of our Lord upon the altar." It is interesting to note in passing that the term "transubstantiation" was first used at this council.

The Devil

The first canon contains a creed carefully formulated to express the differences between Christianity and the heresies of the Albigensians and Waldensians. It declares that the Devil and the other demons were good when created, but afterward became evil. The beliefs then current among many Christians attributed power over material things to the Devil. The sermon stories frequently represent him as employed by saints and the Virgin to work miracles, because of his control over the material universe. For instance, he is ordered to transport a knight from India to France before evening; when a monk and a woman had been detected in theft, demons were commanded by the Virgin to assume the form of the monk and the woman, and thus avert a scandal.

The Virgin

The Virgin is not mentioned in the proceedings of the council. This is surprising, for, as Henry Adams says, "the Virgin filled

so enormous a space in the life and thought of the time." "One cannot realize how actual Mary was, to the men and women of the Middle Ages, and how she was present, as a matter of course, whether by way of miracle or as a habit of life, throughout their daily existence." St. Bernard, Abelard, and many another composed hymns in her honor. It would carry us too far afield to attempt to portray the character of the Virgin as the men and women of the twelfth and thirteenth century conceived it. "How passionately they worshiped Mary, the cathedral of Chartres shows; and how this worship elevated the whole sex, all the literature and history of the time proclaim."

Cathedrals

The age of Innocent III stands midway in the great period of church-building. "According to history," as Henry Adams says, "in the single century between 1170 and 1270 the French built eighty cathedrals and nearly five hundred churches of the cathedral class, which would have cost, according to an estimate made in 1840, more than five thousand millions to replace. Five thousand million francs is a thousand million dollars, and this covered only the great churches of a single century" This expenditure was possible because all the people aided; sometimes all actually joined in the work. "Powerful princes of the world, men brought up in honor and in wealth, nobles, men and women, have bent their proud and haughty necks to the harness of the carts, and, like beasts of burden, they have dragged to the abode of Christ these wagons, loaded with wines, grains, oil, stone, wood, and all that is necessary for the wants of life or for the construction of the church. . . . Often a thousand persons and more are attached to the chariots." This same spectacle had been seen when Suger was building the church at St. Denis. More often, all the people contributed toward the cost of the work; for a cathedral was the result of the effort of a whole community, aided by the feudal overlords.

What actuated the citizens was a combination of religious fervor and the popular desire to outdo some neighboring town. Monarchs, rebellious vassals, gilds of artisans, vied with one another in giving to the Church windows of stained glass or other ornaments. In the twelfth century, to be sure, some reformers, like Bernard of Clairvaux, had frowned upon such expenditures for useless ornament, and the Cistercians had built only plain edifices without towers; but Suger in his enthusiasm for building and adorning the church at St. Denis represented the age far more accurately. Sculpture was pressed, or admitted, into service. The magnificent west fronts and portals of many churches were covered with scenes from the Old and

CHAP. XXXII

New Testaments and from the lives of saints and martyrs. A cathedral with its sculpture and windows became for the illiterate man a great Bible where he could read many a story. These churches bear witness to the same spirit that produced the twelfth- and thirteenth-century poetry and the universities. The daring experimentation with arches and buttresses, the imagination and fancy seen in the carving of gargoyles and other quaint forms, show emancipation from the old bonds and a desire for individual expression.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIAN EUROPE

Ommiads in Spain

THE supremacy of the Ommiads in the Spanish peninsula[1] lasted for about three hundred years. During much of the time the rulers were weak and the Moslem dominion was troubled by the struggles of the different factions and peoples among its subjects. Of these, the Arabs and Berbers were mutually hostile; the "Slav" body-guard, which included Slavs, Franks, Lombards, and others, frequently attempted to play the rôle that had been acted by the pretorian guard at Rome; and the conquered Christians were always a possible source of danger. From time to time a strong ruler reestablished order and governed wisely. The tenth century was the period when conditions were best, civilization most advanced, and the people happiest. After the death in 1002 of Almansor, the able prime minister, the Ommiads lost their power, and in place of one caliphate a score of independent governments were set up in Moslem Spain.

Rise of Christian States

At the time of the Arab conquest the whole peninsula had been subdued, except a small tract protected by the mountains in the northwest. According to an Arabic chronicler, nothing remained unconquered except a steep mountain on which "Old Pelayo" had taken refuge with thirty men and ten women. "Would to God that the Moslems had then extinguished the sparks of fire which were fated to consume all the dominions of Islam in those lands!" Gradually the hardy mountaineers were reinforced, and began to make raids, occasionally capturing a town or village. The kingdoms of Leon and Navarre were formed in the northwest. Castile was at first merely the frontier of Leon, defended by the castles from which it took its name; as the conquests extended southward the name Castile marched with them. In the northeast was the country of Barcelona, an outgrowth of the Spanish March of Charles the Great, which had become independent because the later Carolingians were too weak to protect it. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Christians in Spain held only the two kingdoms and the two counties.

[1] See Chapter XIX.

CHAP. XXXIII

Conquests in the Eleventh Century

The weakness of the Mohammedans was an opportunity for the Christians to extend their conquests. At first Navarre was the strongest of the Christian states, but the king, Sancho the Great, 970–1035, used his position to get control over the other Christian states rather than to wage war on the Moslems. Because of his success he received the title of emperor At his death he divided his empire among his sons; one getting Navarre; a second, Castile, now made a kingdom; and the third, the territory which was later to be Aragon. For a time the Christians were occupied in fighting one another, but under

Alfonso

Alfonso VI, 1073-1109, king of Leon and Castile, the conquests from the Moslems were very rapid and were frequently the result of alliances between the Christians and Moslem rulers. Madrid was captured and, in 1085, Toledo. The Mohammedans were profoundly moved by the loss of Toledo and in their despair decided to call to their aid their fellow Moslems in Africa.

The Almoravides

There, a fanatical sect of marabouts, or saints, controlled by Berbers from the Sahara, had set up a new dynasty, generally known as the Almoravides. Their leader, Yusuf, landed in 1086 and in a single battle routed the Castilians. He was hailed as the "Emir of Andalous." Fortunately for the Christian cause, he was soon engaged in strife with the other Moslem rulers in Spain, who considered Yusuf and his followers half savage and filled with religious bigotry. The lax and effeminate Moorish rulers were opposed in every respect to these newly converted, zealous, and puritanical followers of the Prophet. The common people, however, welcomed the Almoravides, who abolished most of the taxes. Profiting by these divisions among their enemies, the Christians made further conquests, including Lisbon; but their success was only temporary, as Yusuf, after he had overcome the Moslem rulers, won back the strongholds that the Christians had taken. He died in 1106, and it is said that he was one hundred years old; if this is true, he was eighty when he first went to Spain. By the time of his death his followers were already becoming weak and degenerate, demoralized by the luxuries and vices that they had not known in their desert home. They had lost the support of the common people by their cruelty and arrogance, and by their intolerance and persecutions they had aroused the hatred of the Christians living under Moslem rule. In Africa their rule was threatened by the rise of a new sect led by Berbers from the mountains. Under these conditions the Christians were easily successful in their raids. Their practice was to destroy all the crops and fruit trees, burn the villages, and carry the people away into slavery.

The lands (Castile and Andalusia) over which they fought for generation after generation became impoverished, and these raids contributed to increase the unproductive areas in Spain

The most noted of all the warriors was a Castilian noble, Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar. By his exploits while still a youth he won the title of *campeador,* or challenger; that is, one who at the beginning of a battle challenges an opponent to single combat. Exiled, he became the leader of a band of freebooters, fighting indiscriminately in the service of Christian or infidel, and plundering indifferently mosques or churches to get booty to pay his followers, Christians and Moslems. The name by which he is best known, the "Cid," or master, is the one that his Moorish followers gave him. The Spanish people have made of him their national hero, and some have suggested his canonization as the national saint. In the literature that has grown up about him, he is represented as the champion of the Christian faith and an exemplar of Christian virtues. The real Cid was a brave, ruthless leader, a true product of his age, and mated with a lady worthy to be his bride. His greatest exploit was the capture of Valencia, which was accompanied by much brutality. Her greatest exploit was the defense of the same city for two years after the death of the Cid, in 1099, and then her triumphant departure with the body of her dead lord. Their deeds are told in the *Chronicle of the Cid,* of which Southey has given such a delightful English version. Although the *Chronicle* is eulogistic and not very accurate, it was written only a half century after the Cid's death, and consequently gives many a detail that reflects the point of view of the twelfth century and enables us to reconstruct much of the spirit of the age

The "Cid"

The Christians had made great progress in civilization. The nobles no longer stabled their war-horses in their bedrooms with their wives and children. The people no longer dressed in the skins of wild beasts. The nobles were still very poor, making their living mainly by fighting, and ever ready to sell their arms to the highest bidder. The wars between the Christian kings were frequent, and prevented united action against the infidel. This was forced upon them by a new danger. In Africa another sect had arisen — the Almohades, or Unitarians, led by hardy mountaineers from the Atlas. They conquered the Almoravides, first in Africa, and then, in the middle of the twelfth century, in Spain. They defeated the Christians and checked their advance. For sixty years they ruled Moorish Spain from their headquarters in Africa. Then Innocent III succeeded in bringing about union among the Christian monarchs

CHAP. XXXIII

in Spain, with the exception of the king of Leon, and also induced many crusaders from other lands to join the Spaniards. Some crusaders had already fought in the Spanish wars. Portugal, which had become a kingdom in 1143, had profited especially by the aid of crusaders, who stopped there on their way to the Holy Land. Lisbon had been conquered with the help of the English in 1147, and had been made the capital of the new kingdom. In 1212 the Christians fought the Almohades at Las Navas de Tolosa, and won a victory that decided the fate of the Moors. "After this fatal day the empire of the Saracens in Spain weakened constantly, and they no longer had any success." The Christians pushed on with their conquests, and a half-century later the Moors held only Granada.

Las Navas de Tolosa — 1212

Spain in the Thirteenth Century

Granada became very thickly populated, wealthy and prosperous, as the Moors flocked thither from the lands conquered by the Christians. The king of Castile forced the ruler of Granada to pay tribute, but was too busy at home to attempt to conquer the land. In all the Christian kingdoms the people were occupied in adjusting themselves to new conditions. The organization and customs that had been formed during the "perpetual crusade" had to be modified to suit the new needs, and an enormous tract of land conquered from the Moors had to be settled. Barcelona had won an important position in the Mediterranean trade, and commerce was becoming more important and was influencing conditions. Contact with the outside world was reflected in the internal progress in civilization. Cathedrals were built, universities were founded, a literature developed in the vernacular tongue.

It was more difficult to build up strong governments. The nobles were divided into *ricos hombres,* owners of vast estates, and *hidalgos,* who were often very poor. All were proud and independent, holding allegiance to their kings very lightly; they could disown a king at any time by a simple notice, and transfer their services to a rival monarch. The clergy were probably more powerful than in any other country. Many cities had been founded as military colonies planted on the frontier, and consequently had received great privileges, or *fueros,* conferring an unusual degree of independence. The cities had learned to associate together in leagues, or *hermandadas,* which could be used as a weapon against all aggressors, even their king. The adjustment in each kingdom was necessarily slow, and was not completed in the thirteenth century. It was hindered by the ambitions of some of the monarchs to play a rôle outside of the peninsula. Alfonso X of Castile, called "the Wise," had himself

elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and clung fondly to the empty title Peter III of Aragon married the heiress of Manfred, son of Frederic II, and thus eventually secured Sicily. When the inhabitants revolted against the cruel rule of Charles of Anjou, conqueror of Manfred, they turned for aid to Peter. This led to the acquisition, later, of the kingdom of Naples.

The Slavs

The expansion of Christian Europe to the eastward was due mainly to the conversion of the Slavs. Of these people Herder, an eighteenth-century German historian, said, "They hold a larger place on the map than in history." Unfortunately, in one sense this is still true. Too little attention has been paid to their history, and some of the most important problems are still unsolved. Specialists differ even as to the fundamental characteristics of the race; some speak of the Slavs as cowardly, and assert that they have never been able to fight successfully except when under foreign leadership; others call them "brave and enterprising" and "good pirates." Possibly a brief summary of some of the facts in their history may show why either view may be held, according to the prejudices of the writer.

Early History

The original home of the Slavs seems to have been the marshy land about the river Pripet, northwest of Kiev. The nature of the country prevented them from keeping cattle, and their diet was chiefly vegetables and fish. They had many bees, and from the honey they made mead. They grew flax and hemp as materials for clothing. The marshes made it difficult to get from one village to another. In the sixth century Procopius said: "The Slavs live scattered widely in wretched huts, and they very often change their place of abode." He also said: "The Slavs are not ruled by one man, but have lived from the earliest times in democracy." They appear to have had no ability to get together, even for self-defense. Consequently, as they made useful slaves, they were preyed upon by all their neighbors. When the slave-hunter appeared, the Slav fled to the forests or into the water. "Settled in places very hard of access, forests, rivers, lakes, they provide their dwellings with several exits with a view to accidents, and they bury everything that is not absolutely necessary. . . . When they are suddenly attacked, they dive under the water, and, lying on their backs on the bottom, they breathe through long reeds, and thus escape destruction." But many did not escape; the word "slave" is derived from "Slav," as the Slav came to be the commonest and most valuable slave.

In spite of the slave raids, the population increased, and it was necessary for the Slavs to seek homes elsewhere. The

CHAP. XXXIII

Extent of Territory

extent of the territory over which they had spread at the end of the seventh century is very remarkable. On the north their settlements extended along the Baltic to west of the Elbe; on the south they had occupied almost the whole of the Balkan peninsula; eastward, from the middle course of the Danube far into Russia, they formed the great bulk of the population. They were divided into many tribes, these were subdivided into clans, which acted together only when some great danger threatened. Their villages were located in the forests on marshy ground.

The Avar Empire

In the sixth century the Slavs were held in subjection by the Avars, a nomadic people who had conquered a temporary "empire" in central Europe. As the Avars could not pasture their animals in the open in the winter, they quartered themselves on the Slavs, whom they forced to build round villages suitable for cattle-pens and to store up fodder for their use. After the Avar empire began to break up, early in the seventh century, a part of the territory formed a Slav state under the rule of Samo, a Frank. When he died, there was no one strong enough to succeed him.

Were the Slavs Valiant

It has often been said that "the Slavs themselves became effective warriors in the cruel Avar school." This has recently been denied; but it is difficult to believe that the Slavs, whom the Greek emperors dreaded and the Germans had such great difficulty in conquering, were not brave warriors. An Arab historian says: "The Slavs are such a powerful and terrible people that if they were not divided into a multitude of tribes and families no one in the world could resist them. The lands inhabited by them are the most fruitful and richest of all, and they devote themselves zealously to agriculture and other kinds of industry, wherein they surpass all other northern peoples." They were able to protect these lands, no small task in the Middle Ages. Yet it is true that, because of their lack of political skill and consequent dissensions, many were long held in subjection by the nomads. From their forced association with these tyrannical guests, who borrowed their wives, the Slavs, who were a fair race with blue eyes and yellow hair, have become a dark race.

Cyril and Methodius

In the second half of the ninth century the Slav ruler of Moravia took advantage of the weakness of the Carolingians to free himself from their yoke, and then brought under his own power all the neighboring Slavs. Thus was formed the Moravian empire. This fell before the attack of the Magyars at the close of the century, but in its brief history one event had

taken place which has had a marked influence upon the Slavonic peoples. This was the missionary work of Cyril and Methodius. Some of the Slavs had already become Christians, but the great mass remained pagans. The ruler of the Moravian empire sent an embassy to the Byzantine emperor to ask for help against the Germans. Whether he asked for Christian teachers, as the tradition states, or whether the patriarch, the learned Photius, suggested it, the result was that the brothers Methodius and Constantine (who later took the name of Cyril) went to Moravia and were received enthusiastically. They celebrated mass in the Slavonic tongue, and Cyril invented a script for the Slavonic alphabet and made the first translation of a Christian book into the Slavonic language. Many details connected with his achievements are in dispute, but there is no question of the services actually rendered by the "apostles to the Slavs." Although Moravia soon gave up the Slavic ritual, it was adopted among other Slavs and is still used in the Orthodox Church. "At first the liturgic language was also the literary language," and its influence was long dominant in Russian, Bulgarian, and Serbian writings.

At the close of the ninth century new foes appeared who were destined to have a decisive influence upon the fortunes of the Slavs. These were the Hungarians, or Magyars, whose raids upon the west of Europe have already been mentioned. Some have held that they were of Turkish stock, others that they were of Finnish; probably they were a mixture of these and other peoples banded together for plunder. After destroying the Moravian empire they gradually settled in Hungary. By so doing they drove a wedge between the Slavic tribes. This separation was decisive for the future of the Slavs. Those in the east and south were thrown more and more under the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church and of the Byzantine empire; those in the west under the influence of the Germans and the Catholic Church. The Slavs who remained pagans were conquered. Those on the frontiers were especially exposed to attack from their neighbors. The Slavs along the Baltic were conquered by the Danes or the Germans. Most of those in the Balkan peninsula were absorbed in the Byzantine empire and participated in its fortunes; but the Croatians were annexed by Hungary and the Carinthians became subjects of the Germans. Russia, Poland, and Bohemia developed into important Slav states.

Separation of the Slavs

The Slav state of Russia was formed in the ninth century under the leadership of foreign adventurers, called Rus, and took its name from them. These were Scandinavians from eastern Sweden, and their first settlement was at Novgorod. By the

Beginnings in Russia

CHAP. XXXIII

rivers Dnieper and " Mother Volga " they could carry their wares to the Black and Caspian seas thence to be transported to Constantinople and Bagdad These wares were skins, swords, and especially Slavs, or " slaves." Of the latter it is said that scarcely one in ten lived to reach the market. To secure protection from the slave raids many Slavs entered the services of the Rus. The traders usually went down the Dnieper to Kiev, where they secured canoes from the Slavs. Below Kiev waterfalls and rapids obstruct the river for a distance of many miles. As this was in the steppe country held by the nomads, who might attack them while carrying their canoes and cargoes around the obstruction, the Scandinavians were compelled to travel in one large fleet Their destination was Cherson, the modern Sebastopol, a Byzantine outpost where they sold their wares to Greek merchants. Sometimes they went down the Volga to Itil, the modern Astrakhan, and then from the Caspian Sea on camels to Bagdad. It is said that there were one hundred thousand Scandinavians engaged in this traffic, but the number is undoubtedly greatly exaggerated. At all events, their strength was so great that some soon occupied Kiev, the most important Slav town. According to the *Chronicle of Nestor,* the oldest Russian chronicle, but posterior by two centuries to these events, the Slavs invited the Rus to come and be their rulers. This is possible; for, while the Slavs had many towns, there was no union among them and those at Kiev were exposed to attacks from the nomads of the steppes. The date generally given for the foundation of the Russian state is 862.

The Rus were not content to trade with the Greeks. True Northmen, they attempted several times to conquer Constantinople, the home of so many objects that they coveted. They were beaten off by the superior skill of the Greeks, and especially by the Greek fire; but the emperors were usually ready to make gifts of grain or money on condition that the Russians depart. Vladimir, ruler at Kiev, (972-1015), essayed an easier task and captured Cherson. If we can accept the Russian traditions, he did this because he wanted to be a Christian, but thought it more fitting to force the Greeks to baptize him than to request it. After capturing the city he demanded the emperor's sister Anne in marriage, although he is said already to have rivaled Solomon, having five wives and eight hundred concubines. If Anne was refused him he threatened to advance on Constantinople. The emperors felt it wise to comply with his request, but made a condition that he become baptized. He became a zealous convert. He ordered the national idols thrown into the Dnieper, and also compelled all the inhabitants of Kiev, regardless of age, sex, or rank, to strip

off their clothes and stand in the river, while the Greek priests on the banks read the baptismal service. Thus Russia became a Christian state. As she received her Christianity from Constantinople, she was untroubled by any of the conflicts between Church and state that were so common in the West. The liturgy was in the vernacular and not in Latin, the language of the learned; the churches were copied after models in the Byzantine empire, especially St. Sophia. The Russians received, too, the ecclesiastical music, a boon to a people passionately fond of music but wholly untrained.

Conversion of Russia

The submission to the Rus and the conversion to Christianity were the two most important events in early Russian history. Kiev was the most important center of Russian power till 1169, and her ruler alone bore the title of Grand Prince. At first the rulers had body-guards of Northmen and introduced Scandinavian legal customs; the laws of Yaroslav the Great, successor of Vladimir, deal with ordeals, wager of law, wager of battle, wergeld, just as does any western code of the period Gradually, however, the rulers turned to the Slavs for support and themselves became assimilated. German and Slavic customs agreed in dividing up the kingdom among the sons, and this custom had an even more fatal effect among the politically incapable Slavs than in the Carolingian empire. During the hundred and seventy years that intervened between the death of Yaroslav and the first appearance of the Tartars in Russia, it has been calculated that there were sixty-four different principalities, mostly ephemeral, two hundred and ninety-three princes or pretenders, eighty-three civil wars, and so many invasions that it is impossible to compute them.

Rulers at Kiev

In 1169 eleven of the other princes joined in attacking Kiev, which they sacked, not sparing even the churches. This was the end of the greatness of Kiev. Twice again it was sacked, but by nomads not Russians, in 1203 and 1240. A few years later Carpini reported: "It was formerly a great and populous city. Now scarcely two hundred houses are left, and the inhabitants are held in the most complete servitude." No other principality secured the supremacy. Novgorod, which still remained the most important center in the north, was a republic, and is said to have had one hundred thousand inhabitants and three hundred thousand subjects; it called itself "My Lord Novgorod the Great." The people of Novgorod elected a prince to rule over them, and, when they wished to, expelled him; but in spite of their independence and wealth they were so divided by factional strife that they allowed the Hanseatic League to take away the control over their own commerce from them, and the Knights of the Sword to con-

Lack of Union

CHAP. XXXIII

quer Livonia. A folk-song tells of the results of the latter: "The priests strangled us with their rosaries, the greedy knights plundered us, troops of brigands ravaged us, armed murderers cut us in pieces." Nowhere in Russia was there any care for the common good, any readiness to unite in defense against a common foe.

Rise of Poland

Little is known of the early history of Poland before 962. Then a strong king came to the throne, and three years later accepted the Christian faith under the guidance of Rome. Within two generations Poland had become the greatest of the Slav states, having conquered Bohemia, Moravia, Pomerania, Silesia, and part of Russia. The kingdom, however, was not organized to hold such an empire, as there was no fixed rule of succession and the kings treated the kingdom as if it were private property. The lay nobles were very independent and cared only for their own interests; the ecclesiastical nobles had won great authority and wealth and strove to make the Church entirely independent of the state. All the neighbors, Germany in particular, were hostile; the only support the king could count upon was from the pope, and his aid might be forfeited, as it sometimes was, by the misconduct of the king.

Poland in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Poland gradually lost most of her conquests, and was left, shut off from the sea-coast, without any natural boundaries to protect the country. Her nobles won greater power; the Church became more independent; there was no third estate, for the peasants were agriculturists and all the commerce was in the hands of foreigners who had been granted special privileges without any compensating duties. Jews had been admitted very early, but the most important colonies were composed of German artisans, who during the twelfth century came in in great numbers. Civilization advanced rapidly for a time; but, as it was not based on a strong social order, the gain was not permanent. In the thirteenth century Poland was as much divided as Russia, and from practically the same causes; for the rulers of the separate parts were ambitious but inefficient. Weak through lack of union for a common cause, they invited the Teutonic Knights to protect them from the attacks of the heathen Prussians, and granted these knights much land and many privileges. It has been well said that on the eve of the great disaster of the thirteenth century there was a Polish people but no Polish nation.

Bohemia

Bohemia was converted to Christianity early in the tenth century. After freeing herself from the power of Poland, in the eleventh century she became for a time the leading Slav power in the West. She came more fully under the German influence than

Poland, and usually was compelled to acknowledge German overlordship, as her first king had obtained his title from Henry IV, in 1086. In the twelfth century Bohemia welcomed German colonists and shared in the advanced German civilization. It was in the thirteenth century, however, that she attained her greatest power. This was due mainly to three factors: first, the right of primogeniture was established and thus disputes about succession to the throne were avoided, second, the rulers invited German immigration on a large scale to develop their mines and build up their commerce; third, and most important, the rulers very shrewdly exploited the troubled conditions in Germany. They aided the pope against the Hohenstaufens and utilized the interregnum to build up a strong power. In 1273 Bohemia's territory extended to the Adriatic, and all eastern Germany looked to her for protection. Five years later she was crushed by a combined attack from the Magyars and the newly elected emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg.

Magyars

When the Magyars entered Hungary they are said to have numbered two hundred and sixteen thousand men. Probably there were relatively few women and children, as the Magyars had been driven out from their former homes by other nomads, and under such circumstances the victors usually appropriated the women. When they first entered Europe they were described as ugly and repulsive; their development into the notably handsome people of to-day is due to their breeding with the women of subject or neighbor races. They retained their nomadic habits in part for several centuries; and even in the twelfth century they lived in tents in summer. They long continued their raids upon Germany, even after the battle of the Lech.[1] About the year 1000, however, King Stephen made Christianity the national faith, and thus brought Hungary into close association with the Roman Church, which gave to him the title "Apostolic Majesty." This conversion opened again the old land route, the so-called "road of Charles the Great," to the Holy Land. Stephen was a great organizer, and made a nation of the Hungarians, establishing common laws and a firm administration for all the people.

Apogee of Hungary

For two generations the kings were not able to carry on Stephen's work, and the king of Hungary was for a time a vassal of Henry III of Germany. From 1077 to 1114 two strong kings ruled and made Hungary a great power, adding to their territories Croatia, Dalmatia, and a part of Galicia, besides firmly incorporating Transylvania, which up to that time had been only

[1] See Chapter XIV.

CHAP. XXXIII

partially subject. The Magyars were brave and also much more "politically minded" than the Slavs, consequently they treated their subject peoples very fairly and won their allegiance. The laws were respected and public order well kept. Otto of Freising has a remarkable passage in which he describes their country as a paradise and the people as short, ugly, barbarous and ferocious in manners and speech. "All obey the princes so well," he says, "that in all the seventy or more counties two-thirds of all judicial fines are paid into his treasury"; "the king's will alone is held by all to be right." "When he summons them to war, no one dares to remain at home unless absolutely obliged to" The bishop is evidently contrasting conditions in Germany with those in Hungary.

Decadence of Hungary

Even while Otto was writing, conditions were changing in Hungary, where after 1114 monarchs of less ability inherited the throne and wasted the strength of the country in unsuccessful wars, waged to extend their own influence. They allowed the great nobles, both lay and ecclesiastic, to usurp the royal power, and finally agreed that the offices held from the crown should be hereditary. This aroused the lesser nobles, who suffered from the tyranny of the great nobles, and they compelled the king, in 1222, to grant the Golden Bull. This has often been compared to the Magna Carta, which in two of its clauses it resembles very closely. Enthusiasts have said that the Golden Bull established a constitutional monarchy, a responsible ministry, and an annual parliament that controlled taxation. If its terms had been enforced these results might have followed; but as a matter of fact the terms were not enforced until later centuries. The king, who had been attacked for his grants to foreigners, and the nobles, whose hereditary offices were threatened, were opposed to the petty nobles, and civil strife ensued The people were practically powerless, as the merchants and artisans who dwelt in the cities were mainly foreigners and the agricultural peasants were very greatly oppressed. Hungary, like Russia and Poland, was weak and lacked union when it was confronted with the great Tartar invasion.

The Mongol Empire

At the close of the twelfth century an ambitious chief of one of the Mongol tribes, far in the east of Asia, was gradually extending his authority over the surrounding tribes. A contemporary Chinese author says that he was "a man of gigantic stature, with broad forehead and long beard, and remarkable for his bravery. As to his people, their faces are broad, flat and four-cornered, with prominent cheek-bones; their eyes have no upper eyelashes; they have very little hair in their beards

and mustaches; their exterior is very repulsive." This leader was so successful that in 1206 he assumed the title of Genghis Khan, "inflexible emperor," and was recognized as the supreme chief of all the Mongol tribes. Ten years later he conquered Peking. Leaving subordinates to complete the conquest of China, he started westward to conquer other peoples.

At that time the Charismian Turks had control of all central Asia, but they were overcome by Genghis Khan in a single campaign. By 1225 Bokhara, Samarkand, Khiva, Farghana, and parts of Afghanistan, Persia, and Caucasia were conquered. In the meantime Genghis Khan had sent a detachment of twenty-five thousand men under two of his sons to pursue the Charismian Turks. This band made a long excursion westward, probably to spy out the land. In three years they traversed Persia and Armenia, crossed the Caucasus, defeated the Russian army in the battle of Kalka (1223) near the sea of Azov, went on to the Dnieper, and then retraced their course Genghis Khan now ruled over an enormous empire, which extended from China to the Caucasus and from the far north to the Himalaya Mountains. His conquests had been possible because of the nature of the country and of his subjects, who on their triumphant march took with them their flocks and all their possessions, for there was ample pasturage and the flocks furnished food. Their numbers were constantly swelled by the accession of new tribes of nomads. Genghis Khan was a very able ruler and administrator, and his authority was unquestioned as long as he lived. At his death in 1227 he left no successor competent to hold the empire together, and it had disintegrated before the thirteenth century ended.

Conquests

For a time the successors of Genghis Khan were busy in Asia, but in 1236 his grandson Batu began a new invasion of Europe. The Russian princes did not unite against the Mongols, and one after another was conquered. City after city was sacked and the inhabitants killed or carried away into slavery. If a city resisted, the Tartars carried out a policy of "frightfulness," torturing the inhabitants in divers ways before putting them to death. When they defeated an army, they cut off an ear from each of the dead foes and filled bags with these as trophies. After Russia had been completely overrun came the turn of Poland and Hungary; in neither country was any resistance made. The Tartars remained for some months in Hungary, which suffered terribly from their ravages and cruelty. They had advanced as far as the Adriatic when the news of the death of the "grand khan" caused Batu to return eastward.

Invasion of Europe

CHAP. XXXIII

The Golden Horde

The Tartars abandoned Poland and Hungary, but maintained their hold on Russia. The state that they established was called Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde, and included the region of the steppes and the lower valley of the Volga From there they kept the Russians in bondage Novgorod was the only important city that had not been conquered, and even Novgorod paid tribute. The Tartars did not attempt to administer the country, and allowed the Russians to keep their land, laws, and religion; but they did insist upon the payment of a heavy tribute, and sent officials throughout the various principalities to number the inhabitants so that they could collect the largest possible amount. The tax-gatherers used torture freely when the taxes were not paid promptly, and any rebellion was put down with the greatest severity The clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church were the only ones who did not have to pay the poll tax, and this exemption was continued even after the Tartars became Mohammedans, in 1272. Russia remained under the Tartar rule for two centuries.

Scandinavia in the Eleventh Century

In the eleventh century the Scandinavian North played a great rôle in European history. The most important monarch was Canute the Great, whose empire included Denmark, England, Norway, the Orkneys and Hebrides, Iceland and Greenland; except for the German emperor, he was the greatest lay sovereign in western Europe. Mention has already been made of the exploits of other Northmen during this century: the conquest of England and of southern Italy and the founding of the Russian state. It was in the eleventh century, also, that the Northmen planted the colony of Vinland on the coast of North America, and at the other end of the known world threatened to capture Constantinople. In the Scandinavian lands the most important happening in this century was the introduction of the Christian faith. Denmark, because of its close association with Germany, had been partially Christianized before; but when Canute came to the throne he found half of his people still pagan. Before the century was over the Danes had accepted the Christian faith. The conversion of Norway was due mainly to King Olaf (1015–1028), who, killed in 1030 in an attempt to win back his kingdom from Canute, became the national saint The faith was introduced in this same century in Sweden, but did not become fully established until the middle of the twelfth century. Many of the sagas were composed in the eleventh century, but they were not put into their final form until a century or two later.

The introduction of Christianity among the Scandinavians

CHAP. XXXIII

Weakness in the Thirteenth Century

was not accomplished easily, because it necessitated social changes that ran counter to the customs of the people. It interfered with their freedom of marriage; it condemned the eating of horse-flesh, their favorite food. The Northmen objected to fasting, doing penance, and paying tithes for the support of the priests; and a strong pagan party was formed, especially in Sweden and Norway, which opposed the kings and the Church. In addition to the opposition from the pagans the spirit of independence and adventure was still rife and many resented a central government's restriction of their actions. Civil and foreign wars were frequent in Sweden and Norway, and neither was able to develop into a strong kingdom before the end of the thirteenth century. Denmark had been strong in the twelfth century and had conquered much of the Slavic lands along the Baltic — sometimes unaided, sometimes in association with the Germans. As she had a powerful fleet, she was a valuable ally, and several of the European monarchs, including Philip Augustus, married Danish princesses. In the thirteenth century, however, the king of Denmark was compelled to give up to Germany the Slavic lands that he had conquered, and Denmark ceased to be a powerful state.

Church and State

A survey of the conditions in Europe at the close of the period which has been discussed shows that France and possibly Spain were the only countries in which the kings were prosperous and strong. The Byzantine empire and the Holy Roman Empire had lost their power. England, under Henry III, was torn by civil strife. Italy was divided into many political units, and the great cities, such as Venice and Genoa, were at strife with one another. The Slav and Scandinavian kingdoms were weak. All the European peoples had become Christians. The Church was powerful and wealthy, and the papacy had crushed the empire and become the overlord of kings. Its position and dominance, however, were threatened by the rise of the third estate, the growth of the national spirit, and the spread of criticism and skepticism. It still had many loyal and devout adherents, and a movement had begun in the thirteenth century which was destined to win new triumphs for Christianity and the Church. Just as the missionaries in the past had risked their lives to carry the faith to Celts, Germans, and Slavs, now other missionaries were invading Asia, visiting the Tartan hordes and the Chinese Empire, in their zeal to spread Christianity, and thus through their enterprise and devotion making new converts and bringing to Europe the knowledge of new lands.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE PAPACY AND THE NATIONAL MONARCHS

CHAP. XXXIV

Prestige of Papacy

IN 1215 the triumph of papal power was celebrated with pomp and splendor at the Latêran Council convoked by Innocent III. During the succeeding years the record of papal success continued. The hated house of Hohenstaufen was broken and its last representative, the pitiful Conradin, done to death. Over all Europe the new papal armies, the Franciscans and Dominicans, worked for the cause of their leader in Rome. Despite these achievements, less than a century after the death of Innocent III the medieval papacy was struck down, never again to recover its former strength.

Inherent Weaknesses

In part this sudden reversal was due to weaknesses inherent in the papacy itself. The successors of Innocent III were not only the spiritual heads of Western Christendom, they were also bishops of Rome and the temporal rulers of an Italian state, and all too frequently the first of these positions was sacrificed to the other two. The population of Rome was undoubtedly as turbulent as any to be found in those far from tranquil times. At the top were the great families, led by the Orsini and the Colonna, constantly warring for the spoils of office, particularly of the papal office. Each faction had its towers, clustered together in the various quarters of the city, miniature fortresses from which at any time the armed retainers of the families might debouch into the narrow streets, setting the city into a tumult over some private or public quarrel. Each side bid frantically for the support of the populace, a debauched and fickle mob, quick to take fire and quick to desert the hero of an hour. No less distracting was the last of the papal functions, the government of the estates of the Church. In order to preserve the independence of their lands the popes were drawn into the prolonged struggle with the Hohenstaufen. They were successful in this struggle, but the cost was tremendous. Even callous temporal rulers were disgusted by the perversion of spiritual weapons to the uses of a purely secular quarrel. Less directly, but not less vitally, the prestige of the papacy was undermined by the means used to procure the financial resources essential to the struggle. Churchmen protested against the extraordinary taxes; churchmen and

laymen alike complained bitterly at the sale of offices, justice, and indulgences. Within the Franciscan order the prevailing laxity produced an actual split; a vociferous and extremely popular minority, the Spiritual Franciscans, created consternation in the ranks of practical churchmen by demanding that the clergy as a whole adopt the life of apostolic poverty preached by St. Francis. Apocalyptic sects proclaiming the impending overthrow of the worldly Church by the Holy Spirit recruited followers over all Europe.

From this complex of forces resulted the tragi-comedy of Celestine V. From 1292 to 1294 there was no pope. Within the college of cardinals the factions were so evenly balanced that an election was impossible. At length Europe was astounded and delighted by the choice of Pietro di Morroni, a famous ascetic and hermit. By this move the cardinals had hoped to quiet the murmurings of the pious and at the same time to secure a pliable tool who would leave them supreme in the papal government; but they were soon disillusioned. While multitudes followed the holy man beseeching his blessing, the business of the papacy was in chaos. Appalled at the weighty honor thrust upon him, Celestine was soon thoroughly bewildered by the worldly forces surrounding him, and after a brief rule of five months he took the unprecedented step of resigning his office and retreating to his lonely cell. The relief of the cardinals was boundless, and they hastened to elect one of their own number, Benedetto Gaetano, a man who had grown rich in the service of the curia, an accomplished canonist, a man of affairs if not a saint. Politics in the papal office was not a new thing, and the condition of the papacy at the end of the thirteenth century was undoubtedly much better than at many earlier periods. But in raising the papacy to the most conspicuous place, not only in the Church, but also in all Western Europe, the great popes, theologians, and canon lawyers of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries had made intolerable the conditions which raised little comment in the tenth century. The political ambitions of Innocent III had been transformed into spiritual aspirations by the nobility and sincerity of his character; no casuistry could conceal the sordid workings of Roman politics revealed by the events of 1294. Boniface VIII assumed office under a shadow of suspicion and disillusionment resulting from the "great refusal" of Celestine V.

Celestine V and Boniface VIII

The conscience of Europe was a nebulous thing, and alone it might safely have been disregarded, but confronting the papacy of the fourteenth century were men who were ready and able to exploit religious discontent to their own ends. The pontificate

Clerical Taxation

CHAP. XXXIV

of Boniface VIII was to be marked by the first decisive blow struck in the struggle of the international Church and the national monarchies. During the thirteenth century the papacy and the temporal rulers had entered into a tacit alliance for the purpose of exploiting the financial resources of the Church. The popes needed money for their struggle with the Hohenstaufen and for the growing expenses of their court; the kings of France and England sought not only money for their wars and their courts, but also a controlling voice in the selection of their ecclesiastical vassals. Under Louis IX of France and Henry III of England this arrangement had worked satisfactorily and the protests of the exploited churchmen and of pious or patriotic laymen went unheeded. Boniface VIII was not content with rupturing this alliance; he pushed relentlessly into the foreground theories of papal supremacy which could not but be anathema to a king aiming at absolutism. Boniface made no new claims; every point in his program may be found in the writings of earlier canonists, theologians, or popes. But to insist on open recognition of claims for which his greatest predecessors had won only tacit recognition, and to make this demand at a time when papal financial exactions and papal political activities had raised a host of enemies, was to invite the catastrophe which ensued.

Edward I 1272–1307

The irascible pope entered the lists against formidable opponents. In England the troubled days of Henry III were over, leaving a profound distaste for the foreign parasites who had infested his court, and a desire for the peace and strong government which would further the new economic energies of the country. The disorders which had attended the struggle of the selfish barons against Henry gave assurance that a strong and tactful ruler would receive the loyal support of his people. Edward I was absent on a crusade when his father died in 1272, and he did not return to England for two years; the absence of disorder during this period was proof of the strong position of the new king. Edward more than justified the hopes of his subjects. His experiences during the Barons' War had tempered his imperious will and given him a knowledge of, and sympathy with, his subjects possessed by no other ruler since the Conquest. Indeed, to Englishmen the handsome, chivalric Edward Longshanks has ever since seemed the first really English king. He shared the jealously nationalistic feelings of his subjects and strove valiantly to exclude foreign influence at home and to spread the fame and fortune of England abroad. His suspicion of the international Church was speedily shown by the Statute of Mortmain (1279), which prohibited the acquisition of land by the Church without

royal consent, and by his steady effort to narrow the jurisdiction of the church courts. When Boniface began his campaign Edward stood at the height of his power, after twenty years of successful and, on the whole, popular rule.

Even in the drab and unimaginative writings of medieval chroniclers the picture of Edward I stands out fresh, vigorous, and attractive. Philip IV, on the other hand, is so elusive a personality that even yet historians are unable definitely to separate the king from his advisors. Are we to believe the contemporary who declares that Philip was "the handsomest man in the world, but unable to do anything but stare fixedly at people without saying a word?" Or was he the masterful personality painted by an Aragonese writer who describes him as "pope, king, and emperor all in one?" Whether Philip was master or tool, and whether we approve or disapprove of the policy of monarchical absolutism towards which all the acts of his reign were directed, there can be little difference of opinion concerning the means used to reach this end. There are few more sordid periods of French history than the years from 1285 to 1314, which comprise the rule of Philip the Fair. The unctuous hypocrisy with which Philip's chief minister, William of Nogaret, clothed the statements of royal policy serve but to heighten the impression of cruelty, treachery, and baseness which suffuses the whole wretched story. When Philip IV ascended the throne of France the foundations of royal supremacy were already securely laid. The means by which Philip Augustus and Louis IX had undermined the feudal structure and drawn more and more power to themselves have already been described. In France no Magna Carta and no articulate public opinion existed to hamper the royal will. There was a strong feudal nobility, a powerful Church, and a growing middle class, but the bourgeoisie were loyal and the bishops subservient to the monarchy, while all three of these potential checks to absolutism were prevented from forming an united opposition by implacable hatred for one another. In its hour of need the papacy was to find few allies in France. Philip had cowed the nobles and won over the middle class, while within the Church itself the great prelates were bound to the ruler who had given them office and whose financial demands were, after all, no more onerous than those of the Roman pontiff.

Philip IV 1285–1314

The battle between the determined Boniface and his equally strong willed temporal adversaries first assumed formidable proportions over the question of clerical taxation. The pope had a good case, for the clergy were being ruthlessly exploited. In 1294, Edward I had not only confiscated all the ready money to

Clericos Laicos 1296

CHAP XXXIV

be found in monastic establishments, but had demanded one half of all clerical incomes. When Convocation ventured to resist, Edward flew into such a rage that the Dean of St. Paul's dropped dead of fright. Philip IV was not less exacting. To end this abuse, Boniface in 1296 issued the bull *Clericos Laicos* which began by stating that "the laity have been from the most ancient times hostile to the clergy," proceeded to remind the temporal rulers that "all power over clergymen and over the person and property of clerical persons is forbidden to them," and concluded that all persons taxing the clergy without papal consent "shall incur the sentence of excommunication by their very act." The response to this declaration of clerical independence was prompt. Philip prohibited the exportation of gold and silver from France, thus cutting off a substantial part of the papal revenues, while in England, Edward's chief justice decreed that: "Henceforth there shall be no justice meted out to a clerk in the court of the lord king, however atrocious be the injury from which he may have suffered. But sentence against a clerk shall be given at the instance of all who have a complaint against him."

Boniface, hampered by political and financial troubles at home, drew back for a time, but the success of the papal jubilee of 1300 revived his courage, and he returned to the fray when Philip ventured to arrest a papal legate. A bull of excommunication was launched against Philip, who burned the document. Undaunted, Boniface issued the bull *Unam Sanctam,* the most extreme statement of the papal claim to supreme power ever promulgated. "We declare, proclaim, and define," concludes this famous document, "that subjugation to the Roman pontiff is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature."

Unam Sanctam

Philip now proceeded to drastic action. An Assembly of Notables was convened in Paris. Philip's ministers laid before this gathering a garbled version of the pope's bulls and an indictment of Boniface, both apparently drafted by Nogaret. The indictment, which is worthy of description, since it is typical of the public papers of the reign of Philip the Fair, asserted that Boniface, false pope, denied the immortality of the soul and the miracle of the Eucharist, that he consulted his private demon before taking action of any sort, that he practiced the "epicurean" philosophy—a charge then covering a multitude of sins—and finally that his hatred of Philip grew out of his detestation of the Catholic faith, of which the king was the splendor and the exemplar! The Assembly voted, at Philip's demand, that a church council be convened to try the pope. How willingly this action was taken we cannot say, for the members realized that imprison-

CHAP. XXXIV

ment awaited him who opposed the royal will. Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, an enemy of Boniface, were now dispatched on a secret mission, supposedly to capture Boniface and bring him to France for trial. The pope was set upon in his palace at Anagni and held prisoner for several days, until the townspeople rose to his defense and expelled Nogaret and his followers. The shock was fatal to the octogenarian pope, who died shortly afterwards, broken in spirit. For all his violence, the doughty old champion compels admiration, especially by comparison with Philip and his henchmen.

Anagni 1303

With Boniface dies the medieval papacy. "The extraordinary thing about the episode at Anagni," as M. Renan says, "is not the fact that the pope was successfully ambushed. It is rather that the attack produced durable results, that the papacy collapsed at one blow, that the papacy apologized to the sacrilegious king. It is impossible to find a parallel for this situation, and it is this circumstance which makes the victory of Philip the Fair over the papacy unique."

Results

The fate of the papal office depended in part on the action of Boniface's successor. The outrage at Anagni had provoked expressions of horror and disgust all over Europe. Dante, no lover of Boniface, compared the events at Anagni to the passion and death of Christ—"Christ made captive in the person of his Vicar." "I see him once more derided; I see the vinegar and gall renewed, and himself done to death between living robbers. I see the new Pilate so merciless . . ." A vigorous pontiff might yet have saved the independence of the papacy. The cardinals, however, were cowed and elected a man of compromise, Benedict XI, who absolved Philip, though refusing forgiveness to the royal agent, Nogaret. Benedict lived less than a year after his election, and his death was followed by another deadlock in the college of cardinals. After eleven months Clement V, one of Philip's councillors, was elected. Although we have no definite evidence, it seems probable that French influence and money were decisive factors in the election. The new pope started for Rome, but was halted at Lyons, partly by pressure from Philip, partly, apparently, by a not unnatural reluctance to plunge into the hazardous turmoil of Roman political life.

Clement V 1305–1314

Clement soon discovered that he had purchased physical safety at the expense of spiritual servitude. At Philip's demand the pope investigated the pontificate of Boniface VIII, explained away the obnoxious sections of the bulls *Unam Sanctam* and *Clericos Laicos,* and finally, in 1311, exonerated Philip and his agents, even declaring the zeal which the French king had shown

"Babylonish Captivity" 1309–1377

CHAP. XXXIV

"praiseworthy." The seal was placed on the subjugation of the papacy in the same year when Clement, at Philip's demand, suppressed the order of the Templars, whose temporal possessions were coveted by the king. In 1309 Clement took up his residence at Avignon, then an imperial fief, separated from France only by the Rhone river. There, surrounded by his newly created French cardinals, Clement sought solace for the loss of spiritual prestige and authority in the joys of the most extravagant court of Europe, supported by financial expedients which were to dim still further the glory of the papal throne. The "Babylonish Captivity" of the Church had begun, to last until 1377.

Absolutism of Philip

The struggle of Philip IV and Edward I with Boniface VIII has been treated at length because of its significance in the history of the great medieval papal monarchy; from the point of view of the national rulers, however, the conflict was merely one episode in their effort to subjugate all classes and all institutions to the royal will. In every walk of French life and in all the activities of Philip's reign the same tendency is apparent. The system of bailiffs and seneschals created by Philip Augustus and Saint Louis was extended and strengthened by Philip's council of middle class lawyers. These local officials were given absolute power in their territorial jurisdictions, performing every function of government, financial, judicial, and administrative, and striving tirelessly to undermine local autonomy and feudal privilege. The king endeavored to control the bailiffs by periodical visits of royal inspectors, but complaints of tyranny and corruption were rife. "It is easy," said a popular preacher, "to find good laborers, masons, blacksmiths, etc., and even good priests, but not to find good justices . . . few of them love justice." Discontent did not, as in England lead to effective opposition to the will of the king; the hatred felt by clergy, nobles, and burghers towards one another permitted Philip to continue unopposed the policy of administrative centralization which has left its mark on French political institutions to this day. The Estates General met frequently, but only "to be informed of the constitutions and ordinances of our lord the king and to obey them;" almost invariably the royal commands were approved with little or no question. In Philip's foreign policy the same craving for power is apparent. In Flanders, in English Guienne, and all along the eastern frontier of France his armies were in motion, but his resources, both in men and money, were inadequate for the magnitude of his ventures. Only in the last of these fields was he successful; there he managed to detach Franche-Comté, Lyons, and other territories from the nerveless grip of the Empire.

This incessant activity at home and abroad imposed an enormous burden on the royal treasury, and in order to secure funds his advisors were driven to financial expedients which did great harm to France, spiritually as well as materially. The suppression of the Templars and the expulsion of the Jews from France are both largely explainable by the desire to confiscate their great wealth, but by these moves Philip eliminated two of the most active agents in promoting the economic development of France. Commercial life was further disrupted by the manipulation of the coinage, again for his own profit. The constant fluctuations in the value of the royal money earned him the cognomen of the "false coiner" and threatened to produce the "death and extinction of commerce." The Church also was mercilessly bled of its financial resources, and servile submission to the royal will became the essential prerequisite for ecclesiastical preferment. The result was a steady degeneration in the morals of churchmen which, reacting on the French people as a whole, contributed to produce a laxity of moral standards which was greatly intensified during the Hundred Years' War. In short, Philip IV and his advisors strengthened and extended the royal power in France, and supplanted the decaying feudal anarchy by a tradition of absolutism which survived the carnage and turmoil, survived even the weakness and degeneracy of most of the rulers of France during the succeeding century and a half. They did so, however, at tremendous cost. Religious and moral life, commercial activity, the opportunity for a rich and varied provincial development—all were sacrificed ruthlessly.

Financial Expedients

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries three rulers were able to develop in France the traditions of absolutism and centralization which were to distinguish French history, in part until 1789, in part to the present day. The failure of England to show a parallel growth is due at least partially to the fact that she had no such succession of strong kings. Between the death of Henry II in 1189 and the accession of Edward I in 1272 the misrule of weak or vicious monarchs resulted in a revival of the idea of a limited monarchy and in the growth of a tradition of opposition to royal pretentions. The reign of Edward I can only be understood in the light of this earlier period. Edward was surpassed by no ruler of his time in energy, intelligence, and determination to rule, but the harsh education in politics which he had received during the struggle of the barons against Henry III had taught him the futility of any attempt at personal rule. While Philip the Fair was strengthening the foundations of a royal absolutism based on the political inertia and the class di-

Policy of Edward I

CHAP. XXXIV

visions of France, Edward I was trying the experiment of a strong monarchy deriving its support from the articulate elements in English society. Edward did not possess a creative mind. He was, however, sensitive to the currents of thought moving around him, and the completeness with which he gave expression to the constitutional ideas which had germinated under John and Henry III has made his reign famous as a "period of definition," and given Edward the title of the "English Justinian."

Legal Reforms

Almost at the beginning of the English statute book stand the great acts which date from the first half of Edward's reign. In the words of the Canon of Oseney: "Edward revived the ancient laws which had slumbered through the disturbance of the realm; some corrupted by abuse he restored to their proper form; some less evident and apparent he declared; some new ones, useful and honorable, he added." Two of these statutes, the First and Second of Westminster, are really legal codes summarizing the development of English common law to his day. These codes had two important effects: by providing a precise basis for judicial decisions they checked the growth of "judge-made" law, and practically put a stop to the intrusion of the principles of Roman law into the English legal system. The other statutes of this period of almost unparalleled legislative activity deal with more specific problems, but through all runs one idea: the determination to strengthen and extend the royal courts and the royal administration. Youthful experience had made Edward invincibly hostile to the privileges of both barons and churchmen. He found willing allies in his judges, who slowly undermined both feudal and church courts by drawing more and more cases into the royal courts. Through legislation, however, Edward was able to make only indirect progress; his more overt attacks on feudalism were resisted with a tenacity which the king was unable to overcome. When, under the Statute of Gloucester, or *Quo Warranto,* he demanded documentary evidence from every nobleman claiming political privileges or immunities, he met with open defiance. The Earl Warenne is reported to have unsheathed his rusty sword and replied to the royal commissioners: "Here is my warrant. My ancestors won their lands with the sword. With my sword I will defend them against all usurpers." Edward wisely drew back and contented himself with the recovery of a few of the more recent usurpations. *Quo Warranto* proved nevertheless a step in advance since it tended to check further inroads on the royal prerogative. Deprived of the possibility of growth, ceaselessly harassed by the efforts of royal judges to extend their jurisdiction, and unpopular with the mass of Englishmen, who preferred

the strong but orderly rule of Edward I to the violence and turmoil which had distinguished the periods of baronial ascendancy, English feudalism withered away in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and finally disappeared in the chaos of the Wars of the Roses.

The "Model Parliament"

The second half of Edward's reign is no less important in the history of the English parliament than the first half had been in the history of English law; but while the legal reforms were initiated by the king himself, the parliamentary evolution was only partially under his control. On Edward's accession the Great Council was already commonly known as the "parliament," but no change had been made in the composition of the Council, and all the important legislation of his first years was passed by bodies in which the barons and higher churchmen alone had a voice. He did not, however, relish dependence on the baronial class, and almost from the beginning of his reign he sought a following outside this class, among the country gentry and the burghers. Edward wished to be a national ruler rather than a feudal suzerain, and in giving expression to this ideal he changed the feudal Great Council into a national parliament. He hoped by this change to increase, rather than lessen, his power. Some of his utterances sound like an abdication of personal rule—"what touches all should be approved by all," and "common dangers should be met by remedies agreed upon in common"—but in reality he conceived of parliament as an instrument for securing popular approval of his ideas, rather than as a body which might wish to take a line of its own, possibly even in opposition to his will. The most famous of Edward's parliaments is that of 1295. It was called because the king needed money for his military campaigns. In order to secure funds with a minimum of friction he summoned to his Council not only the earls and barons, bishops and greater abbots, but also two knights from every shire, two citizens from each borough, and representatives of the lower clergy. This assemblage is known in history as the "Model Parliament," but its significance must not be overestimated. Edward had called knights and burgesses to his Council before, when he wished their consent for taxation; on the other hand, in parliaments called after 1295, the composition was frequently not that of the "Model Parliament." A long course of evolution was necessary before parliament was to assume its present form. In 1295, and later, each class was asked separately to agree to the desired taxes, and the advice of the commons was asked on political questions only when it suited the king's will to do so. In other words, the old Great Council, which was later to form

CHAP XXXIV

the House of Lords, long continued to be the real power in parliament; the commons won only slowly a position of power and respect for themselves.

The "Model Parliament" of 1295 foreshadows the entrance of the non-feudal classes into political life; two years later the claim of parliament to a voice in the government was forcefully asserted. Edward had taken his people into partnership because he was certain that they would recognize the wisdom of his acts. In 1297, however, with war with France and Scotland in progress, his demands for new taxes were rebuffed, the clergy falling back on the bull *Clericos Laicos,* the nobility standing by the letter of their feudal contract, and even the burghers demanding redress of grievances before making a grant. In these sore straits, Edward for the first and only time in his reign separated himself from his subjects by levying forced taxes. The result was a storm of protest; the old danger of armed baronial resistance was once more apparent. Deserted by all classes Edward gave way and agreed to confirm the Charters, and to give definite consent to the principle that parliamentary sanction was necessary for the levying of new taxes. It is from this surrender, rather than from the assemblage of 1295 that the power of parliament takes its rise. Similar concessions had earlier been wrung from John and Henry III, but in 1297 one of the strongest of English kings was compelled to admit that he was not above the law, and that new taxes must be approved by the national legislature. These two principles were to have a stormy history, and they were not infrequently disregarded, but the precedent was never forgotten.

Power of Parliament

The legislative and parliamentary developments of these crowded years from 1272 to 1307 would alone make Edward's reign one of the most remarkable in English history, but, in addition, these constitutional changes were being worked out to the accompaniment of almost incessant war. In part, these military events had little permanent significance; the possession of Guienne, for instance, made war between England and France not only inevitable, but almost endemic. It is within the British Isles that Edward's wars left a lasting impression. Under his weak predecessors the great Welsh family of Llewelyn had extended its sway over most of Wales, and on Edward's accession the younger Llewelyn, grandson of the founder of the family power, evaded his feudal obligations to England, until, in 1277, Edward lost patience and began a struggle which lasted intermittently for over five years. Finally the country was subdued, and in 1284 the Statute of Wales formally annexed the Celtic province to England,

Conquest of Wales

and extended the English shire system and English law to the country. In 1301 the title of Prince of Wales was conferred on Edward's heir, establishing a precedent which endures to this day.

Wales was permanently subdued; Scotland proved a more formidable problem. English kings had long claimed feudal suzerainty over their northern neighbor, but this claim did not come prominently to the front until 1290, when the royal house of Scotland became extinct. Edward intervened and secured the selection of John Balliol. The new king soon tired of Edward's interference with Scotch affairs, and in 1296 renounced his allegiance to the English king Edward immediately marched into Scotland at the head of a large army, deposed Balliol with little trouble, and prepared to deal with Scotland as he had with Wales. As a token of his conquest he carried back to England the famous Stone of Scone, on which Scotch kings had sat at their coronation. No sooner had Edward turned his back than the Scots rose under William Wallace and trounced the English soundly at Stirling Bridge. Six years of strenuous effort passed before Wallace was captured and executed in 1304, and two years later the struggle began anew, this time under Robert Bruce, around whose name were to cluster in later days many of the legends of the heroic period of Scottish history. Edward, now over seventy, spurred himself to the ordeal of another campaign, but died before he reached the border. With him passed all hope of conquering Scotland. Little survived of his efforts except the implacable hatred of Scot for Englishman which produced border raids and border ballads, and the alliance of Scotland and France which was to be a thorn in the side of English kings for over two centuries.

Scotland

CHAPTER XXXV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

CHAP. XXXV

Progress towards Unity

IN the opening years of the fourteenth century both England and France seemed almost to have completed the transition from feudal particularism to the modern national state. The process had naturally progressed further in England. The small area and isolation of the country, the care which William the Conqueror had taken to avert the evils of political feudalism, the liaison between noble and non-noble made by the peculiar class of the country gentry who were recruited largely from the younger sons of noble houses—all these, together with the political sagacity of kings like Henry II and Edward I, had made of England a self-conscious nation. One legal system, the English common law, prevailed throughout the land; one parliament gave expression to the wishes of all who seemed to men of the fourteenth century worthy of a hearing. The reign of Edward I had shown that parliament was a valuable ally against local or class interests, and a dangerous enemy only if the king should aim at arbitrary or despotic rule. The position of the French king was both stronger and weaker than that of the English ruler. The royal domain covered half the area of modern France, and within this territory the king was absolute; the Estates General was called only to register the royal commands. Outside the domain lands, however, the king was thought of merely as a feudal suzerain with strictly circumscribed powers. In the four great fiefs of Burgundy, Flanders, Brittany, and Aquitaine, or Guienne, loyalty to the French monarchy was very slight, and nowhere in France was national self-consciousness so marked as in England. National feeling was growing, however, and feudalism was retreating; the policy of absolutism and centralization pursued by Philip IV and his predecessors seemed well on the way to success.

Eventually England and France were to walk in the paths marked by Edward I and Philip the Fair, but only after a century and a half of turmoil and confusion during which the two countries seem again and again on the verge of slipping back into feudal anarchy. Several factors helped to produce this period of apparent chaos. The progress which had been made towards national

CHAP. XXXV

unity rested largely on the ability of individual monarchs and their advisors. Feudalism was losing ground by the thirteenth century but it was not dead in either France or England. The king had one strong ally, the rising middle class, with its devotion to law and order. From this class came trained legal advisors, military aid, and above all, money. Thus armed, a shrewd and tactful ruler could hope to broaden and deepen the royal power, by sowing dissension among the nobles, by taking advantage of legal quibbles, and, in the last analysis, by force. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both France and England suffered from poor leadership. With two or three exceptions the monarchs were grotesquely unfitted to guide their subjects through this difficult period of transition. Some were enamored of outworn chivalric ideals and wasted their slender resources on tournaments and futile wars, while others were incipiently or actually insane. Whenever a king who responded to the needs of the times appeared he found willing allies in the task of restoring order, but without their royal leader the advocates of unity and strong government were powerless. A second cause of disorder was economic change. Economic, as well as political, feudalism was decaying, and leaving behind it a problem which is yet awaiting solution—the labor problem. The bungling efforts of governments and individuals to restrain the inevitable evolution from serf to free labor, combined with such untoward disasters as the Black Death, produced profound social unrest, intensified at times into bitter class warfare. Finally, influencing and complicating the social, political, and economic problems, there was the series of devastating conflicts between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War.

Obstacles to Unity

The extent to which orderly government in the fourteenth century was dependent upon the personal character of the monarch, is shown by the reign of Edward II. By unremitting toil, toil which lasted to the last day of his life, Edward I had succeeded in enhancing greatly the power of England and her king. His son and successor, Edward of Carnarvon, had been carefully trained for the high office he was to inherit, but he had neither capacity nor taste for the strenuous business of governing. Favorites greedily absorbed honors and revenues while Scotland was lost through the great victory of Robert Bruce at Bannockburn and disorder spread throughout England. The greater barons once more asserted themselves and in 1311 seized control of the government, but their misrule soon convinced the gentry and burgesses that there was little to choose between selfish nobles and

Edward II 1307-1327

CHAP. XXXV

selfish favorites. Consequently, in 1322 parliament consented to the overthrow of the baronial oligarchy, and for the next four years Edward's favorites were again supreme. Their excesses raised enemies in all classes, so that when Edward's queen, Isabella, raised the standard of revolt, he was deserted by everyone. On the significant principle that the voice of the people was the voice of God, Edward's enemies submitted a long statement of Edward's misdeeds to parliament, which demanded his abdication and chose his eldest son, Edward, as king. In constitutional history this action of parliament was of great importance. For over a century the idea had prevailed in England that the king was not above the law. But what recourse had the subjects of a ruler who refused to recognize his obligations and limitations? From the days of King John the feudal nobles had had their solution ready: when a monarch betrayed his trust the functions of government were to be exercised by a committee of the barons. By 1327 rule by a feudal oligarchy had proved no less vicious than the rule of a bad king, and parliament now gave a new answer: an unworthy king might be deposed by parliament. This was undoubtedly an advance, but it is also evidence that parliament itself had not yet developed capacity for government; it could merely prevent the monarch from ruling too badly. That the threat of parliamentary action gave no promise of good government is shown by the record of the succeeding three years. Edward III was a minor at the time of his accession and the real power was in the hands of his mother, Isabella, and her lover, Mortimer. Their rule differed in no way from that of the deposed king, but they pillaged the country with impunity until Edward III suddenly, in 1330, declared himself of age and proceeded to drive his mother from court and hang her paramour.

Edward III 1327-1377

All England rejoiced at the prospect of another period of strong leadership, and for many years Edward justified the hopes of his subjects. In appearance and manner he was a worthy successor of the first Edward: tall, handsome, affable, and generous, delighting in the chase and the tournament, in short, the ideal medieval king. "Never had there been such a king since the days of Arthur, King of Great Britain." Like his grandfather, too, Edward III had a more practical side. Until he became absorbed in the struggle with France he watched vigilantly over English commerce and industry, striving by legislation and diplomacy to strengthen the economic resources of his country. The foundations of the English woollen industry were laid by encouraging the immigration of Flemish weavers, by tariffs checking the export

CHAP. XXXV

of raw wool, and by sumptuary legislation prohibiting the wearing of foreign-made cloth. Native ship-owners were shown every favor, partly because merchant ships became part of the royal navy in time of war. So successful was this policy that England entered on a period of unparalleled prosperity. "A new sun seemed to have risen," wrote a chronicler.

In France also, the early years of the fourteenth century saw a great rise in the general level of comfort. The country had experienced for the first time in its history over a century of comparative peace. The population was growing rapidly and was now over twenty millions, as compared with the four or five millions in England. Paris with three hundred thousand inhabitants was the largest city in western Europe. London, with less than fifty thousand, seemed puny by comparison. "Peace had created this well-being, which war was about to destroy."

French prosperity

Enmity between England and France was inevitable at the end of the middle ages. Kings patched up truces with great show of amity, but, as a contemporary cynically remarked, their love was that of cat for dog. So long as England possessed land in France, peace was merely an interlude between hostilities. Aquitaine in the hands of the king of England must be a perpetual source of irritation to the king of France, while the English ruler rebelled against his position as feudal vassal of the crown of France, and could not forget the rich territories, especially Normandy, which had once been English. The territorial problem was the fundamental cause of trouble, but complicating factors existed in abundance. Chief among these were the closely parallel problems of Scotland and Flanders, provinces united to England and France respectively by feudal ties against which sentiment, tradition, and economic interest chafed incessantly. The French king allied himself with Scotland, and in 1333 gave shelter and aid to David Bruce, who had been driven into exile by the English party in Scotland. The wool of England and the looms of Flanders created a bond which Edward was glad to strengthen. Another minor but persistent source of friction was the continual raiding and piracy of French and English sailors, who disguised their crimes under a pretense of patriotic endeavor.

Anglo-French Enmity

The fuel of war was thus piled high when the question of the succession to the French throne set off the conflagration which was to last for over a century, with disastrous consequences for both countries. The circumstances were as follows: between 1314 and 1328 the three sons of Philip the Fair—Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV—reigned in succession and died without legit-

The French Succession Question

CHAP. XXXV

imate male issue. The last two had had daughters, but the French lawyers declared that "custom prohibited the succession of a woman, and consequently also of her son, to the throne of France." Accordingly, Philip of Valois, cousin of these last Capetians, became king as Philip VI. The decision of the lawyers was actually based on expediency, not on law, although in the next generation an obscure clause in the law of the Salian Franks was dug up to bolster their case. The real basis for the decision was the fact that if a woman's son could inherit, if a woman could be the "bridge and plank" on which her son might step to power, Edward III of England would be king of France. Against this thought, French feeling not unnaturally rebelled. Edward was disgruntled by his exclusion, and avoided open recognition of his successful rival until confronted with the alternatives of doing homage for his French lands or losing them. Then, in high dudgeon, he yielded.

Edward and Flanders

A few years later the situation in Flanders gave him an opportunity to reopen the question. The Flemings, none too loyal to France at best, were driven to the verge of rebellion by high taxes and the arbitrary conduct of the French officials. Edward's agents not only sought to foment this discontent but actually proposed that the Flemish towns renounce their allegiance to France and place themselves under English protection. To counteract this propaganda Philip ordered the arrest of all Englishmen in Flanders. Edward retaliated by placing an embargo on the export of wool from England. This move produced an immediate response. With their looms idle and unemployment rife, the Flemings, under Jacques van Artevelde, opened negotiations with Edward and agreed to recognize him as their suzerain if he would declare himself king of France. This Edward did in 1337. In the following year Philip VI convened the French Council of Peers at Paris and secured a decree declaring Edward's fiefs forfeited. The rupture was now complete.

The Hundred Years' War

"To the intent that the honourable and noble adventures of feats of arms, done and achieved by the wars of France and England, should notably be enregistered and put in perpetual memory, whereby the prewe and hardy may have ensample to encourage them in their well-doing, I, sir John Froissart, will treat and record an history of great louage and praise." Thus the knight begins his chronicle of the Hundred Years' War, and thus for centuries the tale was told in history, as a school of chivalry, "all noble hearts to encourage and to shew them ensample and matter of honour." But the modern eye looks past the pennons,

the scutcheons, and the armor to see a record of horror, atrocity, and devastation for which the Balkan peoples alone can now furnish parallels, while interest now focuses, not on deeds of arms, but rather on the slow evolution which produced the England and the France we know today.

The war began slowly. For two years both sides jockeyed for position, seeking alliances over all Europe. Great combinations were made and fell to pieces, and in the end the two antagonists stood facing each other, alone. In 1340 came the first shock, the naval battle of Sluys, which revealed the great strength of the new English weapon—the longbow in the hands of the yeoman. Before the clothyard shaft the knight stood helpless. The days of feudal cavalry were over, but it took the French generations to learn this fact, and they never mastered the technique of the longbow. After Sluys, another lull. Edward and Philip challenged each other to single combat in good knightly fashion, but nothing came of this comedy. English bands crossed freely to France, now that Sluys had given England control of the Channel, and marched through the northern provinces burning, murdering, and plundering. Finally, in 1346 Edward came with a large army and wandered aimlessly about from La Hogue to the gates of Paris, and thence retreated northward laden with plunder, leaving desolation in his track. At Crécy the French overtook him, a great feudal host, nourished on the traditions of the tournament and courtly romances, thirsting for glory and prisoners who might be held for ransom. The French had infantry, Genoese crossbowmen, but their strings had been wet by rain, and their missiles fell short. The French knights charged over their own infantry, "this rabble," their horses took fright, and soon the host was a confused mass of horses and men into which the English bowmen poured their arrows "thicker than snow-flakes." The remnants of the French force escaped in the fog which mercifully descended at sunset, and after a brief rest Edward moved on to Calais and sat down before that great commercial city for a siege which lasted almost two years. Months passed without any relief from Philip. Finally he appeared with another feudal array, and in good knightly form requested Edward to bring his army from behind its ditches to some more open place. When the English king so far transgressed the rules of chivalry as to deny this request, Philip became discouraged and marched his force away without striking a blow, leaving the burghers of Calais to be starved into surrender. So ended the glorious campaign of Crécy. Edward had exhausted his treasury, wearied his own

Sluys, Crécy, and Calais

CHAP. XXXV

country, and devastated northern France—and conquered one city. This might have suggested the futility of trying to acquire and hold all France.

After the surrender of Calais fighting languished for a time while both countries lay prostrate beneath the Black Death. In 1350, Philip VI died, but his successor, John the Good, was more, rather than less, enamored of the outworn chivalry which had cost France so dear at Crécy. When, therefore, Edward's son, the Black Prince, sallied forth from Aquitaine in 1356 and pillaged far and wide, the army which slowly formed against him was the old feudal array. Even so, with a force more than four times as large as the English, John might have hoped for victory, but recklessness and lack of discipline made Poitiers a repetition of Crécy. The French charges were broken up in confusion, King John was captured, and at the end of the day "there lay dead all the flower of French chivalry." Four years of sporadic raiding followed, closed in 1360 by the Peace of Brétigny. By this treaty, really a truce necessitated by mutual exhaustion, Edward tacitly surrendered his claim to the French throne and received in return southwestern France—the ancient Aquitaine—,and Calais and Ponthieu in the north, all in full sovereignty. In addition a large ransom was to be paid for John the Good.

Poitiers and Brétigny

Neither side had the slightest intention of living up to the Treaty of Brétigny. John's ransom was never paid, and like a gallant knight he surrendered himself to the English and remained in captivity until his death in 1364. His absence was a blessing for France. The Dauphin, later Charles V, was a poor knight—he had fled ignominiously from the field of Poitiers—but he was an excellent statesman. In civil affairs his bourgeois advisors labored indefatigably to repair the ravages of war and plague. The army was placed under a rough Breton gentleman, Du Guesclin, who recruited an efficient fighting force from the innumerable bands of freebooters, French and English alike, who had settled on the French countryside. Charles himself contributed an almost Italian finesse in diplomacy which bewildered the English and raised rebellion throughout Aquitaine. When the English in desperation renewed the war in 1369, Du Guesclin refused to meet them in open battle, but contented himself with innumerable minor victories. By 1375 the English were exhausted and consented to a truce. Of their great French possessions only Calais and a small area around Bordeaux remained. Before the truce expired Edward III and the Black Prince were dead and a child was ruling in England. The war continued in

Revival of French Fortunes

theory, but the fighters were for the next generation merely pirates and robbers.

Unrest in England

The reign of Edward III, which had begun so auspiciously, was to end most dismally. "For as in hys bygynnyng all thynges were Joyfull an lykyng to hym and to all the peple, And in his myd age he passed all men in high Joye and worshype and blessydnesse, Ryght so, whan he drow into Age, drawyng downward thrugh lecchorye and other synnes, litill and litill all tho Jofull and blyssed thynges, good fortune and prosperite decresed and myshapped, And Infortunat thynges, and unprofytable harmes, with many evele, bygan for to sprynge, and, the more harm is, conteyned longe tyme after." These "Infortunat thynges, and unprofytable harmes" were the inevitable concomitant of social, political, and economic change, but they were greatly complicated by war, pestilence, and poor leadership. At first the war had been very popular in England, giving, as it did, an opportunity for the display of national prowess and for plunder and adventure. High taxes were sufficient to cool the martial ardor of the prosaic middle class even before Poitiers, and in the years after the Peace of Brétigny disillusionment and anger became general as conquests melted away and French pirates hampered trade and inflicted on English coast towns the horrors which had become a commonplace in the countryside of France. Returned soldiers, unwilling or unable to find legitimate employment, harried the rural districts either as bandits or as the hired retainers of some feudal lord.

The Black Death

The unrest and disorder produced by war were heightened by the Black Death. Pestilence was endemic in an age of narrow, filthy, and sunless streets and almost complete ignorance of sanitation, but there existed no parallel for the plague which came sweeping out of the East in 1347 "by operation of the superior bodies, or rather for our enormous iniquities, by the just anger of God." The infection spread in the next year over Europe, and at the first sign of the fatal symptoms—black blotches, boils, swellings—"one Citizen fled after another, and one neighbor had not any care after another . . . Father and Mother fled away from their owne Children, even as if they no way appertained to them." Streets and houses were filled with rotting corpses, whole towns were deserted. All sense of proportion disappeared. Above the stench of the dead and the groans of the dying rose the shouts of those who abandoned themselves to drunkenness and licentiousness, and the screams of religious zealots who wandered about beating one another with knotted whips. On the whole the

CHAP. XXXV

Church rose nobly to the crisis—not the pope, who hid in solitary terror at Avignon—but the priests who carried the Sacrament in almost continuous procession, blessing the dying and burying the dead in endless shallow trenches. By 1350 the fury of the plague had subsided, but it had carried away one-third, possibly one-half, the population of western Europe, and bequeathed to the survivors acute social and economic problems. Morally and intellectually, too, the Black Death left an indelible impression, heightening the violence, the ecstatic piety, the complete depravity, which mark this stark period.

Labor Troubles

In England, the first effect of the plague was to improve the lot of the peasant. The expenses of tournament and court were already leading many noblemen to commute feudal dues for money payment; now, with fields untilled and labor scarce, the serf found his bargaining power greatly increased. If the lord refused to lighten the conditions of service the serf could flee to some other manor where the harassed bailiff would be glad to hire him without question. Parliament attempted in vain to put back the clock by the Statute of Laborers (1351), which fixed wages and prices at pre-plague figures; the need for labor was too acute and the task of apprehending the fugitive serf was too great. For the next generation the peasant enjoyed the greatest prosperity of his history.

> Then laborers landless, that lived by their hands,
> Would deign not to dine upon worts a day old;
> No penny-ale pleased them, no piece of good bacon,
> Only fresh flesh or fish, well fried or well baked,
> Ever hotter and still hotter, to heat well their maw.
> He must highly be hired, or else will he chide,
> Bewailing his woe, as a workman to live . . .
> He grumbles 'gainst God, and grieves without reason,
> And curses the king, and his counsel after,
> Who license the laws that the laborers grieve.

Wycliffe c. 1320–1384

The churchman found his lot no less trying than the noble in these disturbed years when all authority was questioned. The pope at Avignon seemed to Englishmen no more than the vassal of the French king. Patriotism rebelled against tithes which went to swell the coffers of the ally of the French enemy and against the holding of English benefices by foreign appointees of the pope. This feeling found expression in the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire (1351 and 1353), which prohibited papal appointments to English benefices and judicial appeals to the papal curia.

Like most medieval laws, these statutes were not obeyed, but they were significant symptoms. The immorality of the clergy, the corruption of church courts, "Cæsarian" prelates who served the king and neglected their spiritual functions, all were criticized by doggerel rhymsters, popular preachers, even by members of parliament and noble lords. Anti-clericalism found its leader in an Oxford don, John Wycliffe. Wycliffe reached maturity in the stirring days of Crécy and the Black Death. His first attacks were directed against the worldly life and the temporal possessions of churchmen. His solution was that of the Spiritual Franciscans, apostolic poverty. The nobles listened sympathetically to his suggestion that the temporal lords seize the church lands and replace the prelates as royal advisers. For some years the baronial party protected him against the wrath of pope and archbishop, but one by one his allies fell away as he moved from minor to major heresies. From denouncing the political and financial evils of the hierarchy, he proceeded to an attack on the spiritual foundations of the Church. Faith and a good life he held to be more important than adherence to fixed dogmas. Finally, he undermined the whole theory of the sanctity of the priesthood by denying the miracle of transubstantiation and the power of the priest to absolve from sin.

The Lollards

Wycliffe had a large following at Oxford and presently he began sending out "poor priests" to preach throughout the country. Holding that the Bible contained all truths necessary to salvation, he had an English translation prepared, but in the days before the invention of printing few copies were made. Many of his followers grafted radical social beliefs on his religious teachings —Wycliffe himself seems to have advocated communism for a time—and this circumstance was sufficient to secure the opposition of those in power who had applauded his attack on the pope and condoned his religious heresies. In 1382 he was expelled from Oxford, but his popularity saved him from further persecution. Not so his followers, the "Lollards," as they were now known. They were harassed mercilessly and, in the next century, burned as heretics. Many recanted and the movement finally disappeared from sight, but its influence survived in the heightened anti-clericalism of the nation as a whole, while recent researches have shown that small groups of Lollards survived into the sixteenth century to form a nucleus for the English Reformation.

Political Unrest

While his country was in social and religious turmoil Edward III was sinking to a dishonored grave. All the proud chivalry of his youth, all the responsibilities of government, were forgot-

CHAP. XXXV

ten, while the king absorbed himself in ignoble pleasures. Inevitably faction and discord reappeared. The nobles, led by one of Edward's younger sons, John of Gaunt, and a more national and popular party led by Edward, the Black Prince, the dying heir to the throne, fought savagely for control of the government and of the king's person. The death first of the Black Prince, and then of Edward, in 1377, merely intensified the quarrel into a struggle for domination in the council of regency of the new boy king, Richard II. The English people looked on in hopeless dismay and echoed Langland's dictum: "Where the cat is a kitten, the court is a sad one; . . . Woe to thee, land, where thy king is a child!"

The Peasants' Revolt

Suddenly, in 1381, social revolution broke over the distracted land. The Peasants' Revolt was the first English struggle between capital and labor, but it was not an isolated phenomenon. War, the Black Death, decaying feudalism, bad government, the exploitation of the lower by the upper classes in the cities—all these, and other factors, were producing social unrest throughout western Europe, and in the second half of the fourteenth century there were uprisings in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. In England, radical agitators, many of them followers of Wycliffe, had been wandering about the country for years. Democratic doctrines were popular. The author of *Piers Plowman* lectures all classes indiscriminately, and even ventures to remind the king that "The might of the commons had made him to rule." The Rousseau of the movement was the "mad priest," John Ball, who preached on that disconcerting text:

> When Adam delved and Eve span
> Who was then the gentleman?

Wat Tyler

The outbreak began in Essex when royal commissioners came to collect the unpopular poll tax. Soon Kent was in arms and Canterbury taken. Then, led by a witty and sharp-tongued demagogue, Wat Tyler, a motley army started for London. The suddenness of the rising stunned the nobles and the government, and manor houses were attacked and taken one by one. There was little violence; old charters were burned and in each locality the peasants retired contented with new documents. Throughout, both in England and on the Continent, the rebels showed an almost pathetic confidence in written promises. In London panic spread at the news of the approaching force. The gates were closed and the king and his council retired to the Tower, but sym-

CHAP. XXXV

pathizers within the city opened the gates and the unpopular ministers were forced to look on helplessly while their palaces disappeared in flames. Then the Tower itself was captured and for a day the city was given over to rioting and slaughter. Members of the royal council, lawyers, rich merchants, and foreigners were murdered at sight. On the following day Richard went out to meet the rebels at Smithfield. In the midst of the parley Tyler was killed in a scuffle, and the king and his small escort stood helpless before the angry mob. With superb courage Richard rode into their midst, saying "Sirs, will you shoot your king? I will be your chief and captain, you shall have from me all that ye seek." The crisis passed, and a loyal force soon appeared, before which the peasants dispersed meekly.

The reaction now commenced. In all the disaffected counties the rebels were hunted down and killed. When a deputation of peasants reminded Richard of his promises he retorted, "Villeins ye are still, and villeins ye shall remain." Before the appalling vengeance of the nobles, the violence of Tyler's followers in London pales to insignificance. All the fury of a frightened class was vented on the now helpless peasants and city workers, and for many years the lot of the villein was incomparably harsher than before his blow for freedom. Serfdom was to disappear almost completely within a century in England, but only because of the operation of economic forces which made it more profitable to convert arable land into sheep pastures.

Revolt Suppressed

The personal rule of Richard II, which began shortly after the Revolt, was to furnish a fascinating study in psychology for Shakespeare, but this last of the Plantagenets contributed little to his country or his times. The combination of courage, tact, and dissembling hypocrisy which Richard had shown in 1381, enabled him to reëstablish order and the royal authority, but after 1396 he was seized by an almost insane passion for despotic power. When in 1399 Henry of Lancaster, eldest son of John of Gaunt, revolted, Richard was as defenseless as Edward II had been; he was deposed, and Henry became king, in theory by hereditary right, in reality by right of conquest.

Richard II 1377–1399

Judged by its ability to prevent misgovernment, the record of parliament in the fourteenth century was a sorry one. Two kings had been deposed, but in both cases parliament merely put the stamp of its approval on what had been accomplished by the force of arms. It is more true to say that parliament in the fourteenth century was great for what it attempted rather than for what it accomplished. The financial needs created by the war gave par-

Parliament

CHAP. XXXV

liament as a whole an opportunity to assert itself, while the social and political chaos of Richard's minority caused the commons to unite against the turbulent barons. The resultant gains may be listed under five heads. First of all, by refusing to vote supplies until the end of the session, consent was secured for the principle that grievances must be redressed in return for new taxes. Secondly, money might be voted for specific purposes and the ministers required to submit accounts to parliament. Further, "no act in parliament should be repealed save by the consent of parliament." In order to make these reforms effective, two checks on arbitrary power were devised: parliament was to have a voice in choosing the king's ministers, and, as a last resort, if a king refused to recognize his limitations, he might be deposed. Here we have the salient points in a complete system of popular control, but the events of the next century were to demonstrate that England was not ready for popular government. In the days of Cavalier and Roundhead, however, the annals of the fourteenth century were to be conned assiduously for precedents upon which opposition to royal absolutism might be based. It is because of their importance in the later history of England, therefore, that the events of the fourteenth century deserve more extended treatment than that given the equally stirring, but less enduring, episodes in the history of France during this same period.

War, pestilence, and bad government influence and distort the evolution of England in the fourteenth century; war, pestilence, and bad government overwhelm France in these years and make of her history a record of misery and horror through which Froissart's gayly caparisoned knights and dames move in incongruous splendor. During the generation between the accession of Philip VI in 1328 and the Peace of Brétigny in 1360, the prosperity and orderly government so painfully built up in France during the thirteenth century disappeared. Large areas had been systematically devastated by Edward III and the Black Prince, while bands of robber knights roamed over the whole country almost at will Distress was heightened by the Black Death; over fifty thousand died of the plague in Paris alone. Philip VI and John the Good showed themselves powerless to meet the situation and the Estates General, which was frequently called on for new taxes, was equally impotent. Then came Poitiers, and the whole country rose in revolt. All blame for the national disaster was thrown on the nobles, many of whom had fled in panic or thrown down their arms at Poitiers. The Estates General of the North met in

Results of the War for France

Paris, and under the leadership of Etienne Marcel, who occupied the powerful position of provost of the Paris merchants, demanded a share in the government and a change in the composition of the royal council. When the Dauphin, who was ruling in the place of the captive King John, procrastinated, Marcel and his followers murdered the unpopular councillors. The Dauphin fled, leaving Marcel in control of Paris. The events in Paris reverberated throughout northern France and in 1358 armed bands of villeins began burning and pillaging much as the English peasants were to do later. As in England, too, the revolt was ended by treachery. Marcel and the leaders of the peasants were first murdered. Then came the atrocious reaction. Within a fortnight some twenty-five thousand peasants suspected of participation in the "Jacquerie," as the rising was called, were executed. The reform movement of the Estates died with its leader; class and provincial jealousies, political indifference, and loyalty to the crown, based on its past achievements, had again combined to prevent the growth of popular institutions in France.

The Dauphin, who became king as Charles V in 1364, had united with the nobles to resist Marcel and the peasants, not from any sympathy with feudalism, but rather to save his own power. During the twenty years between the Treaty of Brétigny and his death in 1380 he labored tirelessly to rebuild his country. He was not an innovator; he merely reverted to the paternalistic absolutism of the great Capetians, but with such good effect that he succeeded in freeing most of France from English rule and in reëstablishing order and comparative prosperity. The extent of his success may be measured by the fact that during the regency of eight years which followed his death France suffered from nothing more serious than a peasants' rising, which was easily suppressed. His successor, Charles VI, became of age in 1388, and immediately set about the task of recruiting an efficient civil service from the middle class. With the aid of these "Marmosets," as the nobles contemptuously called his bourgeois advisors, he succeeded in making the royal power felt in all parts of the realm as it had not been since the days of Philip IV. Suddenly, in the midst of this work, the king was stricken with epileptic insanity (1392), and the importance of the king as a bulwark of law and order almost immediately received a new proof as France relapsed into feudal discord worse, if possible, than the chaos which Charles V had ended.

Temporary Restoration of Order

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CHAP. XXXVI

WITH the accession of Henry IV in 1399 begins the "Lancastrian Experiment," the first sincere attempt to inaugurate popular government in England. Henry was an usurper whose right to reign rested for legal basis on a parliamentary decree which might be reversed. He promised, therefore, that "he would not be guided by his own will nor by his own desire or individual opinion, but by common advice, counsel, and assent." Tact and energy of the highest order were required to maintain a majority in the fickle Houses; these merits Henry possessed, and in addition the valuable quality of efficiency which enabled him to rule economically and thus to avoid dangerous controversies over taxation Even so, disputes arose, and Henry was forced to give tacit or avowed consent to two important principles: all money bills must originate in the House of Commons, and grants were to be made on the last day of the session, after all grievances had been redressed. It was even proposed that a committee appointed by parliament sanction all acts of the king, but this foreshadowing of the modern cabinet came to nothing. It is a tribute to Henry's genius that despite the harassing interference of a niggardly parliament he was able to quell revolts in Wales and on the northern frontier, where the powerful family of Percy formed a center of feudal disaffection. When the "unquiet time of Henry IV" ended in 1413, England was in possession of internal peace and order, boons but rarely granted her in these troubled centuries.

Henry IV 1399–1413

His son, Henry V, was viewed askance by many because in his youth he had "served Venus no less fervently than Mars," and appeared to lack the sober virtues of his father. Responsibility brought a complete change of character, and for the rest of his life frugality and caution, marred by a certain unctuous self-righteousness, were reflected in all his actions. If his energies had been concentrated on the internal development of his realm it seems probable that England might have attained in his reign the high position she was to occupy in the last years of Elizabeth.

Henry V 1413–1422

The force of tradition was strong, however, and with no great problems demanding solution at home, Englishmen once more turned longing eyes across the Channel, where the situation seemed propitious for a renewed attempt to conquer France.

The Burgundian Armagnac Feud

For over twenty years France had been torn by factional quarrels. Royal policy had paved the way for this turmoil. For generations it had been the custom to invest younger sons of the royal house with fiefs which had reverted to the crown, on the theory that relatives of the king would be loyal to the head of the family. In this way Philip the Hardy, a son of King John the Good, had acquired Burgundy, to which Flanders was added by a marriage alliance arranged by Charles V. Similarly, Charles VI had invested his younger brother Louis with the duchy of Orleans. When Charles VI became insane a bitter rivalry began between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans for control in the council of regency. Until the death of Philip the Hardy in 1404 the contest was peaceful, but his successor, John the Fearless, precipitated civil war by compassing the murder of Louis of Orleans in 1407. Leadership of the Orleanist faction was assumed by Bernard of Armagnac, father-in-law of the young duke of Orleans; from this circumstance the ensuing disorder has become known in French history as the Burgundian-Armagnac feud. Both sides intrigued with Henry IV of England, who listened to and encouraged each in turn, but wisely refused to intervene. The city government and University of Paris sought to end the strife in 1413 by the *Ordonnance Cabochienne,* which entrusted the government to a bureaucracy amenable to popular control, but the Orleanists suppressed this movement.

Agincourt

Such was the situation when in 1414 Henry V revived the English claim to the throne of France. Legally his position was absurd; even if the tacit surrender of his claims by Edward III might be set aside, the usurping Lancastrians were not the legal heirs of the Plantagenets. This fact did not deter Henry, who invaded France in 1415 and at Agincourt won a battle which duplicated the events of Crécy in almost every particular. The battle settled nothing, but two years later he returned to France as the ally of John of Burgundy and began a systematic conquest of Normandy. Three things mark off these campaigns of 1415 and 1417 from earlier English visitations. First of all, Henry prohibited and severely punished plundering; by this he showed a realization that government by fear alone was out of date and that France could be held only if her people acquiesced in their new allegiance. Secondly, the French showed an intensity of

CHAP. XXXVI

national feeling hitherto unknown. Despite the fact that Henry offered peace and good government, the cities of Normandy held out tenaciously. At Rouen the heroic resistance aroused the wonder of the English:

> They etete doggys, they ete cattys,
> They ete mysse, horse and rattys.

Finally, in these campaigns artillery played a conspicuous part in siege operations The guns were still crude and did little damage. An English rhymster enthusiastically wrote:

> Among the houses the balles ren,
> And mad many a Frenche men lame.

He exaggerated greatly; the guns sometimes thundered away for days without injuring a soul. The balls did, however, occasionally open a breach in fortifications, and this was a very significant development. The days of the heavy-walled castle with its bristling turrets were over, and with the castle went one of the bulwarks of feudalism.

Treaty of Troyes

While Henry was conquering town after town in Normandy, desperate efforts were being made to end the paralyzing strife of Burgundians and Armagnacs. The Dauphin Charles, who had allied himself with the Orleanists, at last met John of Burgundy on the bridge at Montereau, but the conference ended in a scuffle during which John was set on and murdered. The new duke, Philip, miscalled "the Good," at once allied himself with Henry V. In 1420 Philip concluded the Peace of Troyes in the name of the mad Charles VI, who was in his possession. By this treaty the Dauphin was declared a rebel and Henry was recognized as the heir to the French throne. Henry was to marry the daughter of Charles, Catherine, and to take over the government of France at once. With his claims thus fortified, Henry set out to complete the subjugation of France, and had obtained possession of all territory north of the Loire when, worn out by incessant campaigning, he died (1422). A few months later Charles VI followed him to the grave.

The patriotic resistance which many of the cities of northern France had shown against Henry V made the chances of a permanent English occupation seem small. With his death and the accession of the infant Henry VI the position of the invaders was further weakened. Hostility to the English was general, show-

ing itself in sporadic risings of nobles, burghers, and peasants alike. Even in Burgundy the alliance with the foreigner became unpopular as soon as Henry V showed that he really intended to rule, and not be merely the tool of Philip the Good. Most important of all, the English themselves were tired of the war and had begun to be fearful lest in the end their king might subordinate the interests of his small English kingdom to his great French realm. Despite these disadvantages the fortunes of the English rose steadily higher during the years following Henry's death. This anomaly is explained by two things. The English regent at Paris, the duke of Bedford, was an able administrator and a skilful diplomat. To the territory under his rule, over half of France, he gave firm but just rule, preserving local customs and, wherever possible, using French officials. The duke of Burgundy was kept in line by soft words and bribes. Finance was Bedford's greatest problem, but with the meager grants reluctantly given by the English parliament and such taxes as his impoverished French provinces yielded, he managed to maintain a small but efficient army. Slowly but steadily the territory of the *Roi de Paris,* as Henry VI was called, was enlarged, until in 1428 the English force arrived before Orleans, which was the gateway to southern France. Bedford had not enough men adequately to besiege the city, but after the "Battle of the Herrings," when most of the Lenten fare of Orleans was captured, the defenders began to feel the pinch of hunger.

Bedford

Bedford with his slender resources could not have been successful had the French possessed a leader capable of uniting the country against the English. The exiled Dauphin, Charles VII, the *Roi de Bourges,* was the logical person to undertake this task. Almost half of France was in his possession and even in the north the people were only waiting for the signal to rise. But Charles was a sorry leader for such a movement. Weak, deformed, so cowardly that he lived in abject terror of assassination, he surrounded himself with flatterers, most of them Armagnacs who had been involved in the murder of John the Fearless and were therefore anxious to prevent a reconciliation between Charles and Philip of Burgundy. The Estates of the South voted money which La Trémoille and the other favorites appropriated for their own uses. The Constable Richemont, a Breton warrior of the school of Du Guesclin, was exiled from court for his efforts to stir Charles to action. Of fighting there was plenty in these loyal southern provinces, but fighting only in the form of private wars between feudal lords.

The Dauphin

CHAP. XXXVI

Jeanne d'Arc

In 1429, with the English before Orleans and Charles cowering miserably at Chinon, the national leadership which the Dauphin had refused to assume was provided by the peasant girl of Domrémy. The story of the Maid of France has been made familiar to all in prose and poetry. Jeanne d'Arc was born at Domrémy in north-eastern France between 1410 and 1412. Her childhood was spent in the midst of the turmoil of the Burgundian-Armagnac feud; then came the English invasion. Her sensitive imagination became inflamed by the "pity that was in the Kingdom of France," and in true medieval fashion her thoughts and ideas were soon transformed into "voices," messages from her favorite saints. In time the voices designated her as the one chosen by God to save her suffering country. At first she resisted, then yielded to the divine command. Visions might give Jeanne confidence in her mission; they would not in themselves have been sufficient to inspire a generation made sceptical by a superabundance of ecstatic virgins. But to mystic conviction of the divine origin of her mission, Jeanne, though she knew "neither A nor B," united shrewd common sense, a quick and witty tongue, and an extraordinary power of persuasion. Thus armed, she set forth in 1429 from Domrémy and, surmounting the almost insuperable barriers of her own sex and the inertia, scepticism, and hopelessness of military men, the Dauphin, and his favorites, Jeanne soon found herself at the head of a force to relieve Orleans. She slipped through the loose English cordon and entered the city with little trouble. The effect of her presence was magical. The Orleanists "felt comforted, as if the siege were already lifted, by the divine virtue which was felt to dwell in this simple maid whom all—men, women, and children—loved with a passionate affection." The enthusiasm of the French was equalled by the discomfiture of the English. As Bedford said: "There felle by the hand of God, as it semeth, a greet stroke upon youre peuple that was assembled there in greete nombre, caused in greete partye, as I trowe, of . . . a disciple and leme of the fende called the Pucelle, that used fals enchantments and sorcerie, the whiche stroke and discomfiture not oonly lessed in greet partie the nombre of youre peuple ther, but as wel withdrawe the courage of the remnant in marvaillous wise, and courage your adverse partie and enemyes."

Triumph and Death of Jeanne

With enthusiasm and confidence transferred from the English to the French side, the pressure on Orleans was soon relieved by a series of daring attacks on the English positions around the city. On the news of the victory there was a great stirring all over France. The Dauphin was still the greatest handicap to his own

CHAP. XXXVI

cause and it required all Jeanne's persuasive powers to goad him to the second step of her program, the coronation at Rheims. Spurred on by the voices which cried unceasingly *"Fille de Dieu, va, va, va! Je serai à ton aide!"* she persisted, and won again. Through the heart of the English possessions her little army moved to Rheims, where Charles was crowned. As the Maid had foretold, the coronation fastened the loyalty of France on Charles, and it seems certain that a vigorous campaign would have freed France from the invaders within a few months. But Charles was weary of action and weary of Jeanne's harangues. The favorable moment was allowed to slip by, leaving France to suffer for twenty weary years. Jeanne was captured; Charles did not lift a finger to save her. The English had their revenge at Rouen. A servile ecclesiastical court condemned the Maid, and two years after her departure from Domrémy on her divinely inspired mission, she was burned to death as a heretic.

The cowardice and folly of the king she had raised to power enabled the English to kill the Maid; they could not kill the impression made on France by the events of 1429. Despite Charles and his favorites, despite the valiant efforts of Bedford, the tide had definitely turned. In 1433 the national party, led by Richemont, drove La Trémoille from court; in 1435 Philip of Burgundy deserted the English; in the same year the death of Bedford left the invaders leaderless; in 1436 Paris was captured. Town after town opened its gates to the French, and Charles, under the tutelage of good counsellors, now began to emerge from his apathy. From 1444 to 1449 there was a truce, during which the French army and finances were reformed. When the war was renewed the English posts fell rapidly; by 1453 only Calais remained of the French realm of Henry V. The Hundred Years' War was over.

End of the War

During the second half of his reign, from the truce of 1444 to his death in 1461, Charles VII earned the title of "the Well-Served." Once more, as under Charles V and during the first years of Charles VI, the middle class dominated the royal council. Charles VII never became a great leader, but during these important years he loyally supported his bourgeois advisors and suppressed the efforts of the disaffected nobles to regain control of the government. The problems confronting the rejuvenated king and his council were stupendous. In addition to the task of expelling the English, they had to repair the damage wrought by over a century of almost incessant strife and bad rule. Recurrent pestilence and famine had aided war to depopulate and desolate the country, while thousands of Frenchmen had emigrated.

Condition of France

CHAP. XXXVI

Wolves prowled around Paris and even invaded the city; large tracts of farm land had gone out of cultivation. "The English," it was said, "brought forests to France." In every city private and public buildings had fallen in ruins. Roads disappeared and canals, rivers, and harbors had become unfit for use; commerce ceased. Large elements of the population had become thoroughly demoralized; outlandish cults, tales of unnatural cruelty, all the symptoms of a civilization in dissolution, are to be encountered in contemporary chronicles. Over the desolate land roamed bands of unpaid soldiers and professional robbers, "the flayers."

Charles the Well-Served, 1422-1461

By the end of Charles' rule most of the more obvious ravages of war were repaired. The flayers were hunted down and killed, or driven into other countries. Large sums were expended for the repair of avenues of communication, and commerce was encouraged by bourgeois councillors who were sensitive to the needs of their own class. A new class of small freeholders grew up on the waste lands. For the serf this was a golden age, as the period after the Black Death had been in England. The rising prices hurt the nobles, whose feudal dues were fixed. This circumstance, combined with extravagant living, induced many a lord to free his serfs for money payments, and with unclaimed land all around him, the peasant found it easy to acquire a plot of his own. In this way were established most of the innumerable small holdings which at first strike one as an anomaly in eighteenth century France. The Estates grumbled at the high taxes entailed by the royal reforms, but loyalty to the crown was strong, and many appreciated the wisdom of Charles' policy. In the end, far from establishing a check on the royal power, the Estates abdicated by consenting to taxes like the famous *taille,* or land tax, which were to be levied in perpetuity. The nobles were also disaffected; they were excluded from the spoils of office just at a time when their financial needs were greatest. Charles was successful in preventing the formation of any formidable feudal combination, but he was unable to deal decisively with this difficult problem, especially as the Dauphin, later Louis XI, had allied himself with the nobles. When Louis fled to the court of the duke of Burgundy, Charles was besought to disinherit his son. Age had taught the old monarch wisdom, and he contented himself with the cynical prophecy that "my cousin of Burgundy is nourishing the fox which will eat his chickens."

Death of Charles

While Charles lay dying in 1461 he might well have rejoiced in the changed condition of his country since the dark days of 1432 when he, the disinherited Dauphin, hid trembling among his worth-

less favorites. Two pressing problems only he passed on to his rebellious son: a contentious and discontented nobility, and the determination of the Valois duke of Burgundy to emancipate himself from France by setting up an independent kingdom.

In Jeanne d'Arc we have seen one side of fifteenth century France: the purity, simplicity, and nobility of a character deriving its strength from profound religious faith. In Louis XI we see another, and far more prevalent, type. Where the Maid was filled with a selfless love of country, Louis was consumed by a desire for power. Religion played a large part in the life of both, but Jeanne's belief possessed a beauty and profundity which put her within that small company of whom St. Francis may be considered the leader, while religion with Louis was strictly a business proposition. He bought the favor of a saint as he would buy off a powerful lord. He made lavish offerings to the patron saints of his enemies just as he bribed the advisors of the same enemies. He purchased relics as a business man would purchase bonds. On his death bed he had the pope send him a saintly hermit to pray for his recovery—and had spies test the pious man to see that he was not a charlatan. The state treasurers were reduced to despair by this ruler "who bought the grace of God and of the Virgin Mary for more money than ever king did." Sir Walter Scott in *Quentin Durward* has made familiar the lineaments of this queer misshapen king, of whom it may truthfully be said that almost every part of his body was malformed. Familiar too are the cheap, untidy clothes, the battered hat with the little lead saint fastened in front. Above all, Scott has painted indelibly the character of the "Universal Spider," who lied and cheated shamelessly, who employed only men of low estate whom he had raised from, and could plunge back into, obscurity. These things are all true; Louis XI is a fascinating, but scarcely an admirable, figure. It is, however, not only unfair but misleading to measure a man of one age by the standards of another. Louis is marked off from most of the leaders of his time only by greater ability and intelligence.

Louis XI 1461–1483

Louis acquired political wisdom at great cost to himself and his people. During the first years of his rule he allied himself with the nobles and banished the middle class advisors of his father. Then he endeavored to emancipate himself from the nobles by stirring up strife between the various lords and by encouraging malcontents in the great fiefs, especially Burgundy, to revolt. His plans miscarried, and by 1465 he was confronted by a great feudal league led by Charles the Bold, who had taken over the rule of Burgundy from the aged Philip the Good. The nobles dignified the

Feudal Opposition

CHAP. XXXVI

struggle they precipiated in 1465 as the "War of the Commonweal;" in reality they were making a last stand for feudal independence against royal absolutism. Louis' foolish policy had alienated all classes, and when hostilities began he stood almost alone. He lost battle after battle, and was soon forced to make a peace which left large sections of France under feudal rule. He had learned a valuable lesson, however, and during the next decade he was tirelessly engaged in the task of regaining supremacy. War he assiduously avoided; too much hinged on the chance results of a battle. In diplomacy he soon became such a master that the Milanese ambassador admiringly reported that "one would think he had always lived in Italy." He had spies in every feudal court; the trusted advisors of many a lord were in his pay; secret archives were established to hold stolen papers. Members of the League of the Commonweal were detached from their allies by enormous bribes. Those who refused to yield to golden arguments found themselves deserted and confronted with the alternatives of surrender or imprisonment in one of the iron cages Louis had placed in many of the royal castles.

Charles the Bold

Charles the Bold was the most formidable foe with whom Louis was forced to deal. The Burgundian possessions now consisted of two enormous areas: in the east and south, the duchy and county of Burgundy and various imperial fiefs; in the north, Luxemburg, most of modern Holland and Belgium, and northwestern France to within fifty miles of Paris. Between these two divisions lay Lorraine; if he could acquire this, Charles would possess an unbroken domain stretching from Savoy to the North Sea and be in a position to revive the ninth century middle kingdom of Lotharingia. This plan Louis was determined to frustrate. He already envisaged, as had many of his predecessors, the ideal which has remained before Frenchmen to this day, a France which was to be bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the sea. Viewed in historical perspective, therefore, the wars of Louis and Charles are merely one phase in the struggle for the old middle kingdom, the struggle which began with the grandchildren of Charlemagne and is not yet ended. In the fifteenth century the outcome was largely determined by personal temperament; alike in ambition, Louis and Charles were different in almost every other respect. To the patience, craft, and consummate diplomacy of the French king, the Burgundian opposed a fiery temper and a stubborn and shortsighted reliance on military power. From 1465 to 1467 Charles was able to extort many concessions from Louis, who was powerless in the face of the united feudal forces, but after that Louis had the upper hand. With-

out committing himself in any overt way his agents and his money stirred the Rhine princes and the Swiss to attack Charles, who, in 1476, was killed battling against the Swiss. On receiving the news of his rival's death, Louis immediately set off on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to some of his favorite shrines. Then came a scramble for the spoils. Charles' heir was his daughter Mary, and Louis at first thought to settle the whole Burgundian question by marrying her to the Dauphin. This plan was frustrated when, in 1477, Mary espoused Maximilian of Hapsburg, son of the Emperor Frederic III. Then as many Burgundian fiefs as possible were declared forfeited to the French crown under the Salic law, which barred female succession. The Hapsburgs resisted, but a compromise was finally effected in 1482 by the Treaty of Arras, by which Louis received the duchy and county of Burgundy and the possessions of Charles in northern France. Flanders remained in the hands of Austria, to trouble sorely the rulers of France in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, Louis had notably increased the royal possessions and had eliminated the Burgundian menace. At almost the same time, the fiefs of Anjou, Maine, and Provence escheated to the crown, so that the royal domain now extended over practically the whole kingdom except Brittany, which was also to revert to the king within a few years after Louis' death. By the end of the fifteenth century feudalism had been deprived of its territorial power in France, and although the nobles remained for some time a source of trouble they could no longer menace the integrity of the country as the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy had done.

Completion of Royal Absolutism

The War of the Commonweal had revealed to Louis the extent of his dependence on the middle class. During the rest of his reign he was the "King of the Bourgeois." Not only were almost all of his ministers commoners, but on his travels he lodged with burghers, flattering them and giving him a chance to learn about the progress and needs of his realm. The atmosphere of the counting room pervaded his court, where nobles perished of boredom. Under his careful supervision the ground lost during the Hundred Years' War was regained and France once more became a center of commerce and industry. In return, the middle classes loyally supported his attacks on the nobles and gave without complaint the money required by his diplomacy of corruption. Louis was not an easy master. Civic liberties no less than feudal privileges disappeared as he concentrated all power in his own hands. His ministers were not allowed to control policy as they had done under Charles VII; every official was a servant of the crown, and

CHAP. XXXVI

the slightest show of insubordination was ruthlessly crushed. The story of France in the later middle ages ends as it begins: Louis XI completes the structure of royal absolutism begun by Philip Augustus, St. Louis, and Philip the Fair.

The ease with which Charles VII and Louis XI had rescued their realm from the foreign invader and domestic chaos was due in large part to the distracted condition of England. The brief reign of Henry V, despite Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes, had been disastrous. Even during his lifetime there had been gloomy foreboding. "Woe is me," mused an old chronicler, "mighty men and treasure of the realm will most miserably disappear about this business. And in truth the grievous taxation of the people to this end being unbearable, accompanied with murmurs and with smothered curses among them from hatred of the burden, I pray that my supreme master become not in the end a partaker of the sword of the wrath of the Lord." But in undertaking the conquest of France, Henry had not only committed his country to a task far beyond its strength; he had also brought on his own early death, and left as his heir the infant Henry VI, to whom was transmitted the taint of insanity derived from Charles VI through the Princess Catherine. The forty-year reign of Henry VI was to see the failure of the "Lancastrian Experiment" in popular government and the beginning of the Wars of the Roses, the last great struggle of English feudalism for control of the government.

Henry VI 1422-1461

The minority of Henry VI was comparatively quiet, due largely to the conciliatory efforts of the sage duke of Bedford. Bedford died in 1435 and nine years later came the "shameful" truce with France by which Henry admitted the loss of most of his French inheritance and agreed to marry Margaret of Anjou, the niece of Charles VII. After 1444 events moved rapidly in England. Although they were reluctant to give money for the war, Englishmen felt that the prestige of their country had been greatly impaired by the success of the French. Henry's marriage with the French princess offended the patriotic, and the influence which she and her friends exercised over the king made her an object of execration. Henry himself was thought to be a "good, simple, and innocent man." With a little tact and energy he might have dominated the situation and quelled the forces of disorder, but Henry was more fitted for the monastic cell than for the throne. His rigid morality, his sublime trust in his friends and ministers, his horror of war and bloodshed—all these might be admirable qualities, but they did not fit him for battle with the turbulent and unscrupulous nobility. The barons were in a

"Livery and Maintenance"

stronger position than they had been at any time since the days of King John. The profits of sheep-raising, favors granted by kings who needed their support, and plunder from France had given great wealth to a few score families. With this wealth they bought the services not only of bands of returned soldiers who wore the livery of their master and fought his battles, but also of large numbers of retainers who "maintained" the cause of their lord in all legal disputes and were in return protected from punishment for their own misdeeds. Since all jury decisions must be unanimous, there was little chance of convicting a powerful lord or his followers in the royal courts.

Public order began to disintegrate with the return of the English troops from France, but the progress towards chaos was greatly accelerated when, in 1453, Henry VI suddenly went insane. Then the greater barons shifted their activities from private marauding to a contest for the greater prize of control over the government. Richard, duke of York, whose claim to the throne was stronger on hereditary grounds than that of the Lancastrians, headed the opposition to the queen and her favorites, and during 1453 and 1454 he ruled the country with the sanction of parliament. Then Henry recovered his senses and removed the Yorkists from power. Richard began an armed resistance, and at St. Albans in 1455 came the first clash between Lancaster and York, the beginning of the Wars of the Roses. For the next five years there was almost incessant skirmishing until, in 1460, Richard was slain at the battle of Wakefield. Then the war began in earnest. Until 1460 the Yorkist faction had fought ostensibly to vindicate the supremacy of parliament over a king who refused to give heed to its requests. Now the constitutional issue was forgotten and the war became a sordid record of atrocities, betrayals, and ambushes. The leadership in the Yorkist faction was assumed after Wakefield by the earl of Warwick, called "the Kingmaker" because of his influence on the fate of rulers. This "last of the barons" controlled an enormous body of retainers and his vague promises of reform gave him some standing with the commons. In 1461 he captured London, and proclaimed Edward, the young duke of York, the rightful king of England. Henry VI, after a feeble resistance, fled. For four years he wandered about, a miserable exile, and then was captured and imprisoned in the Tower.

Wars of the Roses

The reign of Edward IV is of interest because in almost every particular it foreshadows the policy later to be followed by the Tudors. No sooner was he placed on the throne than Edward began to build up a party of his own in order to emancipate him-

Edward IV 1461-1483

CHAP. XXXVI

self from Warwick. The Kingmaker was disgruntled by the ingratitude of the monarch he had set up, and in 1470 revolted and once more placed Henry VI on the throne. A year later, however, Edward returned and Warwick was defeated and killed. To avoid further trouble Henry VI was put out of the way; according to the official report the saintly Henry died of "pure displeasure and melancholy." For the next twelve years Edward's rule was practically absolute. "He appeared to be dreaded by all his subjects, while he himself feared no man." The middle class greeted enthusiastically a ruler who sternly suppressed the turbulent nobles, and Edward strengthened this affection by consorting familiarly with burghers, much as Louis XI was doing in France. Parliament lost the importance it had possessed under the Lancastrians; Edward was penurious in his expenditures and derived his income from "benevolences"—forced gifts exacted from the wealthy—, shares in private trading ventures, and a large pension obtained from Louis XI as a reward for non-interference in the quarrel between Louis and Charles the Bold.

Had Edward lived longer, the house of York might have remained firmly seated on the English throne. On his death, however, his elder son, Edward V, was only thirteen, and this circumstance permitted the factional rivalry to revive once more. Within a few months Richard of Gloucester, uncle of the boy king, usurped the throne. Here again we have a reign which has little importance except that derived from the character of the chief actor. Richard III tried to win support by good government, but the country was outraged by the ruthless murder of his political enemies, including the two little sons of Edward IV. Richard himself became partially deranged by the weight of his crimes. "He was never quiet in his mind, never thought himself secure. When he went abroad his eyes whirled about, his body was privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest at nights, lay long waking and musing; sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his most abominable deeds." In 1485 Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond and heir to the Lancastrian claim, landed in Wales. Himself a Welshman, he was received enthusiastically, and at Bosworth Field defeated the feeble force of Richard and killed the king. The much-battered crown which had fallen from Richard's head was picked up in a hawthorn bush and set on Richmond's head, while his followers cheered him as Henry VII. "Here, indeed, was one of fortune's freaks:

Richard III 1483–1485

on a bare Leicestershire upland, a few thousand men in close conflict foot to foot, while a few thousand more stood aside to watch the issue, sufficed to set upon the throne of England the greatest of all her royal lines, that should guide her through a century of change down new and larger streams of destiny, undreamt of by any man who plied bow and bill that day in the old-world quarrel of York and Lancaster." [1]

Results of Lancaster and York

What impress had Lancaster and York left on fifteenth century England? The experiment in parliamentary government had been a failure; Tudor absolutism was the result in the sixteenth century. But under the fourth, fifth, and sixth Henrys further precedents had piled up which were later to make easier the path to popular government, so that the experiments of this period were not without fruit. The French wars had also been a failure, a disaster, but they too left their imprint on the future in the heightened solidarity and national feeling of the English. The Wars of the Roses failed in their objective, mercifully so. This turmoil was a blessing in disguise. In the fury of the struggle one house after another had vanished, leaving almost no leaders for future opposition to the national government. On the whole, few had been disturbed by the violence of these titled blackguards; English commerce and English industry had, as will presently be seen, pushed ahead steadily, preparing for the great burst of energy, cultural as well as economic, which was to distinguish the Tudor period.

[1] Trevelyan, G. M., *History of England,* Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1927, p. 266.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE EMPIRE, THE HAPSBURGS, AND THE EAST

CHAP. XXXVII

WHILE France and England were moving in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries towards centralization, nationalism, and strong monarchy, the Holy Roman Empire, which had played so prominent a part in the early middle ages, was rapidly disintegrating. It is impossible to find any one theme around which the story of the empire may be centered during this period. Instead, several threads must be followed. There is, first of all, the growth to almost independent power of the princely houses, which keeps pace with the decline of the central power. The house of Hapsburg is the greatest of these, and the story of this family takes us beyond the limits of Germany, into the Netherlands and Spain. Next, there is the development of the first democratic state of modern times, Switzerland. In the third place, there are the fortunes of those lands to the east which greatly influence the history of central Europe during this period and the years immediately following. Finally, there is the great commercial and municipal growth, which will be treated in another connection.

Disintegration of the Empire

The medieval empire might well have been permitted to die with the Hohenstaufen; not only in international affairs, but even in Germany, its great days were over. The force of tradition was strong, however, and the confusion and "fist law" of the years from 1256 to 1273, the Great Interregnum, convinced Germans, and the pope as well, that an emperor was necessary if central Europe was not to drift into complete feudal chaos. Accordingly, in 1273, Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, was elected. The rule of this first Hapsburg emperor[1] shows clearly the tendencies which were to be apparent in the future development of his family and his office. Rudolf was no genius, but the success which marked his policy shows how correctly he analyzed the situation which confronted him. As far as the empire was concerned, he completely abandoned the Hohenstaufen tradition. Gone were the

Rudolf of Hapsburg 1273-1291

[1] For convenience and brevity, the rulers of Germany during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are referred to as "emperors" though few of them were ever actually crowned by the pope.

dreams of glory in Italy; instead, he willingly surrendered all claim to dominion in central and southern Italy in return for papal support. Even within Germany he realized his limitations. Wherever possible he patched up quarrels between the more powerful lords and punished the depredations of the innumerable imperial knights who turned robbers on occasion to supplement their income. He even proclaimed an imperial peace, prohibiting all private wars. The result was almost negligible; many robber knights were killed or imprisoned and others were forced to abandon the collection of tolls on commerce passing their castles, but territorial lords continued their devastating feuds unchecked. So much for imperial affairs. As head of a rising family Rudolf was much more successful. The Hapsburgs at his accession controlled lands extending from modern Switzerland into Alsace, a substantial, though not a princely, heritage. Rudolf's energies were chiefly concentrated on the acquisition of other territories; in this, as in his imperial policy, he set an example followed by his successors. He succeeded by playing on the jealousy felt by the princely houses towards Ottokar, king of Bohemia. During the Interregnum, Ottokar, like every one else, had seized as many imperial territories as possible. His chief acquisition, the Austrian lands extending from the borders of Bohemia to the Adriatic, had made him the most powerful ruler in Germany. In 1274 at the Diet of Nurnberg, Rudolf was instructed to reoccupy these lands. Ottokar resisted bravely, but two years later he fell at the battle of Marchfeld, near Vienna, and all the Austrian territory except Carinthia was turned over to the Hapsburgs, thus laying the foundation for the future greatness of that family. The princes were alarmed by the success of Rudolf, and on his death in 1291 endeavored to check the Hapsburgs by electing Adolf of Nassau as emperor. Adolf possessed all his predecessor's greed and none of his tact, so that Albert of Austria had little difficulty in overthrowing him in 1298. This second Hapsburg was a stronger ruler than either of his predecessors, and his plans were more far-reaching. Like his contemporary, Philip the Fair, he was fired by the ideal of absolutism, and again like Philip, he sought to attain this end by an alliance with the middle class. His indomitable energy carried all before it; for a moment it seemed that feudal Germany might be welded into a unified state, when, in 1308, an assassin's dagger brought down Albert and his plans. The princes breathed more easily. Their earlier contempt for the imperial office had almost cost them their independence; for the future they would be more circumspect. Subsequent emperors were hedged closely by preëlection promises

CHAP. XXXVII

and watched vigilantly lest they overstep the feeble authority left them. Above all, the Hapsburgs were now to be kept down; for the next century they were excluded from the throne.

Henry VII, of Luxemburg 1308-1313

Between 1273 and 1308 the Hapsburgs had risen from obscurity to the position of the most feared house in Germany; during the succeeding century and a quarter the house of Luxemburg was to rise to even greater power. The first Luxemburger, Henry VII, was a curious combination of the new and the old. On the one hand, he provided for his family by securing the throne of Bohemia for his son John. At the same time he was fascinated by the old traditions of the empire; led on by his romantic imagination and the pleadings of Italian imperialists like Dante, he allowed himself to be drawn across the Alps into that land which had brought ruin to the great Henrys and Frederics. He was crowned in Rome by representatives of the pope, who refused to budge from the peace and security of Avignon. Then came the usual anti-imperial movements and, harassed at every turn, Henry fell ill and died. His love of chivalry and romance passed to his son, John of Bohemia, whose adventures have been sung and written ever since his own day—how for years he ruled northern Italy by no power but his fascinating personality, how he fought and plotted all over Europe, and how, old and blind, he appeared at Crécy to fall fighting on the French side in a war the real issues of which he, last of the great knights errant, could not possibly have comprehended.

Lewis the Bavarian 1313-1346

Between the death of Henry VII in 1313 and the accession of his grandson, Charles IV, in 1346, confusion reigned in Germany. The opportunities for personal advantage offered by the imperial position made the competition for the succession keen. Through bribery, Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria each succeeded in securing some electoral votes and the issue was fought out on the battlefield, from which Lewis emerged victorious, only to be confronted by a new foe. The popes at Avignon had become alarmed by the revived strength of the empire, and in 1323 John XXII announced that no imperial election was valid unless the successful candidate had received papal recognition. This contention precipitated the last great struggle between pope and emperor, with the usual concomitants of excommunication, anti-popes, and unedifying recriminations and slanders. National feeling at first drew nearly all of Germany to the side of Lewis, and in 1328 the Diet passed the decree *Licet Juris* which stated that the electors and Diet determined the choice of an emperor to the exclusion of papal claims. Lewis' triumph was brief; his greedy ambition alienated every one and in 1346 he was deposed by the electors.

His rule is chiefly important for the impetus which, as will be seen later, John XXII had given to anti-papal feeling, not only in Germany, but in all Europe.

"The Golden Bull"

With Lewis' successor, the Luxemburger Charles IV, we return to the tradition of Rudolf of Hapsburg, which had been interrupted by the absolutist aspirations of Albert of Austria, the Italian dreams of Henry VII, and the chaos which had marked Bavarian rule. Charles' patrimony was Bohemia and "to Bohemia he was a father, but a step-father to Germany." In character he resembled Louis XI of France: the same relic-worshipping religious ideas, the same preference for diplomacy rather than war, the same unscrupulousness and absence of warmth and generosity of feeling. His ambition was to create a strong state centering about Bohemia, which might in time dominate Germany. To this end he encouraged trade and industry, reorganized and strengthened the Bohemian government, and founded the University of Prague, the first university to be established within Germany. In imperial affairs his great work was the Golden Bull of 1356, the Magna Carta of the new empire. By this document all possibility that Germany might develop into a centralized state was abandoned and the supremacy of the electors definitely fixed. The right to elect the emperor was settled on the three Rhine ecclesiastical princes—the archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne —and four secular rulers: the margrave of Brandenburg, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, and the count Palatine of the Rhine. Within their own territories the electors were given practically sovereign rights. The excuse for the promulgation of the Golden Bull was justifiable: to avoid disputes, both as to the territories and the persons entitled to a vote so that the evils of a double election might be avoided. The result of the Bull was much more far-reaching. It fixed irrevocably the supremacy of the princes and the impotence of the central power in Germany; Charles "legalized anarchy and called it a constitution."

Imperial Politics 1356-1492

The Golden Bull was promulgated in 1356; in 1492 Maximilian I ascended the throne. Between these two dates there is scarcely an event worth chronicling in imperial affairs. Charles died in 1378 and his two sons, first Wenceslaus, one of the most astounding drunkards in all history, then Sigismund, ruled the empire for all but ten years of the period to 1437. In territory the fortunes of the house waxed, extending north to encroach on Brandenburg, east to the borders of Poland, and south to embrace Hungary. Then, with Sigismund, the house died out, and, a curious bit of irony, their territories fell by inheritance to Albert of Austria, who was elected King of the Romans. From his

CHAP. XXXVII

accession to the extinction of the empire by Napoleon, the Hapsburgs retained the throne, with the exception of a short interval in the eighteenth century. During the fifteenth century the record of the Hapsburgs as rulers of Germany was a sorry one. Albert was an able man, but he died in 1439, and his successor, Frederic III, was a remarkably worthless man. Year after year he refused to show himself outside his dominions, refused even to attend the meetings of the imperial Diet. His lands were invaded repeatedly by hostile armies, he was insulted and browbeaten by everyone, his financial resources dwindled to the point where he was forced to wander aimlessly about, an uninvited and unwelcome guest of abbots and nobles. Throughout, his confidence in the destiny of his house remained unimpaired. Stamped on his personal belongings, engraved on his seal ring, scrawled over countless bits of paper, was his cryptic device, made up of the five vowels and signifying *Austriae est imperare orbi universo,* or *Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan.* In Germany princes and people murmured, but the chaos was so complete that the electors did not depose him because they could not agree on any one to take his place.

Condition of Germany

The condition of Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries defies description. The political map shifts with bewildering rapidity; by marriage, war, or purchase, territories changed hands again and again; family fortunes rose and then collapsed, as had those of the house of Luxemburg. The possessions of a single family might be scattered over hundreds of miles, with other states intervening, as in the case of Luxemburg and Bohemia, which were located at the two extremes of the empire, while the full title of even a mediocre prince would take up several lines of print. No map of ordinary size could represent the innumerable political divisions; no historical work could narrate the story of the alliances, wars, and feuds. Cities, whose very existence depended on some security and order, formed leagues which restrained the confusion for a time, but in the end fell to pieces. Even the princes sometimes tried to build up leagues to enforce peace. In some states secret tribunals, the Fehmic, or Vehmic courts, meted out summary justice, and developed an organization very similar to the Ku Klux Klan of Reconstruction days in the United States. The extent to which the regular courts had disintegrated may be inferred from the fact that the Emperor Sigismund lent his sanction to the society and became a member. The peasants for the most part suffered in silence, but occasionally rose in blind despair, only to be repressed with equally blind ferocity. It is impossible not to feel that the crushing absolutism of

a Philip the Fair or a Louis XI would be preferable to this turmoil, but there is another aspect of the situation which must not be disregarded. Political anarchy in Germany, as in Italy, permitted the growth of a provincial and municipal life which in color and variety surpassed anything to be found in France or England. A strong local patriotism bound, as it still binds, the German to the tiny area which to him was the "homeland." Individuality, not only of dress and speech, but of tradition and culture, gave a vividness to the life of the Württemberger or the citizen of Nürnberg which was lost to French provinces and cities as they were absorbed in the larger national life. Even today the traveller cannot but be impressed by the contrast between French cathedral cities, where the monuments of the past are simply monuments, and German towns such as Freiburg in Baden, where the past is living and where even the trees and mountains of the Black Forest are a precious part of the heritage of the poorest citizen.

During the period from 1272 to the end of the fifteenth century, the four families which were to dominate the later history of Germany first came into prominence: the Wettins of Saxony, the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria, the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, and the Hapsburgs of Austria. Space permits a description of the rise only of the Hapsburgs, who in the sixteenth century were to rule a domain of unparalleled size, larger even than the old Roman Empire. We have seen how under Rudolf the family possessions had been increased by the acquisition of the Austrian lands. For the next century and a half gains and losses almost balanced. On the one hand, a wedge was driven towards the west and control over the eastern Alpine passes secured when Carinthia and the Tyrol fell to the Hapsburgs as a result of the complicated web of intrigue woven about that unfortunate and superlatively hideous heiress, Margarete Maultasch. To counterbalance these gains, the house met a grievous setback at the hands of the Swiss.

The Hapsburgs

Many of the oldest possessions of the Hapsburgs were in the forests and valleys of what is now Switzerland, but then was a patchwork of feudal holdings owing allegiance to at least a score of lords. Within the mountain fastnesses of the western Alps the harshness of nature had brought into existence a sturdy, self-reliant race, more shrewd and independent by far than the peasants of the lowlands. For the most part they were farmers, but by the thirteenth century trade was already coursing from Italy over the Alps to the Rhine, and leaving in its wake small communes, Zurich, Lucerne, Bern, and Basel. Around the origins of the Swiss Confederation have grown up many romantic legends,

The Swiss

CHAP. XXXVII

most of them centering about Wilhelm Tell. But Tell has gone the way of Brut, king of Britain, through whom Englishmen of the sixteenth century tried to connect the origin of their nation with the heroes of the Trojan Wars. Here, as everywhere in medieval history, the devastating hand of critical scholarship has been busily uprooting picturesque national traditions; but the story which remains is heroic enough. Swiss history begins in the thirteenth century with the resistance offered to the Hapsburgs by the three Forest Cantons, Uri, Schweiz, and Unterwalden, which cluster around the Lake of Lucerne. The objective of the cantons was recognition as imperial, rather than Hapsburg, fiefs; this position they claimed under a charter granted by Frederic II. When Rudolf became emperor they felt a not unnatural fear lest he should use his power to further his family claims, so in 1291 they united by a "Perpetual Compact" to resist any encroachments. Rudolf was too busy elsewhere to interfere, and his successor guaranteed anew their immediacy within the empire. The struggle soon began anew, with forays, burnings, and outrages on both sides, coming to a head in 1314 when the Swiss sacked the abbey of Einsiedeln, which was under Hapsburg protection. This outrage alienated many who had previously sympathized with the Forest Cantons, and alarmed the nobles of the Rhine regions, who feared that the democratic movement might spread. A large feudal army gathered under Hapsburg leadership, and in 1315 advanced joyously against the unruly peasant communities. The Swiss concealed themselves above the pass at Morgarten and, as the Austrian forces passed, threw the array into confusion by rolling down large boulders and tree trunks. Then the peasants charged into the mass of men and horses and wielded their battle-axes to such good effect that the Austrians lost more than the total number in the Swiss forces. The Hapsburgs, after this rout, abandoned the struggle and concluded a truce practically recognizing the independence of the cantons. The Swiss now took the offensive. Other cantons entered the confederation during the next half century—Lucerne, Zurich, Zug, Glarus, and Bern—each retaining its own government and peculiar institutions, but surrendering some of its independence in foreign affairs. Self-confidence grew with size, and one feudal lord after another found his rights infringed upon without compensation. Then the cantons began to extend their alliances to include many Rhine cities and feudal privilege once more took alarm. Twice, in 1386 at Sempach, and in 1388 at Näfels, the Hapsburgs and their allies tried to crush the Swiss; in both cases the superiority of infantry over the heavy-armed knight was shown as conclusively as it had

been earlier in the century at Crécy and Poitiers. In the year after Näfels the Hapsburgs agreed to a truce which proved a definite surrender, for the struggle was never renewed.

For the sake of brevity, the allied cantons have been called the Swiss. This name came into use in the fourteenth century, but not until the nineteenth century was the name "Switzerland" officially adopted; in the later middle ages the confederation called itself "the League of Upper Germany." For almost all except military purposes, the members retained their independence; in fact, even in the fifteenth century the League was little more than a network of military alliances. Some districts were allied only with the original nucleus of the confederation, the Forest Cantons, and not with the other members. Various attempts at closer union were made. In 1370 the jurisdiction of the church courts had been restricted and appeals to courts outside the confederation practically eliminated, and an oath of allegiance was required of all residents who were also vassals of the Hapsburgs. Later, war between members of the League was prohibited and an effort was made to fix military obligations, but the looseness of the connecting bonds gave rise to frequent disputes, and only the fear of foreign foes—first the Hapsburgs, then Charles the Bold, then the empire itself—held the allies together. Earlier, the cantons had fought to secure their position as immediate states of the empire; by the end of the fifteenth century even this position became onerous, and after a brief struggle the complete independence of the League was tacitly recognized in 1499, although not explicitly granted until the Peace of Westphalia (1648). We leave the Swiss with their territory far from complete and with a most inchoate political organization, but nevertheless already famous as valiant fighters and as the first victors in the struggle between the common man and his noble or royal master.

Swiss Independence

The thirteenth century had seen the foundation of Hapsburg power in Austria; in the fourteenth century the family merely held its own, gains in the Tyrol being balanced by losses in Switzerland. Through most of the fifteenth century there was little promise that the house would rise to greater heights. The extinction of the Luxemburg line in 1437 had, to be sure, brought Bohemia and Hungary to Albert, who was elected emperor in the following year, but Albert died in 1439 and both Bohemia and Hungary soon asserted their independence, while the leadership of the house of Hapsburg and the imperial crown passed to the grotesque Frederic III, whose incapacity for government soon became a byword over all Europe. Frederic seemed ridiculous to his contemporaries because of the contrast between his wretched life and

CHAP. XXXVII

Maximilian I

his mystical confidence in the future greatness of his family, but this confidence received its justification in the career of his son Maximilian. Maximilian has been called the second founder of the house of Hapsburg, and this title he richly deserves, for by an amazing combination of shrewdness and luck he raised his family to the foremost position in Europe. His political career began in 1477, when at the age of eighteen he foiled the astute Louis XI by marrying Mary of Burgundy. By this move he secured the Netherlands and, as a result of subsequent negotiations, Artois and the Free County of Burgundy. In 1491 he paved the way for a second great increase of territory by a treaty with Ladislas, king of Bohemia and Hungary, who agreed that these kingdoms were to pass to the Hapsburgs should he have no male heir. Two years later the death of Frederic III gave the imperial throne to Maximilian, and as emperor also, he marked out new paths. The desperate condition of Germany prompted even the princes to seek a stronger central government. Maximilian opposed these efforts tenaciously and successfully; he, and his successors, regarded the imperial office as a means of aggrandizing their family fortunes and as a symbol of their exalted position, but they had no intention of permitting any infringement on their complete independence. Maximilian aimed no longer merely at supremacy in Germany; the domination of Europe was now his objective. To this end he made his final alliance—in 1494 he married his son Philip to Joanna, the heiress of Spain. Frederic's boast no longer seemed an empty one; by the end of the fifteenth century the Hapsburgs seemed well on the road to world domination.

Castile and Aragon

The Spanish heritage which was to fall to Maximilian's grandson, Charles V, could in no sense be called a nation. From the end of the great crusade against the Moslems in the thirteenth century to the accession of Ferdinand and of Isabella in the second half of the fifteenth century there had been many events to keep the chroniclers busy, but little which left any permanent impress on the country. The Iberian peninsula remained divided into four kingdoms which changed little in size: in the west, Portugal; in the south, Moorish Granada; in the east, Aragon; in the center, well over half the peninsula, Castile and Leon. From the union of Castile and Leon with Aragon was to evolve modern Spain, and with them we shall be concerned. Nominally two kingdoms, in reality they were over ten. Even this does not tell the whole story of division. Geography alone, high mountains and rushing rivers, would have produced many divergences, but the long Moorish occupation had made many others. Moors and Jews, converted to Christianity or not, made up over half the population of large

areas and mixed with the native stock. Christians who had lived under Moslem rule for centuries had absorbed many Arab customs and ideas. Feudalism of half a dozen different kinds existed; in some towns workmen sallied forth wearing the sword which distinguished the gentleman. Noblemen who legally had the right to rebel against the king; peasants permitted to choose and abandon their lord, these and many other peculiarities marked the land which was to produce Don Quixote. The common Church and the king were the only things which gave unity to these two lands of infinite divergence. During these centuries the monarchy stood still, prevented from growth in Castile by minorities and disputed successions, stagnant likewise in Aragon while the kings were meddling in the affairs of France and Italy, busy even as far away as Athens and Constantinople, but preserved from extinction in both countries because the nobles found the king harmless, and useful as a source of pensions and favors. The Church, on the other hand, struck deeper and deeper root, strengthening the fanaticism kindled by wars against the infidel, spurring the people on to persecution, even wholesale massacre, of the industrious Moors and Jews.

For two centuries these conditions went unchallenged, until the kingdoms were united by the marriage of Isabella, who became ruler of Castile in 1474, and Ferdinand, who succeeded to the throne of Aragon in 1479. Both were fired with the ideal of absolutism, to which Louis XI was giving expression across the Pyrenees, and the means adopted to attain their end resembled in subtlety, though not in wisdom, those used by the French ruler. Slowly but inexorably all classes were subjected to the crown. The nobles, who were most likely to offer effective resistance, were placated by leaving them exempt from taxation. If the rulers had wielded their power wisely the results would have been beneficent, but Ferdinand and Isabella inaugurated almost all the evils which were in the seventeenth century to reduce Spain to weakness and misery. A ruinous tax on sales strangled commerce. The pope was induced to transfer control over the Inquisition to the monarchs, who used it to stifle thought and to harass and finally expel the most industrious elements in the population, the Moors and Jews, whether converted to Christianity or not. Finally, "the Catholic Monarchs" inaugurated an ambitious foreign policy far beyond the slender resources of their kingdoms. The conquest of Granada in 1492 was justifiable since the Moorish kingdom might later have become a menace, but interference in the affairs of France and Italy brought only deficits and more ruinous taxes. The sending of Columbus to the west was part of this general policy of imperialism, and for a time his discoveries were to raise

Ferdinand and Isabella

CHAP. XXXVII

Spain to the position of a great power, but ultimately the burden of the New World was to accelerate the decline. Finally, the need for allies brought on the marriage of Joanna with Philip of Hapsburg, with the result that in the sixteenth century Spain was involved in the wars which resulted from Hapsburg ambition.

While the Hapsburgs, from Rudolf to Maximilian, were laying the foundation for their power on the ruins of the Holy Roman Empire, and dreaming of the time when their might should dominate the world, there was growing up to the east a rival empire with which the fortunes of the Hapsburgs were to be inextricably entwined down to our own day. The Ottoman Turks emerged from the great reservoir of peoples in central Asia early in the thirteenth century. At first they appear as loyal allies of the Seljuk sultan of Konia, but when their master's empire fell to pieces in 1307, the Ottomans asserted their independence under Othman or Osman, from whom they take their name. Under Othman and his son, Orkhan, extensive conquests were made in northern Asia Minor at the expense of the Eastern Empire, so that by 1340 they controlled the southern shore of the Sea of Marmora and a short stretch on the Black Sea. The ease with which these conquests were made is attributable in part to the religious fanaticism of the Turks and to the excellent discipline of the Janissaries. The corps of Janissaries was the creation of Orkhan, who levied a tribute of young boys from the subject Christians, gave them an excellent education and military training, and then selected some for the army and for the civil service. By this Spartan method was secured a group of men trained from earliest youth to the one idea of service to the state. A more important cause of Turkish success was the weakness of the Eastern Empire, which had never recovered from the setback given it by the Franks in the Fourth Crusade. After the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks in 1261, the empire did, to be sure, embrace Thrace, most of Macedonia, and western Asia Minor, but even in these provinces its authority was slight. The population of Constantinople was more fickle and debased than that of Rome, the imperial armies turbulent and disloyal, the imperial office the prize of intrigue, and most of its occupants powerless and incompetent. In struggles for the throne rival claimants even sought the support of the Turks, who first entered the European provinces as allies of an imperial pretender. The empire was still further distracted by inroads from the west, where the Serbians, under Stephen Duchan, and the Bulgarians were carving out large states for themselves.

The Ottoman Turks

Encouraged by this chaotic situation the Turks crossed the

CHAP. XXXVII

Turkish Conquests

Straits in 1354 and captured Gallipoli. From this base they spread out in all directions, subjugating Thrace, Bulgaria, and most of Serbia, decisively defeating the western emperor, Sigismund, at Nicopolis in 1399, and forcing the eastern emperor to pay tribute. Constantinople itself was saved only because of the defeat of the Turks in 1402 at Angora by Tamerlaine, who was trying to revive the Mongol empire. For a few years the Ottoman menace seemed ended, but with the accession of Mohammed I in 1413 the record of conquest began anew; lost ground was recovered, and extensive territories subjugated in Asia Minor. Shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century came two events which sent a thrill through western Europe. In 1453 Constantinople was captured after a siege of over a year. For the first time the reality of the Turkish peril was brought home vividly to western Europe. Except as a symbol, however, this event does not merit the attention it has received; thanks partly to the Crusaders, the Eastern Empire had long since outlived its usefulness. The Turks could have taken Constantinpole at any time in the previous century had the effort seemed worth while, and the city had certainly not been a barrier to Turkish conquests in Europe. In fact, it may be said that the fall of Constantinople was in its immediate effects salutary, for it aroused western Europe to the necessity of action, and for a short time the Christian west was united as it had been at no time since Pope Urban had preached at Clermont. In 1456 a large crusading army under Janos Hunyadi met the advancing Turks at Belgrade and won a resounding victory which for a time set a limit to Moslem conquest. For the rest of the fifteenth century the activities of the Turks were confined to rounding out their existing possessions in the Balkans, on the Black Sea, and in Asia Minor.

The Slavs

The coming of the Turks marks the beginning of the "Near Eastern Question," which has ever since troubled the dreams of statesmen; in this same period appeared in acute form another of our modern problems, that of the Slavs. In the time of Charlemagne the Slavs had inhabited, roughly, the territory east of a line drawn from the Adriatic to the Danish peninsula. Then, slowly but steadily, they had been pushed back, sometimes by force, sometimes by peaceful German settlers, until in the fourteenth century the ethnographical map was much like that of to-day, while politics had run ahead of settlement in many places. Bohemia was in the fourteenth century a part of the empire and ruled by the German house of Luxemburg, while the Teutonic Knights had carried their conquests and their Baltic settlements north to the Gulf of Finland. Then in the second half of the fourteenth cen-

CHAP. XXXVII

tury the tide turned; from that time to the present the struggle of Slav and Teuton has grown steadily more bitter. In Bohemia Slav nationalism began to assert itself at the end of the fourteenth century, at first in opposition to the efforts of Charles IV to develop German influences in his kingdom, then in the religious disturbances centering around John Huss and his followers, which will be described later, and finally in the refusal of Bohemia to submit to Hapsburg rule in the fifteenth century. Further north, the Teutonic Knights were encountering opposition from Poland. During most of the fourteenth century the Order was able to hold its own; from all over Europe warriors came like Chaucer's Knight, to fight in Prussia and Lithuania. As the century wore on, however, the Order began to decay and the Poles made more strenuous efforts to reach the Baltic. In 1386, when the succession to the Polish throne passed to the Luxemburg line, national feeling asserted itself and the Poles chose instead, union with Lithuania under King Jagello, who, in return for the rule of Poland, enforced Christianity on his Lithuanian subjects. Against this combination the Teutonic Knights were unable to cope successfully, and in 1466 they lost most of Prussia, retaining East Prussia as a fief of Poland. Later, when the Hohenzollern commander of the Knights embraced Protestantism, East Prussia passed to his family and eventually was united with Brandenburg. The northern Baltic provinces of the Knights were in the seventeenth century to form a source of bitter rivalry between Poland, Sweden, and Russia. This last state, later to be the greatest of the Slav powers, plays no part in the history of the later middle ages. Until the middle of the fifteenth century the Mongolian Khanate of the Golden Horde dominated the country, and after the collapse of the Mongol empire, the princes of Moscow were busy for a century subjugating other Russian lords.

EUROPE
1500 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
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FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Ireland
Dublin
ENGLAND
London
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
Bergen
Stockholm
Åbo
Finland
Novgorod
MUSCOVY
Pskov
Moscow
KAZAN
Kazan
Söderköping
Calmar
Riga
Smolensk
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Königsberg
Vilna
Lübeck
Hamburg
Mecklenburg
Danzig
TEUTONIC ORDER
LITHUANIA
Brandenburg
Warsaw
Saxony
Kiev
Prague
BOHEMIA
Cracow
POLAND
Bremen
Antwerp
NETHERLANDS
Cologne
Trier
Paris
Strasburg
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Avignon
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Milan
Bavaria
Munich
Vienna
Buda Pest
Tyrol
Styria
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
Danube
Black Sea
Trebizond
Venice
ADRIATIC SEA
Ragusa
PAPAL STATES
Rome
Naples
NAPLES
Constantinople
Scutari
Salonica
Brussa
Smyrna
Athens
Messina
Palermo
Sicily
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Burgos
NAVARRE
Madrid
CASTILE
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Barcelona
CORSICA
Sardinia
Cagliari
Cordova
GRANADA
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE CHURCH

THE fourteenth century must, under the best of circumstances, have been a difficult period for the papacy. National feeling and royal absolutism were instinctively hostile to the international Church; spiritual weapons had become blunted by overuse, not to say misuse; sceptical students and deeply religious mystics were showing an alarming tendency to roam outside the limits set by religious authority; the laxity of clerical morals shocked a society which was even more lax itself, but expected virtue from the professed servants of God. This situation would seem to call for a succession of pontiffs distinguished for sagacity and saintliness. Instead, for seventy years the popes earned the contempt of their French protectors and the jealous anger of the other nations by residing at Avignon, and then precipitated an examination of the whole structure of the papal monarchy by the Great Schism. The popes of the "Babylonian Captivity" were, with one or two exceptions, rather better men than their predecessors or successors, but merely by their residence on the borders of France they impaired the international character of their office and cut off their customary revenue. Earlier, the papal income had been derived largely from four sources: taxation of the States of the Church; tribute from vassal nations, such as England; taxation of ecclesiastics; and contributions of the faithful, especially on the occasion of pilgrimages to Rome. Three of these now gave little or no return as few pilgrims came to Avignon, the Italians refused to pay taxes to an absentee pope, and the tributary states used papal subordination to France as an excuse to cancel their obligations. In their efforts to get money in other ways the Avignonese popes resorted to expedients which proved disastrous.

"Babylonian Captivity," 1309–1377

The evils resulting from the "Babylonian Captivity" are epitomized in the pontificate of John XXII (1313–34). He it was who perfected the system of financial extortion which was, in the course of the next two centuries, to arouse the indignation of sincere Catholics, undermine popular respect for the papacy, and fill the church offices with men whose only qualification for spiritual preferment was a full purse. "Provisions" gave the

Financial Abuses

CHAP. XXXVIII

pope the right to appoint an increasingly large number of the bishops and abbots; "reservations" put at his disposal all offices vacated through promotions made by the pope; "expectancies" gave the buyer a right to expect an office when it might become vacant, unless some one should pay a higher bribe; "annates," usually one half the first year's income, must be paid to the treasury at Avignon by all ecclesiastics appointed by the pope; "dispensations" gave freedom, for a price, to violate ecclesiastical laws—the list goes on indefinitely, sinking to the unblushing openness to bribery shown by the papal courts. "Whenever I entered the chambers of the ecclesiastics of the Papal Court, I found brokers and clergy engaged in weighing and reckoning the money which lay in heaps before them"—this from a zealous defender of the popes. Petrarch went further. Avignon to him was "the fountain of anguish, the dwelling place of wrath, the school of errors, the temple of heresy, once Rome, now the false guilt-laden Babylon, the forge of lies, the horrible prison, the hell upon earth." Murmurs rose all over Europe. The clergy of Cologne drew up a formal protest. "In consequence of the exactions with which the Papal Court burdens the clergy, the Apostolic See has fallen into such contempt, that the Catholic faith in these parts seems to be seriously imperilled. The laity speak slightingly of the Church, because, departing from the customs of former days, she hardly ever sends forth preachers or reformers, but rather ostentatious men, cunning, selfish, and greedy. Things have come to such a pass, that few are Christians more than in name."

Anti-papal Writings

Discontent with financial exactions was intensified by the quarrel of John XXII with the Spiritual Franciscans, and with Lewis the Bavarian. John had declared heretical the Franciscan contention that churchmen should abandon their temporal possessions and revert to the ideal of apostolic poverty. The Franciscans sought, and received, support from Lewis, who was trying to uphold the independence of the empire against papal claims, and the imperial court became for some years a center of anti-papal propaganda. The General of the Franciscan Order contented himself with an appeal to a future council "which in faith and morals is superior to the pope, since a pope can err . . . but the Universal Church cannot err and a council representing the Universal Church is likewise free from error." Much was to be heard of this idea during the next century. Many of Lewis' supporters were even more revolutionary. William of Occam, the great nominalist philosopher, affirmed that councils as well as popes could err; only Scripture was infallible. The climax of the attack was the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua, the most

important political and religious writing of the fourteenth century. Marsiglio was an Italian layman and had been, like Occam, a teacher at the University of Paris before he entered Lewis' service. His book is a searching examination of the nature of government, spiritual as well as temporal. In politics he was a believer in democracy; in religion he affirmed the priesthood of all believers and denied that clerics differed from laymen except in function. The Church, he urged, was a human, not a divine, institution, and should therefore be subordinate to the state. He roundly condemned persecution and asserted the complete right of the individual to freedom of thought. This first systematic attack on the Catholic church was to be diligently conned by the religious reformers of the next two centuries: Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, and Calvin were all, directly or indirectly, indebted to Marsiglio. To the Church his views were naturally anathema; over two hundred heretical propositions were discovered in the *Defensor Pacis,* and Marsiglio and his followers were damned by the pope as "monsters from the deeps of Satan and the sulphur pools of Hell."

The ideas brought forth by this stormy quarrel were too far-reaching to find general acceptance in the fourteenth century. The storm subsided, but the writings remained to torment John's successors. Outwardly, papal power was unshaken, and the pontiffs utilized the funds pouring in from the sale of offices and justice to build the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, which, to the great Catholic scholar Pastor, symbolizes the history of the Captivity. "This gigantic pile stands on the rock of the Doms, and with its huge, heavy square towers, its naked yellowish-brown colossal walls, five yards in thickness and broken irregularly by a few pointed windows, is one of the most imposing creations of medieval architecture. In its strange combination of castle and cloister, prison and palace, this temporary residence of the popes reflects both the deterioration and the fate of the papacy in France. It was the popes' prison, and at the same time their baronial castle, in that feudal epoch when the Heads of Christendom were vassals of the French crown, and were not ashamed to bear the title of Counts of Venaissin and Avignon. The Palace of the Popes, in comparison with which the neighboring cathedral has an insignificant appearance, also manifests the decline of the ecclesiastical, and the predominance of the worldly, warlike, and princely element, which marked the Avignon period." [1]

Effects of the Captivity

Three factors combined to end the Babylonian Captivity: fear

[1] *History of the Popes,* B. Herder Book Co., Vol. II.

CHAP. XXXVIII

that the papal states might be lost to the Church, the ravages of armed bands in the neighborhood of Avignon, and the sincere desire for reform felt by two successive popes. With the removal of the papacy from Rome, law and order had disappeared from the Patrimony of Saint Peter. Some conception of the condition of the countryside may be gathered from one of Boccaccio's stories, in which the depredations wrought by packs of wolves which penetrated into the suburbs of towns, the omnipresent bands of robbers, and the incessant wars of barons, are merely mentioned casually in passing, so commonplace as to need no special comment. In Rome itself the people were reduced to poverty by the cessation of pilgrimages. Buildings fell in ruins, cattle grazed in Saint Peter's and the Lateran, the marble was pulled off classical monuments to be converted into lime. The miserable populace, left without a ruler, indulged in pathetic dreams. For them, no gulf yawned between classical Rome and the heap of ruins among which they lived. In their own eyes they were the legitimate heirs of the Roman people who had once ruled the world and were destined to do so again. In earlier days the fact that their bishop was the spiritual ruler of western Christendom had fed their vanity; now their bishop had deserted them, and there was much talk of a revival of the Roman Republic. Soon a leader appeared in Cola di Rienzi, a strange composite of charlatan and prophet, whose fiery eloquence and physical beauty enthralled the mob and carried him to the post of Tribune in the republican comedy enacted in 1347. Strangely enough he was successful for a time; cities and nobles accepted his rule, and foreign monarchs submitted their quarrels to him for arbitration. His head was soon turned, and the populace tired of the farce, so that before the end of the year he was overthrown, and life in the Patrimony became more violent than ever. Six years later the task of restoring order was again undertaken, this time by Cardinal Albornoz, a skillful diplomat and warrior. He was successful, but only after years of hard fighting, and though he was able to impose obedience to the pope, he could not compel loyalty.

Rome during the Captivity

End of the Captivity

Fear that a sudden rising would undo Albornoz's work was one compelling motive for restoring the papacy to Rome. This argument was strengthened by the fact that Avignon was no longer the quiet refuge it had seemed earlier in the century; the English wars had drawn to France the freebooters of all Europe, and their activities extended to the walls of the papal palace. Rome, it seemed, could not provide a more hazardous existence. Finally, Urban V (1362–70) was a sincerely pious man who felt

keenly the need of reform in the Church and the steady decline of papal prestige. By returning to Rome he hoped to gain the moral strength necessary for his two favorite projects: ecclesiastical reform, and a crusade against the Turks. Despite the protests of his cardinals and of the French, he set out in 1367 and was received with honor and jubilation in Rome. For three years he battled manfully with the intricacies of Roman politics, but in the end, defeated and disillusioned, he returned to Avignon, where he died disconsolate. Quite naturally his successor, Gregory XI, though pious and quite conscious of the need of reform, hesitated to make a second attempt, but his flagging courage was revived by the exhortations and admonitions, the commands and threats, of St. Catherine of Siena, who lectured the Supreme Pontiff with astounding vigor and courage. A few months in the Imperial City convinced him that he had made a mistake, and he was preparing to flee when he died.

The Papal Conclave of 1378

The papal conclave of 1378 is one of the most important in the history of the Church, for out of this election grew the Schism, and from the Schism came a host of evils from which the Church never entirely recovered. The details of the election are very confused, and the evidence we possess is full of contradictions, so that even yet there is ample scope for argument. Sixteen cardinals took part in the conclave, six having refused to leave Avignon, and one being away on papal business. Of the sixteen, eleven were French, four were Italians, and one a Spaniard; eleven votes were necessary for an election. The French were unanimous in their desire to escape from Rome, but they were divided by provincial jealousies, so that every one realized that it would be necessary to choose a compromise candidate. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Roman populace was determined that the papacy should not return to Avignon; all through the conclave the mob milled around the building in which the cardinals were deliberating, howling "a Roman, a Roman, we want a Roman for pope, or at least an Italian!" Beforehand, most of the French cardinals had fixed on the archbishop of Bari as the logical candidate since he was an Italian and at the same time was thought to be a lover of Avignon. His election seemed certain when the conclave was disrupted by an invasion of the populace; the cardinals fled, but later in the day met secretly and elected the archbishop, who took the title of Urban VI. How much did the violence of the mob have to do with this choice? Creighton, a modern Protestant scholar, says: "It would seem that there was some sense of popular pressure, but not enough to influence the conduct of the

CHAP. XXXVIII

cardinals." This seems an accurate estimate of the situation. After the election the cardinals for some time gave no hint that they themselves regarded their choice as of even dubious validity; rather, they reported to their colleagues in Avignon that they had voted "freely and unanimously."

Urban and the Cardinals

Doubts began to appear only when Urban showed himself anything but the pliable tool they had anticipated. They had known him as a faithful and obedient subordinate, without initiative or program of his own—just the person to obey the cardinals in all things. They were soon undeceived. Urban's character was transformed, or liberated, by his elevation to power and he showed himself both an autocrat and a fanatical reformer. Reforms were to begin with the papal household, and Urban not only silenced harshly all suggestion of a return to Avignon, but lectured the cardinals on their private lives, reduced their incomes, and forced them to work. The task of reforming the practises of the cardinals would probably have surpassed the strength of a St. Francis, but Urban's irascible temper and lack of consideration provoked even St. Catherine of Siena to cry out: "for the love of Christ, moderate a little the violent actions to which your nature drives you!" Under the circumstances it was not difficult for the cardinals to convince themselves that Urban's election had been uncanonical, and after submitting to his tirades for a few months they fled to Anagni, declared Urban no pope, and elected a Frenchman, Clement VII, who took up his residence in Avignon.

The Great Schism, 1378–1417

The action of the cardinals precipitated an unparalleled situation. There had been anti-popes in the past, but the Great Schism grew out of circumstances which made it difficult to decide which of the rival pontiffs was the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and the politics of fourteenth century Europe made a reasoned decision impossible. The French had been reluctant to lose their papal vassal, and on the election of Clement, Charles V exclaimed triumphantly, "I am now Pope!" Scotland, as the ally of France, also accepted Clement, as did the Spanish kingdoms and Portugal. Largely out of jealousy of France, England and Germany supported Urban, who naturally secured Italian allegiance as well. Politics dominated the decisions of rulers, but the faithful were dismayed by this scandalous situation which provoked the mirth of Jews and Mohammedans, and soon the best minds of Europe were busy seeking a solution of the problem. The suggestions made at first were of a frankly opportunist nature. It was proposed that both popes agree to appoint no more cardinals, so that in time one line would die out, but neither pope consented to this.

The rivals were also equally reluctant to resign, as such an action would impugn the legality of the election of the one who gave way. Each professed his willingness to resign simultaneously with his rival, but this involved a meeting, and whether from accident or design, projected meetings never took place.

Effects of the Schism

As years went on, and the Schism continued, the condition of the Church became increasingly desperate. Laymen protested at the expense of maintaining two papal courts; appointees of the rival pontiffs fought for the possession of bishoprics and monasteries; ecclesiastical discipline entirely disappeared; and the pious were shocked alike by the mutual recriminations of the two sides, and by the gross venality and immorality of churchmen. Gloomy prophesies were rampant; it was popularly believed that no soul had entered heaven since the beginning of the Schism. "They say that the world must be renewed," exclaimed a devout Catholic. "I say it must be destroyed." Was the priest who celebrated mass consecrating the body and blood of Christ, or committing horrible blasphemy? No one knew. Increasingly, people turned in horror and anger against the rivals who refused to make any sacrifice for the good of Christendom. "The pope today is anti-Christ!" declared an English knight. "Your bishops and prelates are the members of the beast, and the friars are his tail." Lollardry in England reached such proportions that in 1395 the Commons petitioned Richard II for the reform of the Church by the king. In Bohemia, the Wycliffite doctrines were spreading like wildfire. Outlandish heresies flourished in the Rhine valley.

The Council of Pisa, 1409

Not only heretics, but earnest churchmen and scholars as well, were scrutinizing the foundations of the papal monarchy. The University of Paris, for centuries the stronghold of orthodox theology, became the center of a movement to change the government of the Church from an absolute to a limited monarchy. First tentatively, then with more vigor and courage as the Schism wore on, theologians like Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly examined the history of the Church and put forth arguments based on "natural law" and history to offset the papal claim to divine authority. Slowly the belief gained ground that the Universal Church represented by a general council had authority superior to that of the pope. But who had the right to call a council, and who should preside over it? Volumes of closely packed thought wrestled with this problem. At last the cardinals became alarmed by the growing radicalism of the discussion; if the pope lost his power, they lost too. To save the situation most of the cardinals of both obediences abandoned their masters and issued a call for a council

CHAP. XXXVIII

to meet at Pisa. This action met with general approval and in 1409 an imposing assemblage set about the task of healing the Schism. The rival popes were deposed, and after long argument it was decided that a new pope should be elected by a two-thirds majority of each college of cardinals, who were to elect "in place of the council." This last evasion showed that the council was not quite sure of its own power to act, but still was unwilling to abandon the idea of conciliar supremacy. The cardinals elected the archbishop of Milan, who was acceptable to both sides because he was a Greek and therefore not strongly committed to either of the deposed popes.

John XXIII and Sigismund

The jubilation aroused by the election of the new pope, Alexander V, was short lived. Neither of the deposed pontiffs recognized the legality of the Council of Pisa and both excommunicated all who obeyed Alexander. It soon became apparent that the Schism was not ended; there were now three popes instead of two. The prestige of the Pisan party was further impaired when, on the death of Alexander in 1410, the cardinals elected John XXIII, a famous Italian warrior, an excellent general but scarcely an edifying Vicar of Christ. John did his best to enlist support by appointing some of the ablest theologians of Europe to the college of cardinals, but scandalous stories of his private life continued to circulate. Further, the Council of Pisa had been unsuccessful in dealing with the pressing problems of ecclesiastical reform and the suppression of heresy, and John was too busy fighting in Italy to devote much attention to his spiritual functions. The cry for a council recommenced, with more vigor than ever before. The openly avowed determination of the conciliar party to impose permanent checks on papal power naturally made John reluctant to face such a council, but in 1411 the reform party secured an unexpected and powerful ally in the Emperor Sigismund. Earlier, the advocates of conciliar supremacy had been handicapped because no method of assembling a council had yet been devised except the traditional one of a papal proclamation, which in itself seemed a recognition of papal supremacy. Sigismund saw in this dilemma a golden opportunity to revive the international character of the empire, even to put the ideas of Marsiglio of Padua into practice. Accordingly, after recognizing John as the true pope, he demanded the calling of a council. John, not unnaturally, resisted until the capture of Rome by the king of Naples forced him to give way. In 1413 pope and emperor met at Lodi and issued a call for a council to meet in the following year at Constance, an imperial city.

CHAP. XXXVIII

The Council of Constance, 1415–1418

For four years the little town of Constance was the capital of Europe. This was no assembly of prelates, as Pisa had predominantly been, but rather a congress representing the political, spiritual, and intellectual interests of Europe united in a determination to accomplish three things: the healing of the Schism, the reformation of the Church "in head and members," and the elimination of heresy. John XXIII, even before reaching Constance, sensed the prevailing tendency to lay the evils of the time at the door of the papacy. The fierce old warrior punctuated his passage over the Alps by terrific gusts of anger, in which the language of the guard-room took on a heightened vividness by contrast with his pontifical robes. At his first glimpse of Constance, with its lake and protecting wall of mountains, he exclaimed, between terror and cynical amusement, "A trap for foxes!"

Heresy in Bohemia

The problem first attacked by the council was the one on which there was the least divergence of opinion: the suppression of heresy as represented in the person of John Huss of Bohemia. The Hussite movement was as much nationalistic as religious. Catholicism had been from the first a symbol of the domination of Teuton over Slav in Bohemia, and heresy had been prevalent in earlier centuries. Charles IV had really fostered dissension by encouraging popular preachers who attacked the lax lives of the clergy, and by founding the University of Prague, which soon became the center of Czech nationalism as well as of religious reform. At the end of the fourteenth century the writings of Wycliffe had obtained wide popularity, brought to Bohemia by scholars who had studied at Oxford. John Huss, rector of the university, was the leader of the movement for clerical reform, and received at first the support of King Wenceslaus. Huss developed much as Wycliffe had, attacking at first only the abuses of the clergy, then being led on step by step until his orthodoxy foundered on the rock of the conflict of the individual with authority. The clergy won the ear of the pope, who first condemned the ideas of Wycliffe, and then excommunicated Huss. To justify his resistance to this decree, Huss was forced to set up the Scriptures as interpreted by the individual conscience as the ultimate authority. Strangely enough, Huss never appreciated that this contention must inevitably and necessarily be branded as heresy by the Church; to the last he thought himself a sincere and faithful Catholic.

The turmoil in Bohemia had by 1413 attracted the attention of all Europe, and Sigismund, already emperor, and heir to the Bohemian crown, asked Huss to appear at Constance, protected by

CHAP. XXXVIII

Trial and Death of Huss, 1415

an imperial safe-conduct, to clear himself. Huss consented gladly, perfectly confident that he could convince the council of the reasonableness and orthodoxy of his position. To his surprise, he no sooner appeared at Constance than he was placed under surveillance, and shortly afterwards imprisoned. Sigismund protested in vain at this disregard of the imperial safe-conduct, but the council stood fast on the ancient contention that "neither by natural, divine, nor human law was any promise to be observed to the prejudice of the Catholic faith." The emperor's attitude changed when Huss stated that if he had not wished to come to Constance the king could not have forced him to come. After this challenge to the royal power Sigismund became one of Huss' most bitter enemies. The council itself was not anxious to condemn Huss, and for many months every effort was made to induce him to admit his errors and recant. With full knowledge of the consequences of a refusal he stood fast. "I stand before the judgment seat of God," he cried, "who will judge both you and me after our deserts." Finally, when all persuasion failed to move him, he was condemned and burned.

Justice of Decision

It is easy in our day to understand and admire the position of Huss: the right of the individual to win salvation in his own way, without interference from external authority. Centuries of bloody conflict have won not only recognition, but even exalted praise for this idea. It is not now so easy to understand that the action of the council was not only legal, but even necessary. The Catholic Church was to the fathers assembled at Constance the divinely appointed guardian of the Scriptures. The individual, or group, which refused to admit the absolute authority of the Church in matters of faith, was by this denial condemned to eternal damnation, and it was the duty of all loyal Christians to exterminate such heretics, lest others be contaminated and deprived of salvation. Heresy was treason to God, just as rebellion is treason to the modern state.

The Council and the Schism

On the question of the extirpation of heresy there had been little division in the council. There remained the thorny questions of the Schism and reform. John XXIII wished to have his own title confirmed and his two rivals deposed anew, but he was very suspicious of the reform movement since he had an uneasy feeling that many would like to start reform with an examination of the actions of John himself. To prevent hostile action he had brought a host of Italian prelates in his train; with their votes he was confident that he could dominate the council. To his dismay, the non-Italian members led by Sigismund, insisted on the

revolutionary idea of voting by nations rather than by head. This innovation represented more than mere distrust of John; it was an indication of the growing self-assertiveness of the national feeling which was dividing Europe into political units suspicious of one another and of the Church as an international body. John's alarm was heightened by pointed remarks about his fitness for office, and in 1415 he sought to wreck the council by fleeing from Constance. He almost succeeded; only the cool-headedness of Sigismund calmed the panic-stricken delegates. Once reassured, the council took the offensive and voted that "this Synod, lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a general council representing the Catholic Church Militant, has its power immediately from Christ, and all men, of every rank and dignity, even the pope, are bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith and the extirpation of the present schism and general reformation of the Church of God in head and members." The cardinals protested against this flat assertion of conciliar supremacy, but when threatened with exclusion from the conferences, they gave way, and waited. For a time the flight of the pope seemed to galvanize the council into new life. By a decree which reads like a list of all crimes then known, John was deposed, and shortly afterwards he was frightened into resigning. Then Gregory XII, pope of the line descended from Urban VI, resigned, but only after he had convoked the council anew. Both his actions possessed great significance for the subsequent history of the Church. Had he waited to be deposed, as did the representative of the Avignon line, a precedent would have been established for the deposition of the pope by a council. By his resignation he preserved the Catholic tradition of the apostolic succession. Moreover, by calling the council anew, he preserved the tradition that the pope alone could convoke a council.

The Council and Reform

From 1415 to 1417 there was no pope. During this time many commissions worked diligently on the question of church reform. The nature and extent of the ecclesiastical abuses to be corrected may be judged from the following extract, the work of a doctor of the University of Paris who was a papal secretary: "Nowadays in undertaking a cure of souls no mention is made of divine services, of the salvation or edification of those entrusted to the priest's care; the only question is about the revenue. . . . The Popes in their desire for money have drawn all manner of elections into their own hands, and appoint ignorant and useless men, provided they are rich and can afford to pay large sums. The rights of bishops and patrons are set at naught; grants of benefices in ex-

CHAP. XXXVIII

pectancy are given to men who come from the plow and do not know A from B . . . Papal collectors devastate the land, and excommunicate or suspend those who do not satisfy their demands; hence churches fall into ruins and the church plate is sold; priests leave their benefices and take to secular occupations. Ecclesiastical causes are drawn into the papal court on every kind of pretext, and judgement is given in favor of those who pay the most. The papal curia alone is rich, and benefices are heaped on cardinals who devour their revenues in luxury and neglect their duties." The clergy "strive, scold, litigate, and would endure with greater calmness the loss of ten thousand souls than of ten thousand shillings. If by chance there arises a pastor who does not walk in this way, who despises money, or condemns avarice, or does not wring gold justly or unjustly from his people, but who strives by a wholesome exhortation to benefit their souls, and meditates on the law of God more than on the laws of men, forthwith the teeth of all are whetted against him. . . . Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is useless. Priests condemned for theft, homicide, rape, sacrilege, or any other serious offense, are only condemned to imprisonment on a diet of bread and water, and are imprisoned only until they have paid enough money, when they walk away scot free. On the other hand, the episcopal jurisdiction is eagerly extended over harmless rustics, and summoners scour the land to pry out offenses against canon law, for which the luckless victims are harassed by a protracted process and are driven to pay heavy fines to escape. Bishops do not hesitate to sell to priests licenses to keep concubines. No care is taken to ordain proper persons to the priesthood. Men who are lazy and do not choose to work, but who wish to live in idleness, fly to the priesthood; as priests, they frequent brothels and taverns, and spend their time in drinking, revelling and gambling, fight and brawl in their cups, and with their polluted lips blaspheme the name of God and the saints, and from the embraces of prostitutes hurry to the altar." Like most medieval diatribes, this statement is no doubt exaggerated, but if it contains even a modicum of truth, the reform decrees passed by the council in 1417 seem, by comparison, puny indeed: councils were to meet at stated intervals, and were to convene immediately on the event of a papal schism; prelates were not to be transferred against their will from one post to another; the irregular financial demands on the bishops made by the pope were to cease.

Manifestly the council had failed, failed miserably, to correct even the more glaring abuses, but the failure was as natural as it

was complete. At Constance there was no St. Bernard or Gregory VII to fuse the advocates of reform into an army of crusaders for the purification of the Church. Instead of unity there were three conflicting elements: cardinals, prelates, and representatives of the temporal rulers. From the cardinals little could be expected, because any change would lessen not only their wealth but their power. Among the other ecclesiastics, most desired reform, but where should the process begin? Any worth-while reform would hurt the interests of some group represented at the council, and no one possessed the imagination, the knowledge, or the courage to formulate a plan which would eradicate all abuses. So the commissions debated endlessly and accomplished nothing. Nor could much aid be expected from the temporal rulers. For the most part they were content to rely on parliamentary acts or royal decrees to curb the pope, and divert the stream of gold from Rome to the royal treasury. Some, like Sigismund, showed a more or less fitful zeal for reform, but for the most part the Church seemed to them only what in fact it was in a fair way to become: a political, rather than a spiritual or moral, institution. The members of the council were aware of the feebleness of their program, but they had been in session for two years and wished to end their labors. They comforted themselves by the thought that subsequent councils might be more successful; at least the papacy, which was blamed for existing evils, was no longer autocratic. This hope, too, was soon to be destroyed.

Reasons for Failure

In 1417 the council proceeded to the election of a pope, and here both national feeling and the prevalent mistrust of the cardinals were again shown by the addition of delegates from the various states to the electoral college. The new pope, Martin V, showed from the outset that he was determined to be supreme. His first action was to confirm the rules of the papal chancery as issued by John XXIII; the council was dismayed, for these rules sanctioned all the financial abuses which had grown up so luxuriantly in the past century. Undeterred by criticism, Martin openly defied the advocates of conciliar supremacy by announcing that "no one may appeal from the supreme judge, thāt is, the apostolic seat or the Roman Pontiff, Vicar on earth of Jesus Christ, or may decline his authority in matters of faith." Individual members protested and called for the withdrawal of this statement, but the strength of the council was exhausted, and in 1418 it was formally adjourned.

Martin V, 1417–1431

The Council of Constance had succeeded in healing the Schism, and the importance of this achievement must not be underesti-

CHAP. XXXVIII

mated; the fact that the Church weathered the great crisis of the years from 1378 to 1417 has provoked the wonder of Protestants, while to Catholics the reëstablishment of unity has seemed proof of divine guidance. But though the Church had survived intact, it never regained its earlier strength. During the Captivity and the Schism, men had formed the habit of criticising the Church, and discussion, not only of organization, but also of dogma, proceeded vigorously throughout the fifteenth century. The Great Schism paved the way for the Protestant Reformation by precipitating an examination of the foundations of the Church; the council assured the continuance of criticism and questioning by its failure to settle three vital problems. The burning of Huss and his disciple, Jerome of Prague, had not eliminated heresy in Bohemia, but had merely precipitated a political and religious revolution in that country. The effort to reform the Church "in head and members" had produced no results of importance. Finally, no decision had been reached on the respective claims of the council and the pope to supremacy in the government of the Church. All three of these questions were to plague Martin V and his successors.

Results of Constance

Secularization of Papacy

The crisis through which the Church had just passed and the criticism to which it had been subjected made imperative a strengthening of the spiritual foundations of the ecclesiastical system, but there was little recognition of this fact by the popes of the fifteenth century. The architectural monuments left to us by these pontiffs express perfectly the ideals of the age. Here is no brooding sense of mystery and aspiring faith such as one finds embodied in the cathedrals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; here is only the sense of power, not power of the spirit, but worldly, pagan power. This secularization of the papacy is evident in the policy of Martin V. His great work was the subjugation of the States of the Church, and the restoration of Rome to prosperity. This in itself was a laudable work, but it entailed the expenditure of large sums of money, and these funds were secured by the perpetuation of the financial abuses which were undermining the Church. A year before Martin's death an envoy of the Teutonic Knights wrote: "Greed reigns supreme in the Roman Court, and day by day finds new devices and artifices for extorting money from Germany under pretext of ecclesiastical fees. How much outcry, complaining, and heartburnings among scholars and courtiers; also how many questions in regard to the papacy will arise, or else obedience will be entirely renounced, to escape from these outrageous exactions of the Italians; and the latter

course would be, as I perceive, acceptable to many countries." Martin's financial needs were increased by his desire to enrich his family. Nepotism was not a new thing in the papacy, but in the fifteenth century it mounted to unheard-of proportions, and became a public scandal when popes began to shower not only money, but high offices in the Church, on their relations, including, their illegitimate children.

Council of Basel, 1431

Protests against papal exactions naturally took the form of renewed demands for conciliar supremacy. Martin did not dare violate his promise to summon councils at stated intervals, but he was successful in preventing the one assemblage which met during his pontificate, that of Pavia-Siena, from accomplishing anything of value. This check merely strengthened the determination of the reformers, and it was evident that the council which met at Basel in 1431 was determined to make a thorough examination of the condition of the Church. Martin's successor, Eugenius IV, tried to dissolve the assembly before it began deliberating, but was met with such a storm of protest that he was forced to hold his hand while the council issued bulls asserting its supremacy in the Church and its intention to effect a thorough reformation of all abuses. The radicalism of the views expressed at Basel eventually produced a reaction, and as the sessions dragged on year after year most of the members went home, until in 1438 Eugenius was able to summon a council of his own, ostensibly to effect a union with the Greek Church. The reform party protested, but found few adherents, and most of these became disgusted when an anti-pope was set up at Basel. By 1440 Eugenius had triumphed and the conciliar movement had collapsed.

The Church and the Temporal Rulers

The failure of the movement to change the government of the Church may be attributed to several factors—to the feeling that the papal power rested on divine ordinance, to the skillful manœuvering of Martin and Eugenius, to the inertia or indifference of public opinion. More important than these was the attitude of the temporal rulers, who instinctively feared popular movements like the councils, and felt that the Church was more easily controlled if the pope were theoretically supreme. The attitude of the French monarchs is typical. Charles VII and his advisors wished to subjugate the Church, like everything else, to the royal will. In order to secure support from the clergy and the reform party, as well as to terrify the pope into submission, Charles at first encouraged the Council of Basel in its resistance to papal interference in the filling of benefices and taxation of the clergy. Then the council was deserted and Charles issued the Pragmatic

CHAP. XXXVIII

Sanction of Bourges (1438) by which, under the pretence of reform, the Church in France was made practically independent of Rome. Most of the clergy supported the edict in the hope of securing relief from papal extortion, but they soon found that they had merely changed masters. Both Charles and Louis XI used the Pragmatic Sanction as a weapon by which concessions could be obtained from Rome, now enforcing, now relaxing or even revoking, the edict. It would be futile to search for sincerely religious motives in the actions of either kings or popes; on both sides power and money were the stakes. Thus debauched, the French Church became increasingly incapable of satisfying the spiritual needs of the people. In other countries much the same situation prevailed. Whether in the shape of acts of parliament, concordats—"deals" between the temporal rulers and the pope—or royal edicts, the Church became more or less completely subject to the head of the state, and spiritual life was forced into channels outside the regular organization of the Church. The Reformation was, therefore, from one point of view merely the extension of a process already in operation, the nationalization of the Church.

The Renaissance Popes

The popes opposed the drift towards monarchical control, but more on political and financial than on purely religious grounds. More and more, the energies of the popes were concentrated within Italy, whether as politicians seeking to extend their temporal possessions, as humanists seeking to make Rome the center of art and learning, or as heads of greedy families. In every case money was their prime need, whether for wars, for manuscripts, for the pay of scholars or artists, or for relations. Occasionally a fitful effort was made to commence reforms, and two successive popes sought vainly to unite Christendom against the Turk, but on the whole the Vicar of Christ was lost in the Italian prince. It would be interesting to follow the careers of these fifteenth century pontiffs, who were almost without exception extraordinarily vivid personalities—Nicholas V, prince of humanists and founder of the Vatican library; Pius II, who revelled in the joys of this world until his elevation to the papal throne, and then turned ascetic reformer and crusader to die of grief at the failure of his plans; Sixtus IV, who let loose the horrors of war on all Italy to further his political ambitions and who earned the epitaph "No force could extinguish the savage Sixtus; At the great name of peace, he died"—all fascinating figures, not one capable of bringing the Church into harmony with the needs of the modern world. Our period closes with the purchase in 1492 of the fisherman's

throne by Roderigo Borgia, Alexander VI, under whom the papacy sank to its lowest ebb. Bankrupt in leadership, false to its ideals, the great medieval Church was moving towards the ordeal of the Protestant Reformation.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ECONOMIC CHANGE

CHAP. XXXIX

"THERE is nothing money cannot do!" according to a character in one of the religious dramas of the later middle ages, and many to-day would echo this sentiment. "In modern times," writes a recent historian of the Reformation, "money has been king," while kings gained power as "the police commissioners of the large bankers and traders." This is an extreme view, but it is nevertheless true that back of Froissart's gay and valiant chivalry, back of the pretensions equally of Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII, back of wars, conquests, and high-sounding treaties lurk the "Lombard," the "usurer," gold in the hands of the banker. The names of Leonardo, Columbus, Luther, and Queen Elizabeth stand for many things to us, but it is impossible to conceive of any of these striking personalities apart from the background of economic change which begins in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gathers momentum in the two centuries following, and continues to our own day. From kings, emperors, and popes we must turn to the burgher if we are really to understand our modern age.

Importance

The municipal economy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is typified by the gild system. The gild, it will be remembered, was a closely regulated organization of all the workers of a given craft, or "mystery," in a town, possessing a monopoly of the production and sale of a particular article, be it pastry, shoes, or armor. The ideals of the gild were the protection of the weak against the strong, the elimination of competition, and the assurance of cheap and good wares; every one was to secure a comfortable existence according to the standards of his class, but exceptional wealth was to be guarded against no less than poverty. To attain these ends everything was regulated: the price to be paid for raw materials, the number of workers in each shop, the hours and conditions of labor, the quality and quantity of goods which might be produced. Every master must work in his shop; new ideas and bargains were to be shared by all; prospective customers could not even be entertained at the town tavern. The list might be extended indefinitely as the gilds stopped up, one by

The Gilds

one, the opportunities for exceptional gain. "Foreigners," that is, merchants from another town, were naturally eyed with suspicion lest they sell at a lower rate than the gild. Usually outsiders were either forced to join the local gild and abide by its rules, or were permitted to dispose of their wares only to the gild itself. Free competition existed only at the fairs which were held periodically in various parts of Europe. The advantages of this system of regulated monopoly were great: to the community it assured excellent quality, a steady supply, and reasonable prices; to the worker was given a comfortable living. The foundations of the system were precarious, since under the best of circumstances the gilds could maintain their supremacy only so long as trade continued to be local and fashions remained fixed, while from the first it was necessary to combat the efforts of enterprising or unscrupulous individuals to outdistance their fellows. The economic revolution of the later middle ages destroyed this complicated structure, replacing the gild idea of regulation for the common welfare by intense individualism in commerce and industry, and overthrowing municipal economy in favor of national economy.

The most significant factor in producing this transformation was the rise of capitalism. Capital may be defined as "the fund of wealth which is employed with a view to obtaining an income," and thus understood capital had existed to some extent all through the middle ages. The nobleman who improved his farm lands and the gild master who purchased raw materials for manufacture were using accumulated funds for the sake of future gain no less than the Jew or "Lombard," as the Italian abroad was called, who loaned money to a needy lord or king. It was with this last form of investment that the medieval man usually connected capitalism, and partly because most of these loans were made for unproductive purposes, such as wars or extravagant living, which added nothing to the common stock of wealth, moral opprobrium was fixed on the man who put out money at interest. He was a "usurer," and his trade was sinful. Debtors almost invariably had difficulty in repaying the loans, so they not unnaturally sympathized with popular and religious prejudice and frequently stimulated hatred of the usurer so that they might escape the penalties of default. In order to insure himself against the very real danger of non-payment, the money lender was forced to charge very high rates of interest—50 per cent a year was considered moderate—and high interest charges confirmed the prevalent conception of the usurer as a ruthless and malevolent robber. This idea has found its classical embodiment in the figure of Shylock.

Capitalism

CHAP. XXXIX

Changes in Gilds

Capitalism became important economically only when it was applied to commerce and industry, and its widespread advance in this field begins in the fourteenth century. Even earlier, in some places and industries, the gilds had begun to develop oligarchical tendencies as the masters made it increasingly difficult for journeymen and apprentices to rise. In practice, though not in theory, the rank of journeyman became permanent, instead of a period of preparation and training for the duties and privileges of a master. Thus appeared the "rich" and the "poor," employers and employed. Further changes came when trade spread beyond the town itself and an export market developed. The merchant who bought goods for export was hampered by the minute subdivision of manufacture brought about by the craft gilds. Frequently he was able to compel the amalgamation of industries—such as the weavers, dyers, and finishers of wool, or the blade, handle, and sheath makers—and as the chief customer of the enlarged industry was able to interfere in administration and by degrees move on to control. In this way the gild masters themselves became employees of the exporting merchant. Sometimes the process was reversed. The merchant would purchase his raw material and pass it out to gild workmen for manufacture on a salary basis; again masters and journeymen alike became employees. So much for the methods by which the merchant class in possession of funds was able to make inroads on the gild system. The details of this process, and the results of the growth of capitalism, are best appreciated by an examination of the evolution going on in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the chief economic centers of Europe.

Mercantilism

Early capitalistic enterprise had its home in the city states of Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. In Italy, the defeat of the Hohenstaufen and the tranference of the papacy to Avignon, left the cities in the center and north of the peninsula free to work out their own destinies. For the next two centuries, until 1500, Italy was the greatest economic power in western Europe in commerce, industry, and finance. Lack of political unity was in many ways a real advantage, for it enabled the city states to devise governments based on economic interest. Italy is the first home of "mercantilism," the union of politics and economics which was later to be adopted by the national states. Both foreign and domestic policy were, in theory at least, dominated by one idea: the welfare of the community, and this well-being was thought to depend on commerce and industry. Local industries were protected against foreign competition by high protective tariffs; gov-

ernmental agencies sought markets and raw materials all over Europe; technical processes were carefully guarded; skilled workers were prohibited from emigrating, while foreigners were brought in to start new industries; the export of inferior goods was prohibited lest the reputation of the city be impaired. Since low wages enabled the manufacturer to sell his goods abroad more cheaply, the price of the food consumed by the city worker must be kept down. Consequently, the import of foodstuffs was encouraged, the export of farm produce restricted or prohibited, and the conquest of new territory by force or treaty effected. It is obvious that the mercantile system in many ways hampered the individual more than the gilds, but the objective was not the same. The regulations of the mercantilist state were all dictated by one consideration: the desire to facilitate the spread of domestic commerce and industry in foreign markets.

Venice

Venice and Florence were the mercantile states *par excellence*. By the last quarter of the thirteenth century Venice was already a thriving community, and during the succeeding century her galleys and traders pushed beyond the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, and the Aegean, until the coast of the Black Sea was dotted with Venetian trading posts, or factories, while regular communication had been established by sea with England and Flanders. To the Venetian factories were brought the eastern wares which had earlier seemed luxuries, but had become real necessities. Brocades, jewels, and silks were no longer worn only by prelates, and lords and their ladies on great occasions; masters, in the gild hall ceremonies, and many a burgher's wife and daughter now wore rich stuffs and jewels as by right. The demand for spices, scented woods, perfumes, and other exotic products grew apace, and most of this trade fell to Venice, due largely to the paternalistic activities of her government. From earliest times commercial leaders had dominated political affairs. In this island city there was no turbulent nobility to be subdued, Guelfs and Ghibellines were unknown, even the Church was viewed with a cold realism which seems foreign to the middle ages. In 1297 the closing of the Great Council by the preparation of the "Golden Book," in which were inscribed the names of all entitled to seats in the Council, fixed the dominant position of the commercial aristocracy. A few years later the establishment of the Council of Ten, elected annually by and from the Great Council, provided a small executive body with absolute powers. The doge was reduced to the position of a picturesque figurehead, a master of ceremonies. The lower classes were thus cut off from all participation in the govern-

CHAP. XXXIX

ment. But economic welfare meant more than democracy to the sailor or dock worker; plots against the Ten were concocted very largely by poor nobles, who were easily subdued.

Venetian Capitalism

The power of this commercial oligarchy was absolute and extended to minute regulation of the actions of every citizen, but always with one end in view: to secure a monopoly of the eastern trade for Venice. Galleys were built, owned, and controlled by the state, which rented space in the boats to the merchants; warships accompanied the commercial fleets; the route to be taken was determined by the Great Council. Eastern produce must be brought to Venice, unloaded and examined, and must pay a duty before being dispatched to the west. Foreign merchants, chiefly south Germans, were allowed to engage only in the land trade over the Alps, and were forced to pay dearly for the privilege, for in addition to paying very high import and export duties, they must live in their quarter, the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi,* which was owned by Venice, and must submit to gallingly minute supervision. Foreign policy was merely a militant commercial policy. In order to secure her food supply and her control over the Alpine passes, Venice was from the beginning of the fourteenth century intermittently at war with her neighbors on the mainland. Desire for a monopoly of the eastern trade precipitated a war to the death with Genoa which called forth every ounce of strength on both sides. From this struggle Venice emerged victorious in 1380 at Chioggia. During the next half century Venetian conquests proceeded apace. Early in the fifteenth century this tiny maritime city possessed a large state on the Italian mainland, most of the Dalmatian coast, ports on the Albanian coast, Corfu, southern Greece, and many Aegean islands, in addition to her trading quarters in the east. Money had brought Venice to this high position. Venetian power expanded as the surplus capital derived from trade accumulated. The nobles who deliberated in the Great Council, the ambassadors who resided at every foreign court and developed the traditions of modern diplomacy, the builders of the jewel-like palaces along the Grand Canal, the captains of the galleys—all were capitalists, either investing their money in commercial ventures or letting out funds at interest to traders. Venice was the first modern state to be run for and by "big business."

Florence

By comparison with the smoothly functioning absolutism of Venice, the political history of Florence seems hopelessly chaotic. Dante, in exile, castigated his native city, which made "ordinances of so fine a texture, that the threads thou spinnest in October last not till mid-November. How many times within thy memory hast

thou changed thy laws, thy currency, thine officers and customs, and renewed thy members! . . . Thou art like the sickly dame, who finds no rest on her bed of down, but shifts her posture to alleviate her pain!" It is, in truth, impossible to follow the kaleidoscopic changes which precede domination by the Medici in the fifteenth century. Guelfs and Ghibellines, nobles and burghers, capitalists and workers, all these elements fought and intrigued within the tiny wall-enclosed area along the Arno. The expression "go down to the piazza" has come in modern Italian to mean a street brawl, and the few "towers," enormously strong residences, which survive to our day bear witness to the time when Florence was a collection of bristling fortresses.

Florentine Capitalism

The unifying thread of this political turmoil is economic. Florence, like Venice, had by the end of the thirteenth century accumulated a surplus of capital, though from industry rather than commerce. Textiles, first wool and later silk, formed the foundation for the prosperity of the city. Rough cloth made from English wool was bought in Flanders or France, brought to Florence to be dyed and finished, and then exported to all parts of Europe. For the purchase of the rough cloth and the marketing of the finished product, were required money and business organization which ordinary gild methods could not furnish, so that by the thirteenth century the Florentine wool trade and industry had fallen into the hands of the capitalists. The gild organization was retained, but in reality the large working population, whether in factories or in the home, was at the mercy of the moneyed men. Deep antagonism developed between the two classes, in which the landed nobility usually sided with the lower class. By the end of the thirteenth century the capitalistic masters of the wool gilds and their allies from other prosperous trades had subdued the nobles and gained control over the government. The lot of the lower classes became increasingly hard as the employers lowered wages in order to meet foreign competition. In 1378 the workers rose against their masters in the Ciompi revolt, but the rising was crushed, and after that the artisans were oppressed more than ever. In our admiration for the brilliant culture of fifteenth century Florence we should not lose sight of this exploited proletariat. Peasants and neighboring cities as well as the proletariat of Florence felt the heavy hand of the merchant princes. In order to secure a stable food supply and access to the sea, Florence was involved in war almost continuously until the fall of Pisa in 1406, and a thoroughly mercantilist government was given the conquered territory. Pisa and other subject towns saw their

CHAP XXXIX

commerce diverted to the capital, while the peasants were exploited so mercilessly that one wonders why the Florentine policy did not defeat its own end by depopulating the countryside.

Finance

Florence was as active in finance as in industry. In the thirteenth century, Italians, especially Florentines, began to supplant the Jews and the Templars as money lenders. They found ready customers in nobles, kings, and prelates; Boniface VIII, Philip the Fair, and Edward I all borrowed extensively of Florentine merchants. The canonical prohibition against interest was either frankly disregarded, or more usually, evaded, sometimes by the payment of "damages" on some ground or other, sometimes by granting privileges to the Florentine in return for a loan. In the early fourteenth century, Italian bankers might be found in the most unlikely places and occupations—collecting papal or royal taxes, exercising a monopoly of the export, import, or sale of some commodity, or exploiting mines—positions and privileges almost always gained in return for loans. The risks were great; the popes usually compelled ecclesiastics to pay their debts, but there was no power capable of forcing payment from monarchs. In the middle of the fourteenth century Edward III went bankrupt after the campaign of Crécy, and brought ruin to many famous Florentine houses, even poverty to the city as a whole. After this experience, Italian financial policy became more cautious; more money was put into commerce and industry while loans to monarchs and nobles were made only in return for ample security.

Banking and Corporations

The scope of Italian economic activity early led to far-reaching developments in organization and practice. Individuals were unable to take care of the financing or operation of large enterprises, so that combinations began to appear in the thirteenth century. At first, groups of traders or moneyed men pooled their resources for a single venture, whether it be to purchase or sell goods, or to make a large loan, the union being dissolved when the operation was completed. The advantages of corporate activity were soon apparent and permanent partnerships and stock companies were formed. Usually these began as family organizations, since in case of loss or default every individual was responsible for the total liability, but in time outsiders were admitted. Then, to secure still greater assets, banking functions were added, and the hoards of gold which had been hidden away during the middle ages were lured once more into circulation by the promise of high interest. The extent and complexity of the transactions carried through by these large houses, many of which were engaged in banking, commerce, and varied forms of industry, led to in-

numerable improvements, great and small, in the mechanism of business. Double-entry book-keeping, the bill of exchange, the clearing-house—all these, in addition to more striking contributions such as banks and corporate partnerships, we owe to the enterprise of the Italians. All Europe went to Italy for instruction in business methods; as late as the sixteenth century an apprenticeship in Venice was part of the education given the sons of wealthy German burghers.

The Medici

The power which money put in the hands of its possessors during the fifteenth century in Italy is illustrated by the history of the Medici. This family began its rise after the great panic caused by the bankruptcy of Edward III, and reached its climax a century later. Branches of the house were established in many of the cities of western Europe, and from these centers political events were watched closely, and often influenced by the refusal or the granting of loans. The Medici galleys competed with the Venetians in the east, and the family was active in many lines of industry. Florence, which had for centuries prided itself on its freedom from tyranny, submitted first to Medicean boss rule, then to the frank despotism of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and later for two centuries had Medicean grand dukes. In the sixteenth century two Medicean popes and several cardinals, two Medici queens of France, and marriage alliances with other royal lines, are proof of the international prestige of this bourgeois banking family.

South Germany

Political anarchy produced municipal independence in Germany as in Italy, but in the empire both independence and trade were more precarious. In the thirteenth century south German merchants were already crossing the Alps with the bulky natural products of the north and returning with wares from the Mediterranean countries and the east gathered at Venice and Genoa. Down the Rhine, too, went these traders, forming the chief connecting link between Italy and Flanders, until the Flanders fleets of Venice and Genoa began to use the cheaper sea route. Commerce was a hazardous business for the south German, for in addition to the ordeal of the passage over the Alps, incessant wars—ranging from struggles for the imperial crown to the depredations of robber knights who descended from their castles, perched on dizzy heights above the Rhine, to pillage boats and horsemen—put every obstacle in the way of the peace-loving man of business. Again and again cities combined to force law and order on the turbulent nobility, but to no avail. From ridicule of middle-class pretensions and manners, the nobles by the fourteenth century had moved to the fierce hatred often engendered in an aristocracy which sees wealth

CHAP. XXXIX

and power accumulating in the hands of social inferiors. The distance of the towns from each other, and their mutual jealousies, made defense difficult in a country almost devoid of central authority, so that only the enormous profits to be gained in trade can account for the steadily rising prosperity of the merchant class during this troubled period. Commerce was impeded, however, and the great age of the south German cities does not come until the burgher found a protector in the house of Hapsburg late in the fifteenth century.

The Hanseatic League

In north Germany, and particularly in the Baltic region, town life possessed most of the hazards to be found further south, and in addition the merchant was forced to cope with the Scandinavian countries and the heathen Slavs, but greater dangers brought a more effective remedy in the organization of the Hanse. The word "Hansa" originally designated any organization of German merchants abroad, but beginning in the later thirteenth century, the expression was applied to the developing league of northern cities. The origin of the Hanseatic League is lost in obscurity. There are evidences of coöperation between the towns of central and northern Germany from the middle of the thirteenth century, and a half century later the League was well established. By this time German traders were busy over all the Baltic, following and sometimes preceding conquerors such as the Teutonic Knights. They had organized communities at Wisby on the island of Gothland, and at many points along the Scandinavian coast, and had even pushed into Russia to form a settlement at Novgorod. Beyond the Baltic, there were important German "factories" in London—later called the "Steelyard"—and in Bruges. In these settlements abroad the merchants had early banded together to protect existing privileges and secure new ones. The Hanseatic League was really an extension of this union to the home cities in order to secure greater strength in dealing with foreign powers and to eliminate weakening competition. The organization was never closely knit; we do not even know how many cities were members of the League, though there were probably at one time between seventy and eighty. In time of crisis complete unity of action could sometimes be secured, as during the successful struggle with Denmark for control of the Baltic which was fought out between 1361 and 1370. Usually there was much friction between members and no effective government was ever worked out; the only means of punishing an especially refractory member was by "unhansing," exclusion of a city from the privileges and protection of the League. The tremendous wealth and power of the

Hanse during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries are attributable more to the weakness of its enemies, such as the Scandinavian kingdoms, than to its own strength. Through their practical monopoly of trade in the Baltic, along the coasts of Norway, and in north Germany, the Hanse cities controlled trade comparable in volume, if not in value, with that of the Italian cities. The many days of abstinence from the eating of meat prescribed by the Church, gave a ready market for the fish, particularly herring, which abounded in the Hanse-controlled region; timber, grain, the furs of Russia, and various other natural products were easily disposed of in exchange for wines, cloth, and eastern wares. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the Hanse merchants represented the most active, the most progressive, and the wealthiest elements in the empire, and when Germans in our own day turned once more to the sea, the history of the Hanse served them as an inspiration and a guide.

Flanders

Flanders has figured frequently in our story: as a bone of contention first between France and England, then between Louis XI and Charles the Bold; and as a center of Italian, south German, and Hanse trade. Geographically, Flanders was a natural focal point for the commerce of western Europe, and for a hundred and fifty years, through most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Bruges was the greatest commercial center outside the Mediterranean. Here might be found men of all nations—Italian, French, German, and English—and the wealth of the city may even yet be appreciated from the architectural monuments which have survived successive waves of military devastation. Manufacturing and capitalism also have their first northern European home in Flanders, where weaving was already breaking through the gild regulations in the thirteenth century. The history of the Flemish towns is even more confused than that of Florence, for here the French king, the count of Flanders, the rich burghers, and the proletariat, fought out again and again a struggle for supremacy which never found complete solution. Usually, king and burgher combined against worker and count, but alliances shifted bewilderingly. Here again, one marvels that commerce and culture could flourish in the midst of confusion.

Rise of New Economic Centers

Until about 1450 the four areas we have surveyed—Italy, south and north Germany, and Flanders—were supreme in commerce, industry, and finance. About the middle of the fifteenth century this situation began to change, here rapidly, there almost imperceptibly, until by the end of the sixteenth century nearly all the old centers had lost their power and national economy had supplanted munic-

CHAP. XXXIX

ipal economy. We are only concerned with the beginnings of this change, but the main lines of the new development are already apparent by 1500.

In part, only an intensification and extension of earlier practices are involved, particularly the spread of individualistic capitalism, which in the later fifteenth century characterises central Europe as well as Italy. In Augsburg and Nurnberg the Fuggers and the Welsers, in Bourges Jacques Coeur, and a host of lesser lights everywhere, were providing counterparts for the Medici and for our modern captains of industry. The Fuggers operated mines in the Tyrol and Bohemia, and were in control of half a dozen other industries. They carried on banking operations of astonishing proportions, and engaged in commerce over all Europe. Jacques Coeur was the political boss of southern France, bribing the Estates General of Languedoc to build harbors, bridges, and canals for his use, making a fortune through government contracts, and trading in everything from Chinese porcelains to slaves. To such men the minute regulations and equalitarian ideals of the gilds were anathema. The gilds fought desperately to exclude capitalistic competition, but their organization was too rigid and their resources too meagre to bring victory. Where the gild succeeded in dominating a city, trade languished. In Flanders, capital deserted the old gild-ridden towns and migrated to the new and unhampered city of Antwerp, which in the sixteenth century became the money market and distributing center of Europe, with a bourse and many commission houses. Industry also deserted the old centers as the capitalist set up factories in suburbs or new cities and developed the "domestic system," under which his agents passed out raw materials to the agricultural population of villages for manufacture at home. The gilds despairingly called to the central government for aid, and sometimes got it, but the inroads of the moneyed man continued relentlessly. "The gild, originally a fortress, became a prison." With it passed the craftsman's instinct and some small check on the brutal rapacity of individualism, but the growing oligarchical organization of the gild had already largely eliminated these advantages.

Gild vs. Capitalist

A second factor making for a change in economic conditions was the growing strength and stability of the national and territorial states. The end of the Hundred Years' War, the ascendancy of the Hapsburgs and the lesser princes of Germany, the revival of the Scandinavian kingdoms, and the unification of Spain all came in the same half century, and the city-states were to find these larger units too powerful to be coped with successfully. So long as internal dissensions and foreign wars absorbed the energies of

National vs. Municipal Economy

rulers, little attention could be given to economic regulations, and the city states were supreme, but the removal of these obstacles created a new situation. Every ruler was fascinated by the mercantilist ideas which had given strength to Venice and Florence: the encouragement of domestic industry and shipping; the export of manufactured goods and the restriction of imports; the limitation so far as possible of the activity of foreigners; the sacrifice of agriculture to industry; the struggle for monopoly of production and markets. In England, little was possible in the way of a clearly defined commercial policy during the confusion of the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses. Edward III had tried to stimulate local industries by encouraging the immigration of Flemish weavers, and various other sporadic efforts were made along similar lines, but for the most part England remained an agricultural country with one export, wool, and that transported by foreign shippers. Individual Englishmen protested against this economic servitude. In 1436 the author of the *Libelle of Englyshe Polysye* gave expression to his outraged patriotism and formulated a mercantilist policy much studied by Englishmen of the next century. Our enemies, he says, bid us remove the ship from our coin, and substitute a sheep, to match our sheepish minds. The possession of Dover and Calais, England's "tweyne eyne," gives England a superb opportunity to control the Channel. The "trewe processe of Englysh polycye," therefore, is to

> Cheryshe marchandyse, kepe thamyralte,[1]
> That we bee maysteres of the narowe see.

Then follows a long diatribe on the blessings to be derived from sea power and the exclusion of base foreigners from English trade. Edward IV was the first to grapple seriously with the task of putting these ideas into practice, and his policy was continued and extended by the Tudors, so that in the course of the sixteenth century England developed the merchant marine which helped defeat the Spanish Armada, while English industry grew apace. In France, Charles VII and Louis XI both devoted much attention to economic problems and so favored the middle class that the nobles made this a standing complaint. The voyages of Columbus to America, and of Vasco da Gama around Africa were part of the mercantilist policy of Spain and Portugal respectively; the power of the Fuggers and Welsers in south Germany rested on Hapsburg support; while in the north the Hanse was forced to retreat before the power of the Scandinavian kingdoms, England, and Poland. In all these cases, however, royal support of native com-

[1] The admiralty, i. e., naval superiority.

CHAP. XXXIX

merce and industry was given only for a price. The western kings, the duke of Burgundy and his Hapsburg successors, the territorial princes of Germany, all alike were determined to end municipal independence so that, though the individual capitalist or merchant might gain much from the change from city to national economy, the city state tended to disappear outside of Italy.

Shift of Trade Routes

A third reason for the decline of old centers and the rise of new ones was the shifting of trade routes as old avenues of communication were choked and new ones discovered. In the fifteenth century the Mongol empire, which had favored trade with the west, collapsed. On its ruins there arose in the north the Russian princes of Moscovy, who were more interested in conquest than in trade, and as their power spread, in the second half of the century, north towards the Gulf of Finland, and Novgorod fell into their hands, the Hanse merchants found their activities curtailed. An accident of nature added to their woes; the herrings suddenly abandoned their old spawning beds and migrated to the coasts of the Netherlands, thus depriving the Hanse of one of its most lucrative industries The advance of the Turks was even more disastrous for the Italians than that of the Russians was for the Hanse. Until 1380 the whole strength of Venice was concentrated on the task of defeating Genoa, and no sooner was this commercial rival eliminated than the Venetians were forced to defend their possessions on the mainland against Milan. Milanese foreign policy, unlike that of Florence and Venice, was dictated by political, rather than economic, considerations. In the thirteenth century the Visconti had established themselves as despotic rulers in the great Lombard city, and after subduing the turbulent populace of Milan, had set out to dominate all Italy. Under Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1385-1402) this ambition almost attained realization, and Venice and Florence had only saved themselves from subjugation by the most strenuous efforts. With the death of Gian Galeazzo his conquests fell away, but a half century later a new line of Milanese tyrants, the Sforza, were again pressing hard on Venetian territory. The preoccupation of Venice with Italian affairs is one explanation for the ease with which the Ottoman Turks had extended their rule. Instead of opposing their advance, Venice had at first tried to make terms with the conquerors, and in 1454 this policy seemed successful when the Ottoman ruler agreed to confirm their privileges and possessions in the east. This treaty was never kept by the Turks, whose religious fanatisicm made them as ready to break engagements with the infidel as the crusaders had been, so the Venetians, who had already decided on war, gladly answered the call of Pius II for a crusade (1464). For fifteen years the war was

waged by land and sea throughout the Near East, but in 1479 the Venetians were forced to give up most of their territory outside Italy and agree to pay tribute for the privilege of trading in Turkish possessions. As the Turks cared little about commerce, the volume of eastern goods obtainable in their empire steadily decreased, and most of the traffic was diverted to Syria and Egypt, where the Mameluke sultan exploited his practical monopoly by charging very high duties.

Discovery and Italy

Trade with the east had not been shut off in the second half of the fifteenth century, but it was greatly disturbed and prices were rising, so that the incentive to find new ways of tapping the eastern sources of supply was great. The idea of a sea route to India was not new, and the coast of Africa had drawn the fascinated attention of adventurers ever since the thirteenth century. Navigators were led on by stories of African wealth, in gold, ivory, slaves, and other commodities, and by the missionary instinct, which was possibly the dominating motive in the mind of the famous Prince Henry of Portugal, who sent out many expeditions. The disturbed condition of trade in the Mediterranean after the coming of the Turks accelerated the pace of exploration and also led to the revival of another old idea, that of reaching India by sailing due west. This notion, made famous by Columbus, rested largely on the mistaken calculations of Greek geographers, who had overestimated the land bulk of Asia so that many thought that the "spice islands" lay only a short distance to the west of Europe. Both methods of reaching India were tried again and again in the fifteenth century, but for a long time nothing came of the western voyages, since the navigators merely sailed some little distance and then circled around aimlessly looking for land. The Portuguese solution seemed more certain, though many were appalled as the length of the African coast was uncovered. The Cape of Good Hope was reached in 1487; the news created great excitement in Europe and led to redoubled efforts, out of which came the voyage of Columbus in 1492, and of Vasco de Gama in 1498. The latter voyage spelled ruin for Venice; the Portuguese had "short-circuited" the eastern trade, and could easily undersell the Venetians, who were forced to pay many times as much for their wares in Egypt as Portugal paid in Calicut. In desperation, the thought of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez was discussed, but abandoned when, early in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Turks swept through Syria and Egypt to add new tribulations to the lot of the Venetian traders. The great days of Venice were over, though for some time the city retained a show of prosperity through its superiority in the making of books, paper, and glass.

CHAP. XXXIX

Across the Apennines, Florence was also declining, although less spectacularly, as one market after another was closed to her industries by the mercantilist national states. A premonition of the harsh fate reserved for Italy as a whole was given in 1494 when Charles VIII of France invaded the peninsula, ostensibly to conquer Naples, actually to conquer almost anything he could. With their internal organization practically complete, the national rulers were now preparing to embark on the imperialistic career demanded by the mercantile system, and Italy, weakened through division, was a tempting prize.

Results of Capitalistic Revolution

The results of the capitalistic revolution are all around us. On the one hand, the revived power of money provided the sinews of war for the rulers who were building up the modern national state; on the other, capitalism fostered the individualism which was in the sixteenth century to prove itself no less hostile to the Catholic Church than to the gilds and feudalism, and which has more recently rebelled against the power of the monarchs who were its first protectors. In the realm of ideas, money has made its influence felt everywhere; economic prosperity formed the material basis for the Renaissance, both in Italy and in northern Europe. Again, money and its power have given to the possessor of gold a dignity foreign to the middle ages. In the fifteenth century we first meet the ideal of money power as an end in itself. Earlier, outside of Italy, men had sought wealth so that they could leave the marts of commerce and enjoy themselves as landed gentlemen or in other ways. In the Fuggers and Welsers we have types which are now more familiar—men to whom business was life itself, the struggle for wealth the highest pleasure, not the means to fullness of life. Whether the old or the new idea is the better must be left to the individual to decide; but the importance of the changed point of view is manifest. From money and the search for it came also, after missionary zeal had spent its force, the movement of exploration and colonization, which, spreading in ever-widening circles, has been fraught with such weighty consequences to our own day. The results of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century are more obvious and better known to us, but this later movement was itself merely the logical result of the capitalistic revolution, and the growth of the power of money created a new heaven and a new earth for man no less than has the machine.

CHAPTER XL

INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS

The "Renaissance"

A VERY few years ago students of history spoke, with the assurance that they would be understood, of two distinct periods, the "Middle Ages" and the "Renaissance." The former was likened to a "Dead Sea," a period when the mental condition was "one of ignorant prostration before the idols of the Church in dogma and authority and scholasticism." The Renaissance was "the liberation of the reason from a dungeon, the double discovery of the outer and inner world;" during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy "the intellect, after lying spell-bound during a long night, when thoughts were as dreams and movements as somnambulism, renewed its activity, interrogated nature, and enjoyed the pleasures of unimpeded energy." The Italians in less than two centuries "bridged the gulf between the medieval and modern world" and diffused a "new spirit, the foe of obscurantism, the ally of all forces that make for light, for the advancement of knowledge, and for reasonable freedom." Few would make such dithyrambic statements to-day. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, far from seeming a "long night," are now known to have been years of intense and lasting activity. In Gothic architecture we see a beauty which makes us forget that the name "Gothic" was applied in opprobrium by admirers of the Italian Renaissance. Rich vernacular literatures, constitutional and legal developments, the origin of universities, strenuous philosophical thought, vivid and powerful personalities—all these we find in the "dungeon," the "Dead Sea" of the middle ages. More sceptical scrutiny has at the same time been dimming the achievements of the Italian Renaissance, until "some would go so far as to abolish the name, and perhaps even the fact, of a renaissance in the Quattrocento [fifteenth century]." It is not necessary to go this far—certainly the word "Renaissance" is no more misleading than "Middle Ages" —and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were great and far-reaching developments. Some of these we have already seen—the rise of absolute monarchies, the political changes in Germany, the vicissitudes of the Church, and the economic revolution. With other movements, centering in Italy and the Netherlands, we

CHAP. XL

shall be concerned in these closing pages. As scepticism with regard to Italian achievements of the Quattrocento has grown, attention has been directed towards the civilization of the lower Rhine valley. The final word has not been said concerning the importance of either of these centers, so that although brevity compels direct statements and prevents qualifications, we should constantly remember that all decisions must be tentative, while on almost every point there is still room for wide divergence of opinion.

In studying the twelfth and thirteenth centuries interest has been focused on the achievements and institutions of France, but Italy made substantial contributions to the history of this period. In politics, the towns of northern Italy exercised a decisive influence during the struggles between popes and emperors; the study of law and medicine showed their greatest advance at the universities of Bologna and Salerno respectively; a succession of Italian religious mystics, of whom St. Francis of Assisi was the greatest, left an indelible impression on Christian feeling and action. Above all, in Dante we have the "medieval synthesis," the greatest expression of the thought and emotion of his time. Intellectually Dante created nothing, but merely assimilated and expressed with passionate conviction the ideas of his age, so that his work has enormous importance for any effort to evaluate the achievement of the Renaissance which followed hard on his death. Dante was an orthodox and sincere Catholic, and as such he believed this life to be a preparation for the next, but the fervent desire for salvation did not debar, but rather presupposed, fullness of life on earth. There is, he maintained, with his master St. Thomas Aquinas, a happiness natural to man which leads without break to eternal happiness in the next world. Learning, piety, and a type of virtue reminiscent of the Roman Republic characterized the happy man, who was also the only true noble. To develop this nobility of character and to remain steadfast and loyal to these standards should be the ideal of all "those on pilgrimage on earth;" everything which led to nobility of character was good, while all that impeded natural happiness was bad.

Dante, 1265-1321

The whole range of interests and ideas of Dante and his age finds expression in his greatest work, the *Divine Comedy*. In purpose and form the poem follows an accepted tradition; "Comedies of the Soul," "Mysteries," and "Visions" were common in Italian literature of the thirteenth century, and their purpose was, like Dante's, to teach some useful truth under the veil of poetic allegory. The vernacular was chosen as the vehicle of expression, partly because of his "natural love of the mother tongue," partly because Dante was here, as elsewhere, writing for an audience

The Divine Comedy

which could not read Latin. For most of the learned he entertained a supreme contempt, because they used their learning as a means to worldly advancement, rather than to attain self-perfection. Such motives would seem to damn the work at the beginning as a didactic commonplace, but Dante's genius broke through purpose and allegory to produce the greatest poem in Italian literature. At the outset we get a clue to Dante's character in his contempt for those rejected by Heaven and Hell alike, the pusillanimous. Even in the depths of the *Inferno* we can discern his comprehension of, and sympathy for, all who possess singleness and strength of purpose, whether it be Ulysses faring beyond the Pillars of Hercules, driven on by the unquenchable determination to discover what lay beyond; Paolo and Francesca consumed by love; Farinata scorning Hell and asking with disdain, "Who were thine ancestors?" or Capaneus defying Jove even while the flakes of fire rain over him. Again and again his intense Italian patriotism finds expression. "Ah! servile Italy, abode of woe, ship without pilot in a wild tempest, no mistress of provinces but house of ill fame! . . . Within thy borders thy living sons are not exempt from war, but those molest one another who are enclosed by a single wall and moat. . . . The cities of Italy teem with tyrants, and every peasant churl who plays the partisan becomes a Marcellus." Peace, he cries unceasingly, peace for his distracted land, and for the whole world; peace, which is essential if the individual is to grow in nobility and happiness. For him God had destined peace under the ægis of the empire. "Come," he commands Albert of Hapsburg, the successor of Augustus, "and see thy Rome lamenting in her desolate widowhood, while day and night she cries· 'My Cæsar, why dost thou not abide with me?'" As a patriot and a Christian he berates the papacy which had violated God's ordinance by usurping the temporal power which belonged to the emperor alone; through greed of the fruits of this earth the Church has prostituted, forgotten, its God-given mission to lead souls to eternal happiness.

To exhaust either the force or the ideas of Dante would lead us on endlessly. It is enough to recognize the extraordinary unity which gives strength and direction to the most various parts of his thought. For him the Church and State as he willed them to be were ideas in the mind of God, valid forever, held in abeyance through the wickedness of man. Learning served to give knowledge of God and His workings; human love led to love of God; true happiness in this world led inevitably to happiness in the next. Exile from the Florence he passionately loved, misfortune, and the failure of all his hopes, embittered Dante, but frustration came

Unity of Dante's Thought

CHAP. XL

from without—in his own mind all was clear. Exile had taught him "how bitter is the taste of another's bread, and how hard a task it is to ascend and descend another's steps," but nowhere is his loyalty to his own convictions better seen than in his refusal to return to Florence under terms which to him entailed the sacrifice of ideals.

Petrarch, 1304–1374

Dante died in 1321 in his fifty-seventh year; Petrarch was born in 1304, and Boccaccio nine years later, so that their lives overlapped that of their great fellow-Florentine. This fact makes more remarkable the gulf which separates the author of the *Divine Comedy,* who brings one epoch to a close, from his younger contemporaries, who usher in the new era of the Renaissance. In Petrarch we find no trace of the unity of character which lent strength and dignity to Dante in adversity and exile. Depth and tenacity of conviction brought Dante unshaken through the most bitter disappointments. Petrarch's writings are filled with lamentations about "the dangers and apprehensions I have suffered. . . . I was born among perils and among perils have grown old—if old I am, and there are not worse trials ahead." When his catalogue of woes is examined we find the events enumerated took place before his birth or in his early childhood, while we know that all through his life he was petted and courted by the great of his day. Indeed, as he himself assures us in his complacent *Letter to Posterity:* "the greatest kings of this age have loved and courted me. They may know why, I certainly do not. With some of them I was on such terms that they seemed in a certain sense my guests rather than I theirs." Evidently his unhappiness came from within, from his inability to unite his conflicting aspirations and interests into a workable scheme of existence. He longed for solitude and quiet, yet he was constantly on the move, either from sheer restlessness or as an ambassador. At times he was strongly attracted by the monastic ideal and berated the pomp and show of this world, but he fawned after the poet's crown and gloried in his celebrity. Author of passionate love sonnets and not above amorous adventures, he could describe love as a most foul sin.

The "Father of Humanism"

Petrarch's love of learning was much more constant, and it was in this field that the "Father of Humanism" was to leave the greatest impress on subsequent thought. His interests were on the whole much narrower than Dante's. From the whole field of medieval philosophy he recoiled in disgust resulting from lack of sympathy, as most of the scholars of the Italian Renaissance were to do. He declared that Aristotle, Dante's "Master of those who know," erred "in the most weighty questions," and rejects him vehemently as a guide. Although Aristotle "has said much of happi-

ness both at the beginning and the end of his *Ethics,* I dare assert, let my critics exclaim as they may, that he was so completely ignorant of true happiness that the opinions upon this matter of any pious old woman, or devout fisherman, shepherd or farmer, would, if not so fine-spun, be more to the point than his." At science he scoffs for the same reason, as "helping in no way towards a happy life." Lack of interest in these fields he atoned for by devotion to classical literature and Roman antiquities. When in Rome, his imagination was fired by the majestic ruins, and he was one of the first to start collecting Roman inscriptions and coins. That Dante had reverenced the poets and philosophers of Greece and Rome is shown by his choice of Virgil as a guide in the *Divine Comedy* and by his description of the sages in Limbo. In Petrarch, however, we find a new spirit: reverence for the classical past becomes worship and slavish imitation. He came to regard his writings in the vernacular with shame and contempt and endeavored to make his Latin style less medieval and barbarous by conforming to the usage of Cicero. "O great father of Roman eloquence!" he wrote "Not I alone but all who deck themselves with the flowers of Latin speech render thanks unto you, . . . In a word, it is under your auspices that we have attained to such little skill in this art of writing as we may possess." Each of Petrarch's letters was, so far as he could make it, a polished Ciceronian essay obviously intended for publication, with all intimate or routine details which would mar the symmetry of the production, or which could not be described in classical language, relegated to a separate sheet, written in Italian or medieval Latin. His enthusiasm for classical studies led him to ferret out and copy previously unknown letters and speeches of Cicero and to attempt, unsuccessfully, to learn Greek, then little studied. There is something at once amusing and pathetic in the way that he hugged to his breast a Greek manuscript of Homer, which he could not read and knew only through received opinion and a translation so bad as to discourage even his invincible conviction that Homer, together with Virgil, was more than human, of a stature which rose above the clouds. From his infatuation with the past came the *Africa,* an unreadably dull epic of the Second Punic War; it was on this work that he fondly believed his fame with posterity would rest. For him there was no impassable gulf separating his age from that of Augustus; the rabble of fourteenth century Rome was the same Roman people which had once dominated the world. In this spirit he rapturously acclaimed Cola di Rienzi, but his effusions sound pale and rhetorical beside the flaming Italian patriotism of Dante.

Even in his preoccupation with learning and literature, which

CHAP. XL

resulted in the writing of a small library of Latin works through which he hoped to attain immortality in the memory of posterity, Petrarch suffered qualms of conscience. "I closed the book, angry with myself that I should still be admiring earthly things who might have learned from even the pagan philosophers that nothing is wonderful but the soul, which, when great itself, finds nothing great outside itself." For him the reconcilation between the good of this world and that of the next which Dante made was impossible. There was a constant struggle between Petrarch the lover of Laura, Petrarch the dictator of learning, and Petrarch the trembling Christian.

Lack of Unity in Petrarch's Thought

It would be difficult to discover a parallel for the extraordinary popularity and influence of Petrarch; even Voltaire could not boast of such universal adulation. In Florence, Petrarch's letters and poems were awaited as great events. A friend in Florence wrote: "Your poem was eagerly read with delight and fraternal good will. Then we joyously discussed your letters, by means of which you were joined to each of us by a lasting bond of friendship, so that we each silently proved your affection for us by thus producing incontestable evidence. There was no envy, such as is usually aroused by commendation, no detraction or aspersions; each was bent upon adding his part to the applause aroused by your eloquence."

Popularity of Petrarch

The most famous, and one of the most devout worshippers of Petrarch, was Boccaccio, who to the end of his life preserved the attitude of a respectful pupil towards the older scholar. He had the same interest in classical literature and joined eagerly in the search for manuscripts, but fate and a hard-headed father had prevented him from acquiring a thorough knowledge of Latin. "However," he writes, "when I had well nigh reached maturity, and was become my own master, then, at no man's bidding and through no man's teaching, against the opposition of my father who condemned such studies violently, I resorted spontaneously to the little I knew of the poetic art, and this work I have since pursued with the greatest eagerness, studying the works of its professors with incredible delight and straining all my ability to understand them . . . I doubt not that if my father had been indulgent to my wishes while my mind was pliable in youngest years, I should have turned out one of the world's famous poets. The fact, however, is that through bending my abilities first to a lucrative business, and next to a lucrative branch of study, I failed to become either a merchant or a canonist, and missed the chance of being an illustrious poet." One may be permitted to believe that his mercantile travels, which took him through most of Italy and through

Boccaccio, 1313–1375

France as far as Paris, strengthened his interest in, and knowledge of, humanity, while the discipline of legal studies was probably no more cramping than imitation of classical forms would have been. Certainly, he never attained to a Petrarchian absorption in the past. Recognition of his inadequate knowledge of Latin may account for the fact that Boccaccio turned to Italian. From earliest youth he was experimenting with varied forms of composition in the vernacular—the prose romance, idyll, epic, allegory, even the psychological novel. From these efforts came new verse forms and modes of expression, but little of great importance. In this youthful period we find nothing of Dante's metaphysical and political passions, or of Petrarch's preoccupation with his soul. Boccaccio's ideals are those of the scholar devoting himself passionately to the study of literature, of the artist using old literary forms or inventing new ones in the search for appropriate means of expression, and of the courtier, rejoicing in the favor of the Neapolitan court. It was at Naples, with the encouragement of Queen Joanna, whose unsavory career he sought vainly to rehabilitate by his rhetoric, that he is said to have begun his great work, the *Decameron,* in which his genius at last found expression.

The Decameron

The *Decameron* is not only a literary masterpiece, it is a most precious historical document, since from its pages we may glean a knowledge of the standards and ideals of the fourteenth and fifteenth century Italian. The *Decameron* took Italy by storm and was read and copied as was no other work of the period. It was not a work for scholars, and in the epilogue Boccaccio felt it necessary to admit that there were many "who will say that the said stories are too full of jests and merry conceits, and that it ill becomes a man of weight and gravity to have written in such wise." Scholars might raise their eyebrows, but we are no less grateful than his contemporaries, though possibly for different reasons, to this poet who forsook the epic and the idyll long enough to catch and transmute into a work of art the life of his age. The stories were not new; they had circulated for centuries in all parts of Europe and even Asia, but now they were given a home in fourteenth century Florence. For the most part all the ideas of the middle ages find unquestioned acceptance by the company of young men and women of the *Decameron.* They sing allegorical songs, observe perfect propriety of conduct, and on Friday tell no stories so that they may have time for prayers. Chivalry is held up to admiration in tales of extraordinary deeds of magnificence and magnanimity performed by kings and knights. The Christian tradition still has force enough to cause violent disgust at the conduct of the friars

CHAP. XL

who have deserted the high ideals of their founders. "Whereas the friars of old times sought to win men to their salvation, those of today seek to win their women and their wealth." Nothing is too improbable to excite pity or amusement. The hearers weep over the bovine patience of Griselda, and tales of murder and sudden death. Applause and approval go to the host who, on discovering that one of his guests is plotting against his life, seeks to gratify this wish so that no one may leave his house unsatisfied. The crusades form a background for exchanges of courtesy between Christian and Saracen noblemen, not for any crusading zeal.

The World of Boccaccio

All this is old, an inherited tradition, and if there were nothing more in the *Decameron* the book would scarcely repay a reading. But even amid these old ideas and situations one feels a new and distinctive point of view towards life. Story after story shows the conviction that the true motive power of this world is not God, but Fate. The heroes of this world, moved by fate, are those who know how to take advantage of opportunities as they offer themselves. The unforgivable sin is stupidity, and unsuspecting husbands, innocents, or simple souls deserve no quarter. Those who have keen wits live by them at the expense of others, whether the reward be satisfaction of desire, rescue from embarrassments caused by previous stupidity or fate, or the attainment of prosperity and happiness. The most cruel practical jokes find justification in the demonstration of wit. All this is the antithesis of the Christian virtues, which are indeed held up to contempt. The diatribe against the friars already mentioned is intended to prove the sinfulness of a woman who, threatened with damnation by a friar, had given up her lover. God enters on the side of love, and the story ends; in other words, the God of the *Decameron* is a deity who helps those who help themselves. Such exaltation of shrewdness, sharpness of wit, and keenness of eye for the main chance can be found only in one field of medieval literature—the *fabliaux* of the merchants, and with these crude burghers of France the commercial Italian of the Renaissance is closely allied in feeling, though he might regard the rough Northerner as a barbarian. The gulf which separates the world of Boccaccio and the world of Dante may also be seen from the lack of understanding apparent in the attitude of the author of the *Decameron* towards his older contemporary. Boccaccio admired and reverenced the work of Dante; he wrote a life of the great Florentine exile, and his last work was a ponderous commentary on the *Divine Comedy,* which in fifty-nine lectures had covered only half of the *Inferno!* Despite this love and study, Dante remains completely incomprehensible to him, except as a writer of beautiful Italian poetry. Two examples

will suffice to demonstrate this incapacity to understand the medieval writer. For Dante, Beatrice was the "youngest of the angels," a personification of the divine beauty, and through love of her the poet aspired to attain love of God. In order to show why Dante fell in love with Beatrice at the age of nine, Boccaccio "conjectures that the sweet season of May, the good wines and the delicate meats of the Portinari banquet, all the sensuous delights of a Florentine festival, turned the boy into a man." In his description of Beatrice "there is less of the angelic than the carnal nature visible. Beatrice becomes one of the beauties of his own prose fictions." Of more serious import, possibly, for the future of Italy, is his inability to explain Dante's participation in politics, which Boccaccio can only attribute to vanity. Boccaccio had an acute mind, and such an interpretation indicates how far the Italians had already moved from the fierce patriotism of earlier centuries.

Boccaccio in his youth earned the nickname of "Giovanni della Tranquillità." His world seemed to contain its ideals within itself; the next world was not present either as the culmination of life, or as an uncomfortable preoccupation. Never denied, it merely ceased to have enough validity to offer standards. The instability and inadequacy of this happy acquiescence in the exclusive claims of this world was shown by his panic when, in 1361, a dying monk warned him of impending damnation unless he changed his mode of life. Under the influence of this message Boccaccio immediately decided to sell his library, give up study, and take orders. Although he abandoned all these resolutions when the first shock had passed, he did forsake light literature, and he never regained his old carefree spirit, and thoughts of the next world and the condition of his own soul obtruded uncomfortably from time to time.

Inadequacy of His Ideals

In contrasting Dante with Petrarch and Boccaccio we have taken three unusually vivid personalities, and in doing so have run the risk of exaggerating the shift of interest which took place in the middle of the fourteenth century. If it be remembered that few people in the middle ages attained to the complete unity of a Dante, and that few in the fourteenth century felt as keenly the impossibility of reconciling the demands of this life and that of the next as did Petrarch, or with Boccaccio made first a complete surrender to the joys of the world, and then recoiled in terror at the thought of the yawning jaws of Hell—in short, if we remember that these are the great, in whom alone we can expect to find acute sensitiveness to current modes of thought—we may hope to minimize this distortion. In order adequately to explain the dis-

Change in 14th Century Italy

CHAP. XL

solution of the civilization which produced Dante, and the rise of the new age of Petrarch and Boccaccio, we should have to dig deep into the history of Italy, and even then we should not possess the whole truth. Neither would it help to enumerate the accepted five or six "causes" of the Italian Renaissance, since close examination shows that these raise more questions than they settle, while they obscure the fact that it is impossible adequately to explain the evolution of a civilization. Let us be content with observing some of the phenomena of fourteenth and fifteenth century Italy, particularly of Florence, because the Renaissance is primarily a Florentine movement, and only secondarily, one might even say by adoption, peculiar to Italy as a whole.

Florentine Society

The most obvious change apparent in fourteenth century Florence, as in northern Italy as a whole, is the rapid growth of economic prosperity, which produced a large leisure class, most of whom derived their wealth from commerce and industry. With money and ease came more luxurious habits of life, and a desire for amusement, for novelty. Dante's denunciations of the growing luxury and worldliness of the city which had exiled him might be open to question if his vehement language were not confirmed by the sober Giovanni Villani, who interrupts his chronicle of statistics and dispassionate narration of events to bemoan the passing of simplicity in dress, manners, and speech, and to marvel at the magnificence of the public and private buildings and the country residences which were being erected in and around Florence. Over the care-free city broke in 1348 the terrible calamity of the Black Death, but, reports Giovanni's brother, Matteo, instead of restoring sobriety as "the few grave citizens who had escaped" anticipated, the pestilence heightened the note of revelry. Old standards lost their force, and the Florentines surrendered entirely to the joys of the world, which seemed the more precious after the horrors of the plague. It was for this society that Boccaccio composed the *Decameron* which caught so well the spirit of the age. Civic as well as moral virtue disintegrated. Mercenaries, under the command of professional soldiers of fortune, the "condottieri," took the place of citizens in the armies. After the Ciompi revolt of the artisans had been suppressed in 1378, the rule of the rich burghers was almost uncontested; power gradually came to center in a small plutocratic clique, and finally in the fifteenth century the city fell entirely under the control of the Medici family, the richest bankers of Florence. To distract attention from political affairs the rulers fed the popular taste for gorgeous display, especially as found in the riotous spirit of the

carnival. "To divert their [the Florentines'] attention from matters of government" Machiavelli tells us, "it being now a year since the death of Cosimo [de' Medici,] Piero, his son, resolved to celebrate two festivals," one of which "was conducted with such pomp and magnificence that the preparations for it kept the whole city occupied for many months." Piero's son, Lorenzo the Magnificent, was a past master in the art of amusing the people, and under his rule Florence became the gayest and most sophisticated capital in Europe. For this worldly society the "natural happiness" of Dante had little appeal. To be sure, few in Florence completely abandoned their belief in the Christian religion. Money was lavished on churches; Cosimo de' Medici had a cell in the monastery of San Marco to which he retired at times, though whether to rest his spirit or his body we cannot tell; on his deathbed Lorenzo the Magnificent summoned for his last confession that embodiment of medieval fanaticism, Savonarola; Boccaccio was not the only one subject to a violent upheaval of fear and remorse. The Christian drama of salvation or damnation remained, but few felt keenly its import save at the approach of death or in time of crisis. For the most part the claims of religion simply receded, pushed aside by new interests. Similarly, most Florentines moved so far from Dante's patriotism and his religious conception of love that these became incomprehensible, as they already were to Boccaccio. All the old ideals—religious, political, and moral—had lost their force. There remained two faculties apparent in Dante, though in him they found outlets later neglected: an intensity of imagination seldom surpassed in the history of the world, and an exquisite sense of beauty, which for the Renaissance Italian meant beauty of form, whether in literature, in art, or in the human body.

The Classical Revival

Renaissance imagination and Renaissance love of beauty of form both found their outlet in the effort to recreate classical civilization. Love of antiquity was not new in Europe, neither was the conviction of the Italians that they were the offspring and heirs of imperial Rome, but from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century the educated classes in Italy flung themselves into the study and imitation of everything classical with such fervor that for centuries afterwards the word "Renaissance" was applied exclusively to this revival of classical literature and art. One obvious explanation of this phenomenon is the desertion of Italy by both pope and emperor during the fourteenth century and the bankruptcy of political life in all parts of the peninsula except Venice, which combined to throw the Italians back on dreams of

CHAP. XL

past greatness as a compensation for present chaos and weakness. But Italian patriotism was not strong enough to make this an adequate explanation. Much more important is the fact that the Italians had lost touch with medieval ideals and modes of thought, without losing the medieval reverence for authority. In the fifteenth century in Italy, no less than in the thirteenth, the opinion was general that the limits of human knowledge and human achievement in thought had already been reached; although the authority and emphasis had shifted in the later period, it is difficult to discover evidence of greater freedom of mind. The Italian Renaissance has been credited with the emancipation of the human mind from bondage to the past; any achievement in that direction was accidental and foreign to the whole spirit of the Renaissance. In the work of a few artists, in the experiments of a few thinkers, there is progress towards freedom, but these are exceptions to the general subservience to the past. The Italians of the Renaissance accepted the authority of classical antiquity because there they found sanction for, and expression of, their love of things earthly, and particularly for the beauty of form; once accepted, the new authority was obeyed religiously.

Aristocratic Character of the Renaissance

We speak of "the Italians," but we must not infer from this, as many have done, that the whole population of Italy, or even of Florence, participated in the movement. Even among the educated, the triumph of the classicist, the "humanist," was never complete; in the universities, law, medicine, and scholastic philosophy never lost their supremacy. As for the mass of the Italian people, few were ever greatly affected by the classical revival. Throughout the Renaissance the peasant tilled his fields, oppressed by heavy taxes and made miserable by the incessant wars, but, on the whole, ignorant of the fact that this was a different age from that his forefathers had known. In the cities, the populace revelled in the carnivals and gloried in the artistic adornment of churches. Except for the rare youth who attracted the eye of a patron, however, life was for the artisan a matter of dire poverty, relieved at intervals by feast days and festivals. The Renaissance was aristocratic to a degree that few intellectual movements have been, the concern of rich burghers, princes, and popes. The fact that it was a Renaissance of Greek and Latin would alone show that only the educated, the well educated, could participate, but in Boccaccio and elsewhere we can easily discern the contempt and aversion felt by the gentleman for the peasant and the artisan, even for the new rich. The Italian verses of Dante were sung in the field and the workshop; the learned translated Dante

into Latin and debated over his allegory. A few hymns, a few gay carnival songs, lovely buildings, and pictures—these were the property of high and low alike. Learning and cultivation were the property of the few.

Humanism

Bearing in mind, then, that we are dealing with an aristocratic and imitative movement, let us trace briefly the rise of humanism and the result of the worship of antiquity on Italian life and thought. In Petrarch the medieval Christian and the Renaissance classicist were combined, to the torment of his soul; a few years after his death, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the classical cult had captured Italy. Petrarch's tremendous popularity was at once an indication of the trend of the times and a means of spreading the love of Greek and Roman literature. A year after Petrarch's death we find Salutato, a politician as well as a scholar, lecturing to an eager audience in Florence on the classics, particularly on the necessity of an improved Latin style. Like Petrarch, he took Cicero as his model and imitated his style as closely as possible. Salutato and his pupils and friends also searched diligently for manuscripts, and each discovery provoked an outburst of ecstatic applause and enthusiasm. When Poggio, a protégé of Salutato, discovered a manuscript of Quintilian, a rhetorician of the Latin "silver" age, in a monastery near Constance, a friend wrote: "Posterity will not forget that manuscripts which were bewailed as lost beyond the power of restoration, have been recovered thanks to you. . . . Through you we now possess Quintilian entire; before we only boasted of the half of him, and that defective and corrupt in text. O precious acquisition! O unexpected joy! And shall I, then, in truth be able to read the whole of that Quintilian which, mutilated and deformed as it has hitherto been, has formed my solace? I conjure you to send it me at once, that at least I may set eyes on it before I die." Bankers and merchants joined in the hunt; branch banks of the Medici were instructed to find manuscripts and pay for the copying. Many humanists made their living as agents for collectors, visiting monastic libraries and buying, copying, or stealing new finds. A well-stocked library became a mark of distinction, and although most collectors generously permitted others to use or copy books at will, others guarded their treasures jealously, rejoicing in the possession of unique or rare manuscripts. In 1396 there was a new wave of enthusiasm when a distinguished Greek scholar, Manuel Chrysoloras, came to lecture in Forence at the invitation of the government. With his arrival began the serious study of Greek. Petrarch had attacked the language without success; Boc-

CHAP. XL

caccio had picked up some scraps from an almost illiterate teacher; Chrysoloras offered his eager hearers the best Byzantine scholarship. Students and agents ransacked Constantinople for manuscripts, which descended on Italy singly or by hundreds. Translations into Latin were made for those unable to read Greek. Bruni tells us how at the coming of Chrysoloras he deserted the study of law for Greek so that he might converse with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes "concerning whom so great and so wonderful things are said. . . . I delivered myself to Chrysoloras with such passion that what I had received from him by days in hours of waking occupied my mind at night in hours of sleep." He was far from unique in this enthusiasm; conversion to scholarly pursuits became as common and as popular as religious conversions had earlier been. We read of a young nobleman "born with thy face and throat, Lyric Apollo!" who won acclaim by deserting a life of pleasure—to spend the rest of his days memorizing Livy and the *Aeneid*.

Power of the Humanists

From Florence the movement spread in a great wave over all Italy except Venice. Tyrants, princes, popes, the king of Naples, all bid for the services of scholars, who spent their lives wandering from city to city as teachers or paid companions and civil servants. With printing unknown, manuscripts expensive, and, until the end of the fifteenth century, few mechanical aids to classical studies available, teaching was almost inevitably a combination of lecturing and dictation. A good memory was essential, and many developed this faculty to the point where they could repeat from memory a poem heard only once—one infant prodigy, we learn, could recite a poem backwards after a single hearing. Most had to be content with working up a set of lectures on a single author, and delivering these in one city after another. In addition to teaching, governmental service was open to the humanist. Meticulous purity of latinity in public documents came in the fifteenth century to be an object of especial care, and the scholar with a good Ciceronian style was always sure of a lucrative post. The Renaissance came to Rome with the scribes in the papal chancery. Everywhere the humanist was courted, loved, and feared. It is difficult to-day to conceive of the power wielded by the learned in the fifteenth century; only the press can now compare with their influence. Tyrants who ruthlessly suppressed their own subjects quailed before a barbed Latin epigram. The humanist claimed the power to confer immortal praise, ridicule, or opprobrium on all of whom he wrote, and so great was the reverence for learning that his claim was generally admitted.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century the classical revival had been concerned largely with the search for manuscripts, the founding of libraries, learning and teaching, and translating. With the labor of acquisition and assimilation completed, the Italians turned their learning to more urbane uses. In almost every city academies were formed, more or less formal organizations of cultivated people who assembled to hear poems, orations, and scholarly dissertations, or to discuss literary or philosophical questions. The Platonic Academy at Florence was founded by Cosimo de' Medici, who set the tone for the organization by training Ficino for the express task of translating and explaining Plato. The Academy reached the peak of its fame under Lorenzo the Magnificent, when, around a bust of Plato, before which a light always burned, the Florentine aristocracy of learning discussed the teachings of the Greek master, or tried to decipher the supposed allegory of Virgil's poetry. The characteristic approach of the humanist to philosophy, as well as to literature, was stylistic. Bruni was at first a Platonist, but after reading Aristotle in the original he became an Aristotelian, because he believed Aristotle to have a better style. The medieval philosophers were deserted and scorned, partly because of their barbarous Latin: "Is it not," asks one humanist in justifying this attitude, "a polished and eloquent, or at least a classical and chaste style, which confers immortal reputation on an author?" The better minds in the Platonic Academy rejected this dictum, and embarked enthusiastically on the ambitious project of making a synthesis of all known philosophical systems. In 1486, Pico della Mirandola arrived in Rome and published his *Conclusiones*. On the "annexed nine hundred theses, relating to dialectics, ethics, physics, magic, mathematics, and the cabala, partly his own, partly collected from the works of Chaldaic, Arabic, Hebrew, Grecian, Egyptian, and Latin sages, Joannes Picus of Mirandula, Count of Concordia, will dispute publicly." This material he confidently expected to work into a coördinated whole, which would lay bare the secrets of nature and lead man through the various branches of learning to ultimate repose in the contemplation of God. He was then twenty-three years old. The same ideal haunted Ficino, the translator of Plato, who in his youth sang the Orphic hymns to the accompaniment of his lyre and dreamed of founding a new mystical and all-embracing religion Against these reconcilers of Christianity and ancient philosophy, St. Antonino, bishop of Florence, raised the protest of common sense. If the pagan philosophers and the Fathers really said the same thing, he argued, it would be unnecessary to

The Florentine Academy

CHAP. XL

study the pagans, "but only the most superficial consideration is needed to persuade us that what the partisans of conciliation see there was not in the least intended by those philosophers themselves, and that their words must be distorted to adapt them to Christian truth."

Other Academies

At Rome, humanism ascended the papal throne in the person of Nicholas V. Nicholas was himself no mean scholar, and he attracted many others to Rome by lucrative posts in the papal curia. Here, too, an academy grew up, composed of enthusiasts for the past who collected archæological remains and tried to live, dress, and talk like Romans. Pomponius Laetus, the leading figure in this academy, "had a small plot of land which he tilled in accordance with the precepts of Varro and Columella, and he was himself regarded as a second Cato. His vineyard on the Quirinal was frequented by his enthusiastic pupils. Before daybreak that 'insignificant little figure, with small, quick eyes, and quaint dress' might be seen descending, lantern in hand, from his home on the Esquiline to the scene of his lectures, where an eager crowd awaited him."[1] The Neapolitan academy, composed of scholars drawn to Naples by the hope of royal patronage, was chiefly preoccupied with questions of literary style. Here grew to fame many of the Latin purists who prided themselves on the fact that their every word and every grammatical construction—every idea, they might have added—had an impeccable classical ancestry. In the early sixteenth century most of this school took orders and became high ecclesiastics under the Medicean Pope Leo X, who made many worldly scholars cardinals. The medieval Latin of the mass was almost intolerable to these churchmen, one of whom is reported to have complained that he had to wash out his mouth after mass to rid himself of the taste of the polluted Latin. Another prelate warned a colleague not to read the Epistles of St. Paul lest his style be corrupted. It is a relief to turn from such pedants to Venice, where in 1493, a half century after printing had been invented in Germany, Aldus Manutius began his great project of printing the Greek classics, and a few years later formed the "New Academy," to which belonged the scholars who aided him in preparing texts for the press. The beautiful and cheap little books which poured from the Aldine press had a double significance for Italian learning. They spelled the doom of the professional classicists, whose arrogant pride had already earned general detestation; printing robbed them of their monopoly of learning, so that, from being courted and petted, they were now

[1] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, p. 92.

reduced to penury. Printing also made learning easier and cheaper, so that the early years of the sixteenth century saw a much wider diffusion of cultivation among the upper classes of Italy.

In a little over a century prosperity and classical studies had spread among the large leisure classes of Italy a highly sophisticated culture, but as the fifteenth century drew to a close shadows began to lengthen over the peninsula. The year 1492 was marked by the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the election of that terrible pope, Alexander VI. Florence, always sensitive to impending change, saw in the passing of Lorenzo a dread portent; uneasiness attacked even the self-confident humanists. Then appeared the prophet of impending doom, Savonarola, monk of Cosimo's San Marco, whose shrill denunciations of his age had formerly attracted little notice. Now all Florence thrilled with horror as from this gaunt form came the cry which echoed through the gloomy cathedral, and spread over the city which so recently had rung with carnival songs: "The Church—and Italy—will be scourged, then regenerated, and this quickly."

Savonarola

O Italy! O Rome! I give you over to the hands of a people who will wipe you out from among the nations! I see them descending like lions. Pestilence comes marching hand in hand with war. The deaths will be so many that the buriers shall go through the streets crying out: Who hath dead, who hath dead? and one will bring his father, and another his son. O Rome! I cry again to you to repent! Repent, Venice! Milan, repent! . . . The prophets a hundred years ago proclaimed to you the flagellation of the Church. For five years I have been announcing it: and now again I cry to you. The Lord is full of wrath. The angels on their knees cry to Him: Strike, strike! The good sob and groan: We can no more. The orphans, the widows say: We are devoured, we cannot go on living. All the Church triumphant hath cried to Christ: Thou diedst in vain. It is heaven which is in combat. The saints of Italy, the angels, are leagued with the barbarians. Those who called them in have put the saddles to the horses. Italy is in confusion, saith the Lord; this time she shall be yours. And the Lord cometh above His saints, above the blessed ones who march in battle array, who are drawn up in squadrons. Whither are they bound? St. Peter is for Rome, crying: To Rome, to Rome! and St. Paul and St. Gregory march, crying: To Rome! And behind them go the sword, the pestilence, the famine. St. John cries: Up, up, to Florence! and the plague follows him. St. Anthony cries: Ho for Lombardy! St. Mark cries: Haste we to the city that is throned upon the waters! And all the angels of heaven, sword in hand, and all the celestial consistory, march on unto this war.

CHAP. XL

The scourge came in the French army which invaded Italy in 1494; but the French soon retreated, the Church was not regenerated, and the love of pleasure revived; Savonarola was burned in 1498, and revelry once more set in. A generation of respite was granted to Italy, and then in 1527 came the Germans and Spaniards, burning, pillaging, murdering, and finally sacking Rome. The great days of the Renaissance were over, though the thin voices of pseudo-classical poets continued to pipe among the ruins. "These most gracious poets I give you, the offspring of our too, too happy times, which have produced their Catullus and their Horace, their Tibullus and their Maro. Who could have thought, after so many ages of such darkness, and all the ruin that has weighed on Italy, that so many lights could have risen at one epoch in one little region of the land above the Po? They alone are enough to put to flight the gloom of barbarism, and to restore its antique glory and own splendor to Latin literature." This, a sheaf of worthless verses, to compensate for the crushing Inquisition, and foreign rule which was to last for centuries.

The Sack of Rome, 1527

Italian Imagination

The first impression one derives from a study of Renaissance civilization is that in cutting loose from the traditions of the middle ages most cultivated Italians had emptied life of all serious import. This does not mean that they became disillusioned and blasé; they were sure that their age was the most important, the most creative, since the days when the Roman Empire lost its vitality. The Renaissance was neither decorous nor urbane; for the most part it was passionately vehement in its loves and hates. Scholars fought with words and with fists as scholars have never fought since. Of Poggio a contemporary wrote: "In his invectives he displayed such vehemence that the whole world was afraid of him." On one occasion he quarreled with a fellow-humanist with an equally fiery tongue over the relative merits of Scipio Africanus and Cæsar. The writings growing out of this quarrel have been described as perhaps "the most infamous libels that have ever seen the light; there is no sort of vituperation which the antagonists do not vomit forth against each other, no obscenity or roguery of which they are not mutually accused." On the other hand, a letter of Poggio's from Constance describing the trial of Huss' disciple, Jerome of Prague, is illuminating. Poggio is completely incapable of understanding why anyone of learning and intelligence should persist in holding any opinion which endangered his life. When Lorenzo Valla, Poggio's antagonist in the feud just described, was accused of heresy because of his exposure of the spurious origin of the "Donation of Constantine," he

recanted, saying "he believed as Mother Church believed; it was quite true that she *knew* nothing; yet he believed as she believed." Such indifference if confined to religion might be understandable, but it would be difficult to discover anything which was thought of very serious import except the passions of the moment. In his youth, Pico della Mirandola wrote that on reading Epictetus, he and his companions were all converted from Aristotelians to Stoics; "nay, so enraptured were we become of his favorite apathy that you might have seen a company, lately of the most delicate irritability rendered on a sudden of all others the most tolerant." Even where convictions existed, they seldom stood in the way of personal convenience; Machiavelli is merely the most conspicuous Italian patriot who fawned for the favor of a prince he felt to be destroying his country's liberty. Over all fields of thought the Italian imagination played vigorously and unceasingly, but always shifting restlessly, and seldom subjected to internal discipline of any sort. The carnivals and tournaments of Florence, the blood lust of tyrants, the terrific crimes and flamboyant immorality, the religious reaction under Savonarola, and the mystical philosophy of Ficino and Pico, all were outlets for the Italian imagination.

All the old ideals, religious, political, and moral, had disappeared; there remained this abundant power of imagination, unflagging industry in the study and exposition of the classics, and reverence for beauty of style. The desire for, and appreciation of, perfection of form in art and literature, is constant throughout the Italian Renaissance, and in many poets and artists appears as almost the only remaining standard. Politian, the most famous Florentine poet of the fifteenth century, was an acute scholar and critic, yet we find him writing to the king of Portugal, offering his services as the historian of his reign, and asking for some annals as a basis for his work "composed in any language and without regard to style or accuracy." Politian would supply the style, and accuracy was of small importance. Politian's poetry, in Greek, Latin, and Italian, is smooth, graceful, and polished, but almost empty of thought. This might be said of the literary endeavors of fifteenth century Italy as a whole; except for a few isolated works, this great mass of writing, from which hundreds of men fondly hoped to reap eternal fame, lies in deserved oblivion, most of it not even printed. The effect of the cult of form on vernacular literature is shown by the hosts of imitators of Petrarch and Boccaccio. In the sixteenth century one writer made a dictionary of all the words used by these two authors, together with all their synonyms for day, night, anger,

The Cult of Style

CHAP. XL

peace, etc., etc., and prided himself on the fact that thereafter he used no words but those employed by his great masters. Against this cult of form and the general emptiness of thought, Pico della Mirandola, though he shared the exuberant and undisciplined imagination of his age, levelled penetrating criticism. "Three things," he argues, "tend powerfully to persuade: the life of the speaker, the truth and importance of the subject, and seriousness of address," and on all three points he finds the cultivated of his day deficient. Most are sycophants, cringing and fawning before their patrons. The picture he paints of the stylists is reminiscent of the classical sophists. The objects of the rhetorician are, he says, "to deceive, to circumvent, to infatuate, to give to falsehood the semblance of truth . . . Behold the extent of your art! An art of fiction, imposture, and deception!" The arrogance and futility of the learned, and the superficial cultivation of the "gentleman," who absorbs of learning "such a superficial tincture as demands little effort, and, serving only to heighten the false glitter of wit, confers no solid improvement on the mind"—he regards as contemptible.

Sterility of Renaissance Thought

For almost two centuries the Italian imagination and the Italian love of beauty had run riot, and the expression of these qualities remains for us to-day in tangible form in painting, sculpture, and architecture. Here the Italians created, though critics tell us we are prone to overestimate the extent of their creative achievement. Within the fields with which we are concerned, there has also been great exaggeration of the importance of the Renaissance. In science there was little advance, in fact the almost universal belief in astrology and demonology represents a falling off even from earlier centuries. A few individuals, notably Leonardo da Vinci, broke away from the general indifference to science which is already apparent in Petrarch, but Leonardo's astounding forecasts of many modern discoveries and ideas were buried in manuscript until recent years. It is significant that what Leonardo wrote on painting was eagerly seized upon, printed, and discussed, while his scientific writings almost passed from view. Neither did the Renaissance greatly influence the course of navigation and discovery; the important ancient ideas concerning geography and the like had been current before the fourteenth century, and exploration, as we have seen, pursues much the same lines in the later period as before. Neither can the Italians be credited with great advance in philosophical speculation. Despite the fact that much more complete and exact texts of Plato were now available, Platonism was colored, distorted, and misunderstood, just as it

had earlier been, since the Italians continued to see Plato through the eyes of his mystical disciples, whose ideas were thought to be closely akin to Christianity. Scholasticism lingered on in the universities, and produced one or two powerful thinkers, but these seem to have had little influence. Italian literature from the death of Boccaccio to the end of the fifteenth century is no less sterile than the classical writings of the time. Whether they wrote in Greek, Latin, or the vernacular, the Italians showed concern with little except form. This general sterility is usually attributed to the fact that the Italians sought expression in a dead language, but the barren character of Italian literature is rather a reflection of the lack of unity and seriousness characteristic of the Renaissance. As in all ages, where anyone had anything important to say, it was said. In the sixteenth century, Michel Angelo's sonnets show classical discipline, while Benvenuto Cellini's *Memoirs* could scarcely be any less classical, yet both live because they express powerful personalities. History, after more than a century of torture at the hands of humanists who mangled the story of their own times out of recognition in fitting events and characters into classical moulds, emerged once more, living and moving, in Machiavelli and Guicciardini, who were influenced, but not dominated, by Livy and Tacitus.

Influence of the Renaissance: the Classics

For future generations the important work of the Italian Renaissance lay in classical studies, education, and the formation of a type of cultivation and refinement which was to have great influence in modern times. The study of Greek had almost died out in Europe in Petrarch's time; by 1500 Greek studies had made great advances in Italy, and Aldus Manutius was printing the beautiful little volumes which did much to stimulate an interest in, and knowledge of, Greek all over Europe. To the eager quest for manuscripts which marked the classical revival we undoubtedly owe many works which would otherwise have disappeared entirely. Critical scholarship also made some advance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Valla's discovery that the "Donation of Constantine," one of the principal foundations upon which the temporal power of the papacy had formerly rested, was a forgery, is the most famous example of the scholarly investigations which were proceeding apace. One characteristic of Renaissance scholarship was, however, unfortunate. In their enthusiasm for classical Latin, the humanists discredited medieval Latin, which had formerly served as a simple, clear, and flexible international language.

Renaissance education is inseparably connected with the name of Vittorino da Feltre, who in 1425 opened a school for the Gon-

CHAP. XL

Education and Manners

zaga children at Mantua, which became so famous that students from all Italy and even from Germany were sent to him for instruction, some sons of princes, some dependent on the charity which Vittorino dispensed so freely that he was frequently in debt. The classics formed the foundation of Vittorino's course of study, but religion, physical exercise, personal cleanliness, and manners all had a place in his scheme of education. "His house was a sanctuary of manners, deeds, and words." In an age of grasping selfishness, immorality, and cruelty such as was the fifteenth century, Vittorino's self-sacrifice, devotion to learning for its own sake, and purity of ideals and action, seem the more conspicuous, as indeed they did to his contemporaries. His school represents Renaissance education at its best, and his fame, and that of two or three other schoolmasters, greatly influenced the spread of classical instruction into other countries, with all the advantages and disadvantages which have followed from the classical curriculum down to our own day. One of Vittorino's pupils was Frederic, duke of Urbino. This tiny Umbrian principality received in the later fifteenth century the unusual blessing of peace, and peace, aided by Frederic's charm and generosity, led to the formation of a brilliant court society made famous by Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*. This work is the most celebrated of several Renaissance "books of etiquette" which received wide currency in the sixteenth century and put a lasting stamp on standards of gentility. Castiglione's gentleman must be a courtier from the nature of things, for, as we have already seen, the Renaissance was an affair of courts, but leaving aside this circumstance, a mere list of the courtier's virtues will suffice to show the modernity of Castiglione's conception. The courtier must be of gentle birth. His aim should be to fit himself for social intercourse. To this end his clothes, his speech, his manners, and his accomplishments should be directed. He should be proficient in sports and arms, possess "polite culture in letters and sound scholarship," and acquire some knowledge of dancing, music, and the arts. In all these things he should strive to acquire "a certain carelessness, to hide his art, and show that what he says or does comes from him without effort or deliberation."

The North: Survival of Old Forms

Italians who travelled beyond the Alps in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were filled with horror by the "barbarism" of the northern countries. Poggio, who wandered as far as London in a vain search for lucrative employment, felt isolated in a wilderness of coarseness and ignorance. Petrarch left a vivid descrip-

tion of the desolation of France during the Hundred Years' War. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later Pius II, who spent much time in Germany as papal legate, was nauseated by the "swinish" Germans. A cursory survey would seem to confirm the Italian verdict; a heavy atmosphere of decay hung over northern Europe during these two centuries. Old ideas, customs, and practices lingered on, many of them to outward appearance more vigorous than ever. Among the aristocracy, the forms of chivalry were never made more of than in this age when the plebeian infantryman and gunpowder were making the knight obsolete. All the great orders of chivalry date from this period. The Order of the Garter was founded by Edward III about the time of Crécy; a few years before Poitiers, John the Good, that paragon of knightly stupidity, established the Order of the Star, "for the honor of God and Our Lady, and the exaltation of chivalry and the strengthening of honor;" even Louis XI founded an order. Great chronicles, such as that of Froissart, were written to perpetuate the praiseworthy deeds of chivalry in the memory of man. Royal and feudal courts took on a tone of ostentatious display hitherto unknown. The court of the Valois dukes of Burgundy was the most splendid in Christendom; in Burgundy were developed those meticulous rules of courtly etiquette which were to reach their climax in the time of Louis XIV. The rules of courtly love also attained to their most fine-spun complexity, with the result that poetry became an arid waste of frigid and lifeless formalism. Among the wealthy burghers the extravagant manners, speech, dress, and style of living of the nobles, were assiduously aped.

Disillusionment

The splendor and gaiety of the nobles and the rich formed a thin and transparent veneer over the general vulgarity and brutality of the period. It would be difficult to prove that either courtly love or chivalry greatly influenced conduct; certainly cruelty, treachery, and immorality flourished as seldom before. Even at court there are indications of weariness; pastoral poetry abounded, filled with mawkish praise of the simple life. Disillusionment and a sense of the futility of existence breathe through even mediocre writings, and obtain classical expression in François Villon's ballads on the fleeting life of the lovely, the valiant, the renowned, and the pious: "But where are the snows of yesteryear?" As we pass to the mass of the people, the tone changes from one of fashionable cynicism or ironical laughter to passionate horror and despair. These were terrible times for the poor and the simple, an age of iron and fire. The terrors of incessant war and pestilence, grinding taxes, the visible decline

CHAP. XL

of the Church, all made a vivid impression on the acute imagination of the time. Social unrest led to the blind revolts of peasants and artisans, which were so ferociously suppressed. In the *Vision of Piers Plowman* we can see the confused impression left by rapid social and economic change. In England, with Wycliffe, and in Bohemia, with Huss, the forces of discontent fused into religious revolt, but, although strange and perverted sects gained adherents everywhere, most men, high and low, retained their faith in the Catholic Church. The clergy were universally execrated for their immorality and venality, but worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints, and superstitious reverence for relics flourished. Louis XI was of his age in his fetish worship, and the stark outlines of the Christian drama were vividly present to the imagination of the lowly. François Villon has his mother say:

> A pitiful poor woman, shrunk and old,
> I am, and nothing learn'd in letter-lore.
> Within my parish-cloister I behold
> A painted Heaven where harps and lutes adore,
> And eke an Hell whose damned folk seethe full sore:
> One bringeth fear, the other joy to me.

Disillusionment with life took the form of a ghoulish interest in death. Religious pictures of the passion of Christ became saturated with emotion and horror. Graveyards became a popular place of resort; crowds wandered through the cemetery of the Holy Innocents in Paris on holidays, many eating off tombstones. The "Dance of Death" became a favorite subject with artists and poets; all the terrifying and disgusting aspects of death were exhibited with perverted relish.

On the surface, life in Europe outside Italy seems to be summed up in the crumbling of old ideas, but we have already seen the growth of two new forces which were powerfully to affect the future: nationalism, triumphant in France, England, and Spain, powerful, partly because thwarted, in Germany; and capitalism, with its hostility to old moral as well as economic conceptions. In addition to capitalism and nationalism there were new intellectual and spiritual forces at work in Europe, although they did not become obvious until after our period. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there had been an intellectual revival such as few ages have seen. The aim of this movement had been to demonstrate that the world of experience, or reason, was in harmony with the world of revealed religion, or faith. In the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274, this effort to reconcile philosophical thought and revealed religion obtained its

New Forces

finest expression, and we have seen how his ideas were taken over by Dante. In canonizing Thomas, the Church paid tribute to his work, and as late as the nineteenth century Leo XIII stated that the "Thomistic" synthesis carried the union of faith and reason to its furthest limit. Even during the lifetime of Aquinas, however, other philosophers challenged the logic of many of his propositions, and strove to demonstrate that the "two realms" of experience and revelation were on many points in contradiction, rather than in harmony with each other. Their arguments seemed so convincing that, from the end of the thirteenth century, philosophical and scientific studies once more began to part company from theology. This separation was to have momentous consequences for both religious and secular thought. Earlier, both science and philosophy had followed the method of theological study: from a general and accepted truth, thought moved to the application of this truth in specific cases, the deductive method. Freed from the duty of remaining in harmony with, and even buttressing, religious ideas, the reason could now turn directly to the facts of experience, and build general ideas upon the foundation of experience, the inductive method. The change came very slowly, and showed little effect in the later middle ages. This does not detract from the importance of the break which began in the fourteenth century, when thinkers recognized that a thing might be true philosophically or scientifically, although not from the standpoint of theology. It should, of course, be remembered, that when such a divergence appeared, it was necessary for the student to acknowledge that his conclusion was valid only in the light of reason, which had authority inferior to that of dogma.

Mysticism

Ultimately, severance from theology was to facilitate the development of secular studies, but in the later middle ages men's minds were still primarily concerned with religion. These centuries saw no such tremendous intellectual advance as had the period which reached its climax in Thomas Aquinas. In the universities, students continued the effort to reconcile theology and philosophy, but Aquinas had exhausted the possibilities in this field, so that religious feeling sought new outlets in mysticism and in popular education. Mysticism has lately been much studied, and the importance of mystical thought in the history of the Church is generally recognized; to perceive this importance we have only to remember St. Bernard and St. Francis. The word itself remains difficult to define, and may best be understood by what mystics themselves have said. "The flight of the alone to

CHAP. XL

the Alone;" "works in themselves are nothing, personal communion with God is everything." The clearest idea may be got from Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ,* the classic expression of fifteenth century mysticism, and a work which has been printed almost as often, and in as many languages, as the Bible: "I will hear what the Lord God may say to me. Blest is the soul that hears its Lord's voice speaking within it, and takes the word of comfort from His lips. Blest are the ears that catch the throbbing whisper of the Lord, and turn not to the buzzings of the passing world; that listen not to voices from without, but to the truth that teaches from within Blest are the eyes that, shut to outer things, are busied with the inner life. Blest are they who penetrate within, and more and more by daily use strive to prepare themselves to take the heavenly mysteries. And blest are they who try to give their time to God, and shake them free from all the burden of the world . . . So, all is vanity, save loving God and serving Him alone." In more prosaic terms: the mystic is one who has lost faith in reason, wholly or partially, and aspires, by faith, meditation, and prayer, either to unite his soul with God, or to feel intensely the presence of God.

Revival of Mysticism

As we study the history of the medieval Church, it becomes apparent that mysticism flourished in periods when the Church was either hardening into a mechanical system of observances, or becoming corrupt. Both these conditions existed in the later middle ages. During the Babylonian Captivity, the Schism, the wranglings of the conciliar movement, and the sordid bargaining between popes and temporal rulers, ecclesiastical discipline became exceedingly lax, and immorality, venality, and corrupt political tactics had a lush growth. Catholicism showed every indication of becoming a matter of superstitious fear and finance. To disgust with religious decadence was added disillusionment with the intellectual revival of earlier centuries. The great attempt to storm heaven by reason had failed, and pious men fell back once more on the emotions. "I, even I," says God to Thomas à Kempis, "lift even in a flash the simple mind to understand more ways of the eternal truth than if a man had studied in the schools ten years. I teach without the buzz of words, without the conflict of opinions, without the pride of place [as a teacher], without the battle-shout of arguments . . . See you dispute not of high matters and of God's hidden judgments . . . These things are quite beyond the grasp of man. No reason, no discussion, can avail to trace the footsteps of God's judgments."

Mysticism is intensely imaginative and introspective, and it

Varieties of Mystical Experience

is likely to find expression in many forms. It is also very individual, and the mystic who has attained to the conviction of personal communion with God may feel that he is no longer bound by the commands of either Church or State. All through the middle ages there were extravagant sects composed of those who felt themselves above law of all sort, what might be called the "lunatic fringe" of mysticism. In a second category might be put those who were so preoccupied with contemplation that their lives scarcely touched the existence of their fellow men at any point. These "quietists" or "negative mystics" were also not uncommon, but they had little influence except through an occasional writing, such as the *German Theology*, a little manual on salvation through love and faith which had a great effect on Luther. The great mystics of the middle ages, however, were those who remained in touch with the society around them, and devoted the energy resulting from their conviction of the immediacy of God to the task of purifying current religious thought and action. A group of such men flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Rhine valley, and particularly in the Netherlands. Their activities bore fruit in the shape of a vigorous educational and reform movement within the Church, but they also helped to pave the way for the Reformation. The spiritual father of this movement was Master Eckhart, who died in 1327. He was an accomplished scholar, but in mid-life he abandoned the intellectual approach to God and fell back on the faith and love so dear to the mystic. The important thing for us is that Eckhart, instead of leading a solitary life, was impelled to preach. That his speculative sermons had much meaning for most of his hearers may be doubted; certainly they now seem difficult to understand. His teachings did make a deep impression on a small group of men who were much preoccupied with the condition of their own souls and of the Church as a whole, and with these less abstruse thinkers mysticism became a force such as it had not been since the days of St. Francis.

The Brothers of the Common Life

Unorganized, the host of men who rebelled against the decline of spiritual feeling and the growing corruption apparent in the Church, might have spent their energies to little avail. In the Netherlands, the movement focused in the Brothers of the Common Life, founded in the last quarter of the fourteenth century by Gerard Groot. Groot had been a lay preacher, and for many years his sermons on spiritual regeneration had drawn unprecedented crowds of hearers until the clergy, enraged by his attacks on their lax practices, enforced silence upon him. Then Groot began to

CHAP. XL

meet a few of his more ardent disciples at the home of a friend, Florentius Radewyn, in Deventer. Shortly before Groot's death in 1384 these men decided to live together, sharing their goods in common, and obeying an elected rector. Then a school was started and members began to preach. New adherents joined rapidly and within a very few years the Brothers were famous throughout the Netherlands. All this sounds like the early history of the Franciscans and Dominicans, who had also striven by preaching and teaching to call men away from a religion of routine practice to one of sincere piety. The Brothers are, however, marked off from these earlier orders by two things. First of all, begging was prohibited; every member must earn his living. Whether this change was due to the disrepute into which the begging friars had fallen through their lax lives, or whether the commercial revolution was giving a dignity to work and making indigence seem contemptible, it is impossible to say; probably both elements influenced Groot and his followers. The second difference is much more important. The Brothers resolutely refused to make their society a part of the monastic system, or to take irrevocable vows. Each Brother led the common life while he lived in one of the "Brother Houses," but he was free to leave at will. Many members did join monasteries, though even then they usually joined the Austin Canons, the least regulated of all the orders, but the Brothers of the Common Life always remained a lay organization. Although the members were loyal Catholics, and they did not attack the monastic system, their resolve shows a dangerous divergence from the Catholic system. It exalted the lay way of life, and hence detracted from the peculiar sanctity of the clerical ideal, which had hitherto been regarded as *par excellence* the way to salvation. It was also an unconscious assertion of the intense individualism inherent in mysticism. The Brothers never taught anything which the Church condemned, they did, however, place much more emphasis on the individual than on the institution of the Church. The sacraments played a large part in their scheme, but only as aids to salvation; much greater emphasis was placed on the necessity of faith in God, and on love of God. From this, it was only a step to the assertion that the individual might, if he wished, attain salvation in his own way, even though this way lay outside the Church. By this exaltation both of the lay as against the priestly life, and of the individual as against the institution, mysticism in general, and the Brothers of the Common Life in particular, prepared men's minds for the Reformation.

The rapid growth of the Brothers of the Common Life, both

CHAP. XL

Spread of the Society

in numbers and influence, aroused the intense jealousy of the monastic orders, partly because the Brothers denounced vigorously and with telling effect the corruption of the clergy, partly because the high ideals and practice of this lay society provided such a glaring contrast to the lives of monks, friars, and priests The issue was fought out at the Council of Constance, where the Brothers found able defenders in two Paris theologians and reformers, Pierre d'Ailly and Gerson. After a vigorous debate, the council voted, not only to sanction, but to encourage the brotherhood. Then work began in earnest, spreading in two directions. Large numbers of the Brothers and their sympathizers became Austin Canons, and, supported by the hierarchy, became the leaders of a reform movement which went far towards regenerating the moral tone of monastic life in the Low Countries. The leaders of the Common Life did not oppose those who wished to enter monasteries, but they continued their strenuous resistance to all efforts to draw their society within the orbit of clerical life. In the middle of the fifteenth century, one of their former students, the Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, was sent into Germany as papal legate to enforce reforms on the clergy. He tried to induce members of the brotherhood to aid him by taking over ecclesiastical offices, but was rebuffed. It was still as a lay society, therefore, that the movement spread over the Netherlands and into southern and western Germany, founding Brother Houses which became centers of preaching and, more particularly, of teaching.

Educational Activity

During the fifteenth century the Brothers became the most famous schoolmasters in Europe; some of the houses had an enrollment of over a thousand students, and one had over two thousand for a time. The extent to which thought in northern Europe was influenced by the society becomes apparent when we remember that nearly all the educated men in Germany and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century had either received their early training from the Brothers or from men who had themselves attended their schools. Both the impulse which impelled the Brother Houses to turn to teaching, and the character of their teaching, may be discerned from the *Imitation of Christ*: "Never read a word to seem more wise and learned . . . Read much, learn much, yet you must always come to one beginning—I [God] am He that teaches man knowledge." Here we have the essential difference between the educational ideals which were rising in northern Europe and those of the Italian Renaissance. In Italy, learning was an end in itself, giving distinction and position to

CHAP. XI

its possessor, and serving as an aristocratic ornament. Vittorino's curriculum shows a broader conception, but he was an exception, and even he had emphasized the ideal of the polished gentleman. The education given by the Brothers was a means, not an end. The end was a pious life; education was essential so that the Christian might be in a position to understand his faith, and be strengthened in that faith. Here again, the tendency to emancipate the individual from blind dependence on the institutional Church is apparent, although the Brothers were unconscious of the form which that emancipation might, and later did, take. But education in the Netherlands was not merely reduced from an end to a means, it was also popular rather than aristocratic. The Brothers taught all, high and low alike, because every Christian needed a modicum of learning to lead a good and useful life, and every one, whether noble or baseborn, was equal in the sight of God. In the scores of books of pedagogy written by the Brothers, their innumerable translations of parts of the Bible into the vernacular, their grammars and their books of devotion alike, in all their work, these two ideals of Christian democracy and utility are apparent.

Italy vs. the North

Underneath a sordid and decadent exterior, therefore, extremely significant movements were taking place in northern Europe. The disintegration of the synthesis of sacred and secular learning which had been made in the thirteenth century put an end for a time to really vigorous thought. Men were still primarily interested in religion, and, with the intellectual approach to theology blocked, they fell back on the emotional approach. Later, however, the separation of science and philosophy from theology which took place in the fourteenth century was to prove salutary, and to enable even sincere Christians to pursue their scientific and philosophical investigations more vigorously and independently. At the time, the revival of more mystical religious thought resulted in a partial regeneration of clerical morals and a strong recrudescence of Christian democracy. Both these forces we have seen at work in the Brothers of the Common Life. This Christian and popular educational movement may also be seen active in other fields. Printing from movable type, probably the invention of Gutenberg, began in Germany in the middle of the fifteenth century. Presses were established rapidly in Germany and other countries, but in Italy, even after Aldus Manutius had begun to print the classics, there was general disdain among the learned for printed books, partly because they made the spread of knowledge so easy. German and Dutch art shows the same democratic quality. The

etchings, woodcuts, and engravings, of Dürer and his lesser contemporaries, which to-day are eagerly sought by collectors, sold for almost nothing, or were used as illustrations for cheap books, usually popular books of devotion. The utilitarian purpose of education also explains the northern attitude towards the classics. In the fifteenth century classical studies began to spread over the Alps from Italy, and were assimilated into the curriculum and into thought. But the classical cult never took hold as it had in Italy. In part, this difference may be attributed to the fact that the literature and thought of Greece and Rome always remained something foreign; the northerner naturally could not feel that he was the heir to, even closely akin to, the ancient past. Even in Italy, however, the classics began to dominate thought only when medieval ideas had lost their vitality. In northern Europe, the Christian tradition still retained its hold, and the classics merely supplemented existing ideas, and were bent to the service of an educational system with aims already clearly defined and too deeply rooted in the life of the time to be supplanted. We see, then, that although the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were on the whole more dismal and unattractive north of the Alps than they were in Italy, the general gloom merely obscures significant spiritual and intellectual achievements of the northern peoples. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Europe was to be distracted by religious and dynastic wars, but the impetus given in this earlier period was never wholly lost, and if the elements which go to make up our modern civilization are analyzed carefully it becomes apparent that the achievements of the northern nations were of more enduring vitality than those of the more superficially brilliant Quattrocento in Italy.

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INDEX

Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), capital of Charles the Great, 106, capture by Lothair, 179
Abbasids, caliphate of, 214-216.
Abderrahman, 217
Abelard, career, 355-356; dialectician, 366, pupils, 285
Abu-Bekr, successor to Mohammed, 95-98.
Abu'l Abbas, Abbasid caliph, 214
Academy, the, of Charles the Great, 110, Florentine, 501, 502, Neapolitan, 502, Roman, 502; "New Academy" of Aldus Manutius, 502, 503.
Acre, capture, 300-301.
Adams, Henry, *Mont Michel and Chartres*, 385.
Adelaide, of Italy, wife of Otto the Great, 155-156
Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, papal representative on the First Crusade, 245, 248-249.
Adolf of Nassau, emperor, 443.
Adrian IV, relations with Frederic Barbarossa, 288, 290
Aethelbald, King of Mercia, 196.
Aethelflaed, daughter of Alfred the Great, 199
Aethelstan, grandson of Alfred the Great, 199
Aethelwald, "Father of the monks," 200.
Aetius, Roman general, 48-49; victory over Huns, 46.
Africa, exploration of, 485
Agincourt, battle of, 429
Agnes of Aquitaine, wife of Emperor Henry III, 164.
Agnes of Meran, wife of Philip Augustus, 278.
Agriculture, in Roman Empire, 8; among early Germans, 27-29; advance by Saracens, 217; services of monks, 323-324; interest of feudal nobles in, 331; influence of Crusades on, 307; organization and methods in thirteenth century, Chapter VIII, *passim*
Agri decumates, 33.
Agrippa, 32.
Aids, feudal, 134.
Ailly, Pierre d', theologian, 461, 515.
Aisheh, wife of Mohammed, 95, 98.
Alamanni, German tribe, 37; relations with Emperor Julian, 31, 35, with Theodoric, 53; and Columban, 68; conquered by Clovis, 70, subdued by Henry I, 154. *See also* Swabia.
Alaric, leader of Visigoths, 39-41, 48
Alberic, "Princeps," 148.
Albert of Austria, emperor, 443, 445, 446.
Albert the Great, scholastic, 362, 374.
Albigensians, heretics, 359-361; addition of land to France, 280. *See also* Manichaeans.
Alboin, Lombard leader, 55-56.
Albornoz, cardinal, 458
Alcazar, palace at Seville, 216.
Alcuin (Albin of Britain), teacher at court of Charles the Great, 110, 196.
Aldine Press, 502, 503.
Aldus Manutius, 502, 503, 507.
Alexander III, troubles with Frederic Barbarossa, 290-291.
Alexander V, 462.
Alexander VI, 470, 471, 503.
Alexius, Emperor, *see* Comnenus.
Alexius, son of Emperor Isaac, and the Fourth Crusade, 304.
Alfred, King of England, 197-198.
Alfred the Great, 54, 197-198.
Algebra, Treatise on, by Mohammed ibn Mousa, 221. *See also* Mathematics.
Alhambra, 216, 225
Ali, kinsman and successor of Mohammed, 94, 98, rebellion of descendants, 214.
Almansor, death of, 387
Almohades, Moslem sect in Africa and Spain, 389
Almoravides, Moslem dynasty in Spain, 388-389.
Alphonso VI, King of Leon and Castile, 388.
Alphonso X of Castile, 390.
Amalfi, 146, 187.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 31, 39.
Amusements, among Roman nobles, 7; among early Germans, 28, 31; at parish churches, 140; among the feudal nobles, 313-316, in towns, 345, at fairs, 348, among students, 373, 376.
Anaclete II, 322
Anagni, 407.
Angilbert, teacher in Academy of Charles the Great, 110.
Angles (Anglo-Saxons), 37; invasion of Britain, 46, 193-194, 230; institutions, 200. *See also* Saxons and Jutes
Anglia, conquest by Danes, 197.
Anjou, county of, 185; under Henry II of England, 258.
Annates, papal, 456
Anne, Russian wife of Henry I of France, 183.
Anselm of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury, 256-257.
Anthony, St., founder of monasticism, 22, 23.
Antioch, sack by Persians, 231; siege by Crusaders, 248-249; Latin principality, 253; Latin patriarch of, 255.
Antonino, St., bishop, 501, 502.
Antwerp, 482.
Apollo, worship of, 63.
Aquitaine, 76, 102, 119, 155, 175, 176, 184, 408, 414, 417, 420
Arabia, geography of, 92; plants from, 217, metals in, 219.
Arabs, customs and character, 92-93, revolt on death of Mohammed, 97; conquests, 97, 98-100; and agriculture, 217; civilization of, Chapter XIX, *passim*; attacks on Byzan-

tine Empire, 232-233; attacks on Syria, 234. *See also* Saracens, Mohammedans, Mussulman.
Aragon, 450, 451.
Arcadius, Emperor of the East, 39-40
Archimedes, Mechanics of, 53
Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, rebellion against Conrad II, 163.
Arianism, heresy, 19, 38, 43; persecution of, 53, 54, conversion of Ostrogoths, 60, of Burgundians and other German tribes, 70
Aristotle, logic of, 53, writings in mediæval universities, 370, 372, 374, *passim*, and Dante and Petrarch, 490, 491.
Armenia, conquest by Arabs, 97.
Arminius, German leader, 33
Arnold of Brescia, career, 287-288; 357.
Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, 74
Arnulf, Emperor of the Germans, 147, 150; victory over the invaders, 151.
Arnulfings, 74; and Roman Church, 75.
Arras, Treaty of, 437
Ars Minor and *Major*, by Donatus, 84.
Ars Dictaminis or *Ars Notaria*, 371.
Artevelde, Jacques van, 418.
Artillery, 430
Asceticism, 243, *see* Monachism
Assize, of Clarendon, 260, of Arms, 262.
Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, 23.
Athaulf, leader of the Visigoths, 41, 42
Attigny, penance of Lewis the Pious at, 115.
Attila, leader of the Huns, 45-46; and Aetius, 48; and Orestes, 49.
Aucassin and Nicolette, 317-318
Augsburg, 482.
Augustine, St, Bishop of Hippo, life and writings, 23-24, 41, 43; influence on Monasticism, 324
Augustine, St, Missionary to England, 64, 194.
Austrasia, described, 75; acquisition of supremacy, 75, bishoprics in, 77.
Austria, establishment of mark of, 153, 443
Avars, 55, 231-232; rule over Slavs, 392.
Avicenna, physician, 226.
Avignon, papal residence, 408, 422, 444, 455-459

"Babylonish Captivity" of papacy, 407, 408, 455-459
Bacon, Roger, writings, 375.
Bagdad, capital of the Abbasids, 215, 224; relation to commerce, 218.
Baillis, administrative officials of Philip Augustus, 280; under Philip IV, 408.
Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, 245; conquest of Edessa, 247-248, King of Jerusalem, 250, 254.
Baldwin, Count of Flanders, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 305.
Baldwin of Flanders, regent of Normandy, 186.
Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, 254.
Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem, 254.
Baldric, Archbishop of Dol, biography of Robert of Arbrissel, 324.
Ball, John, 424
Balliol, John, 413.
Banking and corporations, 478, 479.
Bannockburn, battle of, 415.
Bari, battle of, 146
Barmecides, slaughter of, 215.
Basel, Council of, 469, 470.
Basil, Greek Emperor, 146, 233.
Bassora (Basra), trading center, 218, 222.
Battle Abbey, 206.
Batu, grandson of Gengis Khan, Europe invaded by, 399-400.
Bavaria, conquered by Franks, 71; subdued by Charles Martel, 76, bishoprics in, 77; subdued by Pippin, 102; invasion of Hungarians, 152; duchy of, 152, marches in, 153. *See* Empire, Roman, of the German Nation
Beazley, C, *Dawn fo Modern Geography*, n. 218
Bec, Monastery of, 204.
Becket, St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 262-266.
Beckford, Vathek of, 216
Bede, the Venerable, 66, life, 195-196.
Bedford, duke of, 431-433, 438.
Bedouins, customs, 92-93, revolts from Mohammed, 97
Belisarius, general of Justinian, 44, 54, 230-231.
Benedict VIII, Pope, 163.
Benedict IX, Pope, 163-165.
Benedict XI, 407.
Benedict of Aniane, teacher of Lewis the Pious, 113
Benedict of Nursia, St, 23; life, 62-63; rule of, 63-64, 195, 200, 319-320
Beneficia, use of them by Adrian IV, 288. *See also* Feudalism.
Benefice, Element of Feudalism, 129.
Benevento, Duchy of, 146.
Benjamin of Tudela, writer and founder of schools, 221, 224, 228.
Beranger, King of Italy, 157.
Berbers, hostility to Arabs, 99-100, 387; dynasty of Almoravides, 388.
Bernard, grandson of Charles the Great, 113; revolt against Lewis, the Pious, 114
Bernard of Armagnac, 429
Bernard of Clairvaux, St., career, 322-325; preaches Crusade, 253; and Abelard, 355, 356, 358; and Suger, 275; mediator between Lothair and the Hohenstaufens, 285; and Arnulf of Brescia, 287.
Bertha, wife of Hugh Capet, 182-183.
Bertrada of Montfort, wife of Philip of France, 189.
Beowulf, 194.
Besançon, Diet of, 288.
Bishops, in early Church, Chapter II, *passim*; power of 141-142; and Carolingians and Capetians, 185; and inquisition, 360-361.
Black Death, the, 420-422, 426, 496.
Black Prince, Edward, the, 420, 424, 426.
Blois, county of, 185
Bobbio, monastery of, 68, 191.
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 458, 492-496, 499, 500, 505, 506.
Boëthius, 53-54; 198.
Bohemia, early history, 396-398; march of, 153, vassal to Henry III, 163; war with Henry V, 173, 445, 454, 461, 463.
Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, on First Crusade, 245; and Alexius, 247; at Antioch, 248-249, 250; prisoner, 250
Bologna, University of, 368-369, 371; professors at Diet of Roncaglio, 290.
Bonaventura, St., general of Franciscan order, 365.
Boniface VIII, 403-408.
Boniface, Count, 48.
Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and Fourth Crusade, 304.

Boniface, St, English missionary, 68; life and work, 76-78, 82, 85, 101, 138, 196.
Bordars or cottars, 333.
Bosworth Field, battle of, 440.
Bourges, 482.
Bourges, Pragmatic Sanction of, 469, 470.
Bouvines, battle, effect on England, 267, effect on France and Flanders, 279, and Frederic II, 295.
Brétigny, Peace of, 420, 421.
Breviary of Alaric, 81.
Britain, invasions of, 46, 118, 193, 230; incursions of Picts and Scots, 46-47; conversion of, 61, 64-66, 194. *See* England.
Brittany, revolt against Charles the Bald, 119, 175, fief of, 184; under Henry II of England, 259, 414, 437.
Bruce, David, 417.
Bruce, Robert, 413, 415.
Bruges, 480, 481
Brunanburh, battle of, 199.
Brunhild, wife of Sigibert, 72; quarrels with Fredegund and death, 72.
Bruni, Lionardo, 500, 501.
Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, 179.
"Brut, king of Britain," 448
Bulgarians, war with Basil, 233; missions among, 237.
Burgundian-Armagnac feud, 429-432.
Burgundians, 37, 44; defeat by Franks, 45; by Aetius, 48; and Theodoric, 52.
Burgundy, and Franks, 71, annexed to Germany, 162, and Henry III, 163, fief of, 184, subdued by Robert, 185, duchy of, 414, 429, 431, 436, 437, 450; free county of, 408, 436, 437, 450 *See* Provence
Byzantine Empire, attack of Robert Guiscard, 187; of Ommiads, 214; tribute to Haroun-al-Rashid, 215; character of history, 227, centralized government of, 228, absorption of foreigners, 229, unity of, 230; external foes, 230; Persian war, 230-231; trouble with Avars and Slavs, 232, with Arabs, 232-233; weakness of, 233, 236-237; and the Church, 234, feudalism in, 235-236, taxation in, 236; Schism in Church, 237, rise of Commeni, 237-238; influence on European history, 239, conservatism of, 239-240; literature and art in, 240; and Robert Guiscard, 187, 238; and First Crusade, 246-247; and Bohemond, 248-250, and Frederic Barbarossa, 300, and the Fourth Crusade, 304-305; and Russia, 394-395, 401; and Ottoman Turks, 452, 453.

Cæsar, Julius, 32, 36, 59.
Cæsarius of Heisterbach, preacher, 319; *Dialogue of Miracles*, 329.
Cairo, seat of caliphs, 224.
Calais, captured by Edward III, 419, 420, 433.
Caliph of Bagdad, feeling toward Pippin, 102. *See* Abbasids.
Caliph of Cordova, 104. *See* Ommiads.
Camaldoli, order of, 320
Cambridge Medieval History, n 58
Canossa, Henry IV and Gregory VII at, 171
Canterbury, Archbishop of, 194, 205, 256; disputed election, 266.
Canute, invasion of England, 201; King, 202; Scandinavian empire of, 400.
Capetians, rulers of France, first four, 182-183; weakness of, 183; and Normans, 185-186; policy of, 187-188.
Capitalism, Chapter XXXIX, *passim*.
Capitulary de Villis, 109.
Carinthia, march of, 153; vassal to Henry III, 163, acquired by Hapsburgs, 447.
Carloman, son of Lewis the Stammerer, 123, 176.
Carloman, son of Pippin, 102.
Carolingians, accession, 101, last of line, 123-124; internal strife, 142; weakening of, 142, 180-181, against Robertians, 176-180.
Carthusians, order of, 320-321.
Carthage, taken by Vandals, 43; by Mohammedans, 98
Cassiodorus, secretary of Theodoric, 51.
Castiglione, Baldassare, 508
Castile, kingdom of, 387, 388, 450, 451.
Castles, 12th and 13th century, 311-312. *See also* Warfare.
Cathedrals, building of, 385-386
Catherine of Siena, Saint, 459-460.
Catherine, wife of Henry V, 430, 438.
Cato, textbook, 83.
Celestine V, 403
Cellini, Benvenuto, 507.
Celtic Church, 67, 68, 138.
Châlons, battle of, 46.
Chalycadnus, Frederic Barbarossa drowned in, 300.
Champagne, county of, 185.
Charles, IV, Emperor, 445.
Charles IV, King of France, 417.
Charles V, King of France, 420, 421, 426, 427, 429, 460.
Charles VI, King of France, 427, 429, 430.
Charles VII, King of France, 430-435.
Charles VIII, King of France, 486, 504.
Charles Martel, mayor, 75, battles of, 76, and Church, 76, 78; death, 79; formation of cavalry, 85, and Arabs, 90, assistance of Berbers, 100, ally of Lombards, 101; against Mussulmans, in 732, 131, 139, and central government, 131.
Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, 283, 296
Charles the Bald, son of Lewis the Pious, career, 115-122, review of reign, 175-176
Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, 435-437.
Charles the Fat or Charles III, son of Lewis the German, 123, 176.
Charles the Great, revolt subdued by, 102-103, donation to Pope, 103; Empire of, 104-105, coronation, 106, 138, appearance and tastes, 106-108; administration, 108-109; interest in education, 110-111; weakness of empire, 112; and central government, 121; hero of Otto III, 159; gifts from Saracens, 222, 225.
Charles the Simple, 123; coronation, 176; and the Northmen, 177, acquisition of Lorraine, 178, death, 178.
Chartres, cathedral school at, 366
Chartreuse, "charter-house," 321. *See* Carthusians.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 54, 454.
Cheyney, E P, Translations and Reprints, 128, 333.

Chilperich, ruler of Neustria, 71, 87; war with Sigibert, 72; death, 72; invention of letter, 85
China, civilization of, 4; intercourse with Saracens, 218, 219, 222.
Chioggia, naval battle of, 476.
Chivalry, literature of, 315-318; orders of, 509
Chlotar, *see* Lothair
Chosroes, Persian king, wars with Byzantine Empire, 230-231.
Christians, in Saracen Empire, 216, 219, 220, debt to Saracens, 225, against Moslems in Spain, 241, and Mohammedans in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 251-252, 254-255
Chrysoloras, Manuel, Greek scholar, 499, 500
Chrysostom, John, 16
Church, Roman Catholic, influence upon Roman Empire, 13-14, 57-58; influence of Roman civilization, 15; development in Roman Empire, 15-25, extent, 15-16, 401; organization, 17-19, missionary activity, 62, 64-68, 364, 396, 397, 400-401, and feudalism, 137, 168, wealth, 139, 337, services of, 140-141, in Spain, 451; and discovery, 485; in later middle ages, Chapter XXXVII, *passim*. *See also* Clergy, Courts, Heresy, Papacy, Monasticism, Crusades, Inquisition.
Church reform, by St. Boniface, 76-78; by Charles the Great, 107, by Nicholas I, 145, by Cluny, 149; by Henry III, 164-165; by Leo IX and Gregory VII, 165-173, 189; by St. Dunstan, 199-200; by William the Conqueror, 209-210; by Peter Waldo, 358, by friars, 361-365, by Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, 380-385, at Council of Constance, 465-467; by Brothers of the Common Life, 515-516
Church, Greek Catholic, 230; separation from Rome, 237, relation with the Byzantine Emperor, 233-234; missionary activity, 393, 394, treatment by Tartars, 400
Church, Irish and Celtic, origin, 65-67, differences from Rome, 67; missionary activity, 67-68; influence, 68; decline, 138. *See* Celtic, Church.
Cid, Chronicle of the, 241, 389.
Ciompi revolt, 477, 496.
Cistercians, order of monks, 321-324.
Citeaux, monastery of, 321. *See* Cistercians
City of God, by St. Augustine, 24, 41.
Cities, *see* Towns.
Civitas, in Roman Empire, 5, 6, 12; under Merovingians, 73; aid in preservation of Roman civilization, 80.
Civitate, battle of, 187.
Clement II, Pope, 165.
Clement V, 407, 408.
Clement VII, 460.
Clergy, 21, 24; and education, 83-85; discipline of, 355, abuses of, Chapter XXX, *passim*, privileges, 24, 263-264, 267, reform of, 381-383, 165, 189, taxation of, 403-406, 409 *See* Church.
Clericos Laicos, papal bull, 406, 407, 412.
Clermont, Council of, 243-244.
Clippius, owner of villa, 81.
Clotilda, wife of Clovis, 70.
Clovis, king of the Franks, 50, 54; conquests, 69-70, conversion, 70.
Cluny, congregation of, order of monks, 149, 320-321
Cluny, Monastery of, 149; and Henry II of Germany, 161, reforms of, 188
Codes, *see* Law.
Codex Argenteus, Bible of Ulfilas, 38.
Coeur, Jacques, capitalist, 482.
Cola di Rienzi, 458
Cologne, Archbishop of, 156, 179.
Colonna, Roman family, 288, 402.
Colonna, Sciarra, 407
Colonl, 7-8, 12, 126
Columba, Irish missionary to Scotland, 65.
Columban, Irish missionary in Gaul, 67-68, 82
Columbus, Christopher, 451, 452, 483, 485
Comitatus, 31, 36, 127.
Commendation, Element of Feudalism, 128.
Commerce, among early Germans, 32-34; Roman with Africa, 40, hindrances to, 85, 349; in Saracen civilization, 218-219, in Byzantine Empire, 228; policy of English kings toward, 270, 416, 417, 483; of French kings, 280, 409, 434, 437, 483, influence of Crusades upon, 307-308; influence of Church upon, 349; of Italian cities with the Orient, 350; in Russia, 394.
Common Life, Brothers of the, 513-516.
Commonweal, War of the, 436, 437.
Commune, 345-346; French, 276.
Comnena, Anna, 248.
Comneni, rise of, 238-239
Comnenus, Alexis, appeal for aid, 241; and Peter the Hermit, 245; relations with Crusaders, 246-248.
Compurgation, or Wager of Law, 86-87, 142, 261
"Condottieri," 496.
Confessions of St Augustine, 24.
Conrad I of Franconia, King of Germany, reign, 153, 178.
Conrad II of Germany, policy, 161-162; revolts against, 162-163.
Conrad III, brother of Frederic Barbarossa, 285; King of Germany, 286-287; on Crusade, 253-254.
Conrad, son of Frederic II, 299.
Constance of Sicily, marriage to Henry VI, 292.
Constance, Council of, 463-467.
Constance, Peace of, 291.
Constantine, Emperor, 16-17.
Constantinople, prefect of, 4; senate at, 6; capital of Arcadius, 39; embassy to, 49, siege by Goths, 50; visited by pope, 53, siege by Arabs; 100, 214, 232-233; by Persians and Avars, 232; change of patriarchs at, 144; ally of Otto the Great, 155; position of, 227; commerce of, 227, law and order in, 228; popular power in, 234-235; sack of, 305, 372, and Peter the Hermit's army, 244-245; meeting place of the Crusaders, 246-247; in Fourth Crusade, 305-307; and Ottoman Turks, 452, 453. *See* Byzantine Empire.
Constitution of Clarendon, 263-264.

Constitution for the Kingdom of Italy, 296
Contempt of the World, On the, by Innocent III, 377.
Cordova, Emirate of, 214, 224; orthodoxy and, 225.
Corpus Juris Civilis, of Justinian, 229. *See also* Law, Roman.
Cortenuova, battle of, 297.
Councils,, means of Church government, 19, general Church councils, 19; Nicæa, 38, Lyons, 297: Third Lateran, 358; Fourth Lateran, 363, 380, 382. *See also* Whitby, Clermont, Sutri.
Courts, feudal, 134; of the hundred, 200-201, ecclesiastical, 209, manorial, 210, conflict with Henry II, 260-262, royal in England, 260-262; conflict with Philip Augustus, 280; in France, 280-281, conflict with Frederick II, 296; in Sicily, 296; commercial, gild, 346, "pie-powder," 348, inquisition, 360-361; reform, 381; papal curia, 381-382. *See also* Judicial procedure and Law
Crécy, battle of, 419, 420, 444
Credentia, municipal council of Lombard towns, 289
Creighton, M., quoted, 459, 460.
Crescentius, Roman noble, subdued by Otto III, 159
Crete, Arabs in, 97, 146; retaken by Byzantine Empire, 233.
Crusades, 225; causes, 241-244; First, 244-250; Second, 253-254, 274, Third, 277, 300-302; Fourth, 303-305; of the Children, 305-306; German, 302; against Damietta, 307, of Frederic II, 295-296; of Louis IX, 282-283; results and importance of, 307-310; against Albigensians, 280, 360; as a weapon of Church discipline, 266, 268, 296, 297.
Cunimund, king of Gepidae, 55.
Curiales, 9-10, 12.
Curia regis, 210, 259.
Cyril, missionary to Slavs, 392-393.

Dacia, conquest by Germans, 33.
Damascus, seat of Ommiad rulers, 98, 214, 215; swords of, 219; under Mohammedans, 251, 254, attack by Crusaders, 254
Damiani, Peter, religious reformer, 242.
"Dance of Death," 510.
Danegeld, 201, 211.
Danelaw, 197; conquest of, 199; administrative divisions, 200.
Danes, invasions of, 118, 151, 152, 160, 196-197, 201, 207; gradual conquest of, 199. *See also* Denmark, Scandinavia, Northmen.
Dania, march of, 153.
Dante, opinion of Frederic II, 294, 299, 407, 444, 476, 477, 488-491, 495, 496, 498, 499.
Decameron, the, 493, 494.
Defensor Pacis, of Marsiglio of Padua, 457.
Demons, belief in, 384.
Denmark, strength of in VIIth century, 400; and Hanse, 480.
Desiderius, Lombard King, 102.
Deventer, 513, 514.
Dialectics, study of, 366.
Dietrich of Bern, *see* Theodoric.
Dispensations, papal, 456
Divine Comedy, the, of Dante, 488-490.
Domesday Book, 211.
Domestic system, in industry, 482
Dominic, St, founder of Dominican order of friars, 361-362.
Dominican friars, 362.
Domrémy, 432, 433.
Donation, of Charles the Great, 102; of Constantine, 143; of Pippin, 101
Donatist heresy, 357.
Donatistae, 84.
Donatus, grammarian, 84.
Dorylaeum, battle of, 247.
Drusus, Roman general, 32.
Duchan, Stephen, 452.
Duchies (Stem), in Germany, 152.
Du Guesclin, Bertrand, French general, 420
Dunstan, life and work, 199-200, 209
Duran de Huesca, Waldensian leader, 361.
Dürer, Albrecht, 517.

Ealdormen or Earls, *see* Anglo-Saxon Institutions
Ebrion, mayor of Neustria and Burgundy, 74
Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, The, by the Venerable Bede, 195.
Eckhart, Master, 513.
Edessa, capture by Baldwin, 247, 251; county of, 253; capture by Moslems, 253.
Edgar the Atheling, elected king, 207.
Edgar the Peaceful, coronation, 199; marriage of sisters, 199.
Edict of Pistres, 120-121.
Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, 202, 203.
Edith, wife of Henry I of England, 257.
Edmund, son of Henry III, candidate for the crown of Sicily, 268
Education, in Roman Empire, 13-14; in early middle ages, 67, 83-85; in Empire of Charles the Great, 110-111, among the Saracens, 220 ff; in Byzantine Empire, 240; service of monks to, 63, 141, 362; interest of kings in higher, 367; of nobles, 313; of craftsmen, 347; by Brothers of the Common Life, 514-517; during Italian Renaissance, 500, 507, 508, 515, 516. *See also* Chapter XXXI.
Edward, the Black Prince, 420, 424, 426.
Edward I, king of England, 271; on Crusade, 269-270, and Boniface VIII, 404-406; reign, 409-413.
Edward II, king of England, 415, 416.
Edward III, king of England, 416-424, 426, 429, 478, 483
Edward IV, king of England, 439, 440, 483
Edward V, king of England, 440.
Edward the Confessor, 202-203.
Edwin of Northumbria, conversion of, 66, 204, 206.
Egbert, king of Wessex, 196.
Egypt, conquest by Arabs, 97, 224; plants indigenous to, 217; trade with Byzantine Empire, 228, war with Christians, 254; conquest by Saladin, 254; treaty with Venice, 303;

alliance with Charles of Anjou, 283.
Einhard, chronicler of Charles the Great, 75, 79, 106, 112.
Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II, 258, of Louis VII, 273-275.
Electors, imperial, 445.
Emerton, E, Europe Medieval, 156
Emma, daughter of Hugh the Great, 185.
Emma, wife of Ethelred, 201; of Canute, 202.
Empire, Roman, extent, 3-4; organization, 4-5; reasons for decline, 9-14, 57-59; "fall" of Western, 49. *See* Migrations
Eastern, *see* Justinian and Byzantine Empire.
of Charles the Great, coronation, 106; division of, 114-117; fate of Imperial title, 125.
Roman, of the German nation (Holy Roman) reëstablished with Otto the Great, 157; conception of by Otto III, 159-160; conflict with papacy, 167-174, Chapter XXIV *passim*, attitude of Innocent III, 378-379; in the later middle ages, Chapter XXXVII, *passim*.
of the Avars, 392.
of the Moravians, 392.
England (*See* Angles and Britain), Conquest by William of Normandy, 186; union under Edgar the Peaceful and Ethelred, 199; under Canute, 201-202, under Edward the Confessor, 202-203, under Harold, 203-204; under William the Conqueror, 205-212; 1087-1272, Chapter XXII, under William Rufus, 256; under Henry I, 257, 259; under Stephen, 258, 259; under Henry II, 258-265; Church holdings in twelfth century, 335, 337; manor life in thirteenth century, 331-338; universities in, 375; legal and parliamentary development under Edward I, 409-412; population, 417.
English language, 256
Eon, heretic, 358
Ernest, Duke of Swabia, revolt of, 162.
Estates General, French, 408, 414, 426, 427, 431, 434.
Ethandun, battle of, 197.
Ethelbert of Kent, 65
Ethelred, the Ill Counselled, 201.
Eucharist, abuse of, 384.
Euclid, Geometry of, 53.
Eudes, Frankish king, son of Robert the Strong, 124, 176.
Eudocia, Empress, 43.
Eugenius IV, Pope, 409
Excommunication, method of Church discipline, 140, 144. *See* Church.
Expectancies, papal, 456.

Fabliaux, 352.
Faculties, in medieval universities, 369-370.
Fairs, 328, 348 *See* map.
Farrar, F. W., Archdeacon, Lives of the Fathers, 16.
Fatimites, descendants of Ali and Fatima, failure of rebellion, 214; in Africa, 224.
Faustrecht, 299.
Fealty, feudal oath of, 134. *See* Homage.
Fehmic courts, 446.
Feodum, *see* Fief.
Fergusson, J., *History of Architecture*, 240.
Feudalism, development of, 126-127; elements, 128-132, obligations of lords and vassals, 132-137, effect on Church, 137-138, 147-149; and towns, 345-346; and peasants, 331, 336-337, 422, 424, 425, 434; and trade, 349, 351, 352, 353; in England, 208-212, in France, 176, 272; in Empire, 152-153, in Byzantine Empire, 235-236; changing attitude of kings toward, (a) in England, 259-262, 270, 404, 410, 411, 415, 476; (b) in France, 276, 280, 283, 408, 409, 434, 437; (c) in Empire, 296-297, 443; (d) in Spain, 390, 451.
Ficino, Marsiglio, 501, 505.
Fief, definition of, 132-133. *See* Feudalism.
Flanders, Count of, favors Carolingians, 176; county of, 185, 408, 414, 417, 418, 429, 436, 437, 481.
Flanders, Count of, war with Philip Augustus, 276-277, 279.
"Flayers," the, 434
Florence, politics, commerce, and industry, 471-479, 486; and Renaissance, 496 ff.
Fondaco dei Tedeschi, 476.
Fontenay, battle of, 116
Fontevrault, order of, 324.
Formosus, Pope, trial of, 147, Arnulf crowned by, 151.
France, condition of West Frankish kingdom, 843 A D., 175; at accession of Hugh Capet, 183-184; Church reform in, 189-190; universities in France, 375. *See* chapters on France.
Francis of Assisi, St., 362-365.
Franciscans, 363-365.
Franconia, duchy of, 152, 153, 155
Frangipani, Roman family, 287.
Franks, German tribe, Ripuarian and Salian, 37; against Burgundians, 45; and Aetius, 48; and Theodoric, 53; 481-751 A D., 69-79, influence of Church, 81; justice among, 89, 90; fusion with Romans, 89-91; against Lombards, 101; in Kingdom of Jerusalem, 251-252.
Fredegund, mistress of Chilperich, quarrel with Brunhild, 72; struggle to establish succession of child, 87; death, 73.
Frederic I (Barbarossa), reign, 286-293; at election (1125), 284; king of Italy, 286; on Third Crusade, 300; capture of Arnold of Brescia, 357; privileges of students, 367.
Frederic II, career, 294-299; laws against heretics, 361; laws regulating medicine, 371.
Frederic III, 437, 446, 449.
Frederic of Austria, 444.
Frederic of Buren, founder of Hohenstaufen, 284.
Frederic, duke of Urbino, 508.
Friars, monastic orders of, Dominicans, 362; Franciscans, 363-365.
Frisia, visited by Boniface, 76.
Frisians, subdued by Pippin, 75.
Froissart, Sir John, chronicles of, 418, 419, 426, 509.

Fuggers, family, 482, 483, 486.
Fulda, monastery, 77.
Fulk, king of Jerusalem, 254.
Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 243.
Gaiseric, King of the Vandals, 42, 43, 45-46, 49, 54.
Galen, physician, 220.
Galla Placidia, 41-42, 48
Gama, Vasco da, 483, 485.
Gaul, prefecture of, 4; Visigoths in, 41, 48, Huns in, 40, early Church in, 196; under Clovis, 70; under Sigibert, 71; unit of government, 73; in Vth century, 80; in VIIth century, 131; conquests in, by Arabs, 99; invasion of Northmen, 118
Gascony, duchy of, 185; under Henry II of England, 259.
Gasquet, F, Dom, English Monastic life, n. 320.
Genghis Khan, 399.
Genoa, 476.
Genoese, part in Crusade, 253.
Geography, knowledge of among Saracens, 222.
Gepidae, 55.
Gerbert (Sylvester I) teacher of Otto III, 159, 180, 182; archbishop of Rheims, 188; Pope, 159, 192; life, 190-192, study in Spain, 225.
German Theology, 513.
Germania of Tacitus, 27.
Germans, source of information, 27; civilization of, 27-30; government of, 30-31; early contacts with the Romans, 32-34, 36, 44, 230; location of tribes, 36-37; and Huns, 37, and Aetius, 48; and army, 51; customs, 55; in Britain, 47, 65, 193-194; conversion, 66, 194, in Gaul, Vth century, 80; political contributions, 86; judicial procedure, 86-89; fusion with the Romans, 89-91, 59; and Islam, 72; as soldiers in Byzantine Empire, 228
Germany, period 843-1002, 150-159; duchies in, 152; marches in, 153; influence of Italy, 158; kingdom in, 161; feudalism in, 161; commerce in, 476, 479-481 *See* Empire, Roman, of the Germans.
Gerson, theologian, 461, 515.
Ghibelline, origin of party, 284-285.
Gibbon, E, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 46, 50-51, 227
Gieseler, J. C. L., *Church History*, 18.
Gild, merchant, 346-347; craft, 347.
Gilds, 472 ff, 482, 483.
Glastonbury, monastery of, 199.
Godfrey of Bouillon, on Crusade, 245-247; king of Jerusalem, 250.
Godwin, Earl, exile of, 202; return to power, 203.
"Golden Book," the, 475.
Golden Bull, of Charles IV, 445.
Golden Bull of Hungary (1222), 398.
Golden Horde (Kiptchak), Tartar state in Russia, 400
Good Hope, Cape of, discovery, 485.
Goslar, residence of Henry IV, 166.
Gothic architecture, 487.
Goths. *See* Ostrogoths and Visigoths.
Grammont, order of, 320.
Granada, last stronghold of Moors in Spain, 390, 450, 451.
Great Council, Venetian, 475, 476.
Greek Church. *See* Church.
Greeks, language of, 5, influence on Christian Church, 19; on Saracen civilization, 220, 222, in Byzantine Empire, 229 *See* Byzantine Empire
Gregory the Great, life, 61-62, 144, and Greek patriarch, 237.
Gregory V, pope, 159.
Gregory VI, pope, 164; deposed, 165.
Gregory VII, pope, *see* Hildebrand.
Gregory IX, and Frederic II, 295, 297; privilege to students, 367.
Gregory XI, 459.
Gregory XII, 465.
Gregory of Tours, Bishop, historical accuracy, 69; character, 73; Latin, 82; Praise of Martianus Capella, 84; and sixth century, 89, 90.
Groot, Gerard, 513, 514.
Guelf, origin of party, 284-285.
Guibert, abbot, Historian, 366, 383.
Guicciardini, 507
Guienne, under Henry II of England, 258
Guiscard, Robert, in Italy, 187; attack on Byzantine Empire, 187, 241.
Gummere, F, Germanic origins, n. 28.
Guntram, ruler of Burgundy, 72, 73, 87.
Gutenberg, 516.
Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, 254.
Guyot de Provins, criticism of monks, 329.

Hadrianople, battle of, 228.
Hamah, capture of, 253.
Hanseatic League, 351; control of Novgorod, 395, 480, 481, 483.
Hapsburgs, family, Chapter XXXVII, *passim*.
Harnack, A., *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, n. 16, 22.
Harold, English king, 204; contest with William the Conqueror, 205-207; contest with Harold Hardrada, 206.
Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, claimant of English throne, 206.
Haroun al Rashid, rule of Bagdad, 215-216.
Harrison, F., *Byzantine History in the Middle Ages*, n. 241.
Hastings, battle of, 206.
Hatch, E., the influence of Greek ideas and usages upon the Christian Church, 239.
Hattin, battle of, 255.
Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, 152.
Hegira, 94-95.
Helena, mother of Constantine, 242.
Heloise, wife of Abelard, 355-356.
Helvetians, German tribe, 32, 36.
Henderson, E F., *Historical documents of the Middle Ages*, n. 169
Henry I, or Fowler, of Germany, 153-155.
Henry II, the "Saint," duke of Bavaria, election to German throne, 161.
Henry III of Germany, boundary of control, 163; and papacy, 163-166; as Emperor, 165; death, 166
Henry IV of Germany, youth, 166; and papacy, 168-172, 241, as Emperor, 172; death, 173.
Henry V, 173; and Pope Paschal, 173-174.

Henry VI, marriage to Constance of Sicily, 292; career, 293; and German Crusade, 302; and Richard's ransom, 293
Henry VII, emperor, 444.
Henry I, King of England, 257.
Henry II, King of England, reign, 258-265, struggle with Thomas Becket, 261-265; wars with Philip Augustus, 277; and Third Crusade, 300.
Henry III, King of England, reign, 268-271.
Henry IV, King of England, 425, 428, 429.
Henry V, King of England, 428-431, 438
Henry VI, King of England, 430, 438-440.
Henry VII, King of England, 440, 441.
Henry, Prince, of Portugal, 485.
Henry I of France, 183; and William of Normandy, 186
Henry of Bavaria, brother of Otto the Great, 155
Henry of Lausanne, heretic, 358.
Henry the Lion, 285, 286; struggle with Frederic Barbarossa, 292; followers struggle with Henry VI, 293.
Henry the Proud, possessions, 285
Heraclius, Byzantine Emperor, defeat of Persians, 231; and Avars, 232, and Arabs, 232-233.
Heresy, causes, 354; Arianism, 19; Pelagianism, 20-21; Donatist, 354; Anti-Sacerdotalists, 357; preachers of, 355-358; Waldensian, 358, 359; Manicheism, 20, 359-360, in medieval universities, 374; Arnoldistas, 357; Wycliffe, 422, 423; Huss, 463, 464.
Heraldry, effect of Crusades, 310
Heretics, treatment of, 21, 188; laws against, 360-361, Arnold of Brescia, 357; Tanchelm, 357; Eon of Brittany, Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, 358, Abelard condemned as, 356
Hereward, opposition to William the Conqueror, 207-208.
Hermandadas, leagues of cities in Spain, 390.
Hesse, visited by Boniface, 76.
Hidalgos, poor nobles of Spain, 390.
Hildebrand (Gregory VII) Pope, reforms of, 167-168; struggle with Henry IV, 168-172, and William the Conqueror, 209-210; and ascetism, 242; death, 172
Hincmar, dispute with Pope Nicholas I, 145; Archbishop of Rheims, 121.
Hippo, siege of, 43.
Hippocrates, physician, 220.
History of the Franks, by Gregory of Tours, 69.
History of the World, by Orosius, 198.
Hodgkin, T., *Letters of Cassiodorus,* 52.
Hohenstaufens, Chapter XXIV.
Hohenzollern, family, 447, 454.
Homage, Feudal Act of, 133-134. *See* Fealty.
Honoria, proposal of marriage to Attila, 45.
Honorius III and Frederic II, 295.
Honorius, Roman Emperor, 39-40, 48.
Hospitallers, Knights of St. John, 254, 326.
Hugh Capet, 179; King of France, 181; and Gerbert, 191, character, 182; holdings, 183; and the Church, 188.
Hugh the Great, son of Robert, 155, 178-179
Hugh, the Great, of Vermandois, on Crusades, 245; and Alexius, 247.
Humanism, in Italy, 497 ff.
Hundred, *see* Anglo-Saxon institutions.
Hundred Years' War, 417-421, 429-434.
Hungarians, raids of, 151, 152, 154, 155, 178; routed by Otto the Great, 155; and Otto III, 100.
Hungary, early history, 397; conversion, 397, character of people, 397-398; decline of power, 398, vassal to Henry III, 163; trade with Constantinople, 228.
Huns, description of, 37; invasion of, 45-46; attack on Ostrogoths, 37; on Visigoths, 38; and Aetius, 48.
Hunyadi, Janos, 453.
Huss, John, 454, 457, 463, 464.

Iconium, Sultan of, 300.
Iconoclasm, in Byzantine Empire, 234.
Illyricum, prefecture of, 4; Alaric, governor of, 40.
India, civilization in, 4; plants from, 217.
Industry and manufacturing, in Roman Empire, 10-11; by monks, 63-64; in early middle ages, 85, among Saracens, 219-220, 224; effects of Crusades on, 308; in Flanders, 279; by gilds, 347; on manor, 335.
Ingeborg, wife of Philip Augustus, 278-279.
Innocent II, supported by Bernard of Clairvaux, 322.
Innocent III, Chapter XXXII; struggle with John of England, 266; and Magna Charta, 268; Crusade against English barons, 268; France under interdict, 278; guardian of Frederic II, 294; Fourth Crusade, 303-305, Children's Crusade, 306; and heretics, 359-360.
Innocent IV and Frederic II, 297-298.
Inquisition, 360-361; Spanish, 451; Italian, 504.
Interdict, method of Church discipline, 140; on Rome, 1154, 287; on England, 266; on France, 278.
Interregnum, Great, 299, 442.
Investiture Struggle, 168-174; results, 241, 354.
Iona, monastery of, 66; monks at Synod of Whitby, 67.
Ireland, in VIth century, 65, 67; invasion of, 118; under Henry II of England, 259, 265.
Irene, Empress, 105.
Irish monks, 68, at Synod of Whitby; 67; driven out by Boniface, 77, 138; and education in Gaul, 85; in early Britain, 194.
Irnerius, teacher of laws, 366.
Isaac, Emperor of Constantinople, 304.
Isabella, wife of Edward II, 416.
Isabelle of Brienne, wife of Frederic II, 295.
Isis, the festival of, 17.
Islam, growth, 92, 225; meaning of; triumphs of, 97, 98-99, break in unity, 214. *See* Mohammedans, Mussulman, Arabs.
Istria, in donation of Charles the Great, 103.
Italy, invasions of Alaric, 40; of Attila, 46; of Ostrogoths, 50, 59, 230; of Lombards, 55, 57, 230; of Saracens,

121, 122, 145-146; of Magyars, 148, 151, 155; given to Lothair's son, 121; granted to Charles the Bald, 122; and Belisarius, 54; Narses in, 55; and Otto the Great, 155-156, influence of Germans, 158; and the Normans, 186, 241, reconquered by Justinian, 230; universities in, 375 *See* Empire, Roman, of the German Nation.
Itinerant justices in England, 261.

Jacquerie, the, 427.
Jacques de Vitry, 323, 375.
Jagello, King of Lithuania and Poland, 454.
Janissaries, 452.
Jarrow, monastery of, 195.
Jeanne d'Arc, 432, 433, 435.
Jerome, St., 16, 24, 25, 41, 58, 84, 141.
Jerusalem, capture by Persians, 231; pilgrimages to, 242-243, Latin Patriarch of, 250; Latin kings of, 254; war with Egypt, 254, capture by Saladin, 255; effect of capture on West, 292
Jerusalem, Latin Kingdom of, founding of, 250; boundary, 251; relations with Mohammedans, 251, 252, 254, 255; and other Christian states, 253; kings of, 254; fall of, 255; feudal customs, 137
Jews, under Theodoric, 52; in England, 209, 260; in Empire of the Abbasids, 216, 219, 220; and usury, 308, 317; prosperity among Albigensians, 359; restrictions upon, 380; expelled from France, 409; in Spain, 450, 451.
Joanna, of Spain, 450, 452.
John VIII, Pope, 146-147.
John X, pope, 148
John XI, pope, 148.
John XII, pope, son of Alberic "Princeps," 149.
John XIX, pope, 163.
John XXII, pope, 444, 445, 455-457.
John XXIII, pope, 462-465
John, King of Bohemia, 444.
John, King of England, 265-268; and Philip Augustus, 277-279, support of Otto IV, 293.
John of Brienne, Crusade against Frederic, 296.
John of Gaunt, 424.
John of Salisbury, as grammarian, 366, 372
John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, 429-431.
John the Good, King of France, 420, 426, 429.
Jongleurs, 315.
Jordanes, historian of the Goths, 37, 53.
Judith, wife of Lewis the Pious, 114.
Julian, Emperor, defeat of Alammanni, 31, 35; and Franks, 37.
Judicial procedure, among tribal Germans, 31, under Theodoric, 51; German, 86-90; Emperor Lothair in Rome, 142; final authority of Church in certain cases, 144, 170-171; Anglo-Saxon, 200-201; in Byzantine Empire, 229; reforms of Henry II, 260-262; under Frederic II, 296; on the manor, 337, in towns, 346; at fairs, 348; in Italian towns, 350; at the papal court, 381; against heretics, 360-361. *See* Laws, Courts.
Jurisdiction, private, 127-128, conflicting claims of ecclesiastical and lay courts, 262, 264, 280, 382.
Jury, grand, development of in England, 260-261, petit, 261. *See* Judicial procedure and Law
Justin II, war with Persians, 231; with Avars, 232.
Justinian, 44, 54, reconquest of part of Spain, 54; and papacy, 60, *Corpus Juris* of, 58, 229, recoveries of possessions, 230; wars with Persians, 230-231, and Ostrogoths, 231; Nika riot, 235; policy toward barbarians, 231
Jutes, invasions of Britain, 46, 65, 193, 230 *See* Angles and Saxons.

Kaaba, national sanctuary, 93; purified by Mohammed, 95; burned, 98.
Kent, 66, 197, 207.
Kerbogha, invests Antioch, 248.
Kharidjites, 98
Kiersy, assembly of, 131; capitulary of, 175, 176
Knighthood, conferring of, 313-314.
Knights of St John. *See* Hospitallers.
Knights of the Sword, against Livonia, 395-396.
Knights of the Temple, *see* Templars.
Kobad, Persian King, 230
Koran, 94; revisions, 95-96; articles of belief, 96-97; basis of grammar study, 221.
Kugler, B., *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 307

Laborers, Statute of, 422
Ladislas, King of Hungary and Bohemia, 450.
Laetus, Pomponius, 502.
"Lancastrian Experiment," the, 428, 438.
Lance, the Holy, 248.
Lanfranc of Pavia, 204; Archbishop of Canterbury, 209; and William the Conqueror, 209-210, death, 256.
Langland, William, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, 422, 424, 450.
Langton, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, 266, 267
Laon, held by Louis d'Outre Mer, 179.
Las Navas de Tolosa, battle, 390.
Latin Empire of Constantinople, 305.
Latin language, 5, 82-83, 229, 256.
Lateran Councils, *see* Councils.
La Irémville, 431, 433.
Law, Roman, codification among German tribes, 81; *Corpus Juris* of Justinian in Byzantine Empire, 229; study at Bologna and other universities, 366, 370-371.
Canon, 370; Gratian's work, 356; Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, 144
English, development of, 200-201, 198, 210, 260, 410, 411, 414.
German, early, codification, 81; in Russia, 295.
Feudal, 181, 202. *See* Courts, Jury, Judicial procedure.
Learning, state of, in Western Empire, 13; Ireland center of, 67; in Gaul, 82-85; at court of Charles the Great, 110-111, of Gerbert, 190-192; in early England, 195, 198; among Saracens, 220-221, 225-226; in Byzantine Empire, 239-240, pa-

tronage of Frederic II, 298-299; influence of Crusades, 309-310, services of monks, 330; and Abelard, 355-356; and Dominicans, 362; and the Universities, Chapter XXXI.
Lecky, W. E. H., *History of European Morals*, 17
Legnano, battle, 291.
Leo the Great, Pope, 43.
Leo III, Pope, coronation of Charles the Great, 105-106.
Leo IV, Pope, at Ostia, 146
Leo IX, Pope, 165; and Robert Guiscard, 187.
Leo X, Pope, 502.
Leo XIII, Pope, 374
Leo the Armenian, struggle with Iconodules, 234.
Leo the Isaurian, Iconoclastic decree of, 237.
Leon, kingdom of, 387
Leonardo da Vinci, 506.
Lewes, battle of, 269.
Lewis, Emperor, nephew to Charles the Bald, 121, 146.
Lewis of Bavaria, Emperor, 444, 445, 456, 457.
Lewis III, Frankish ruler, 123.
Lewis the Child, son of Emperor Arnulf, 152.
Lewis the German, son of Lewis the Pious, struggles with brothers, 116-121, 175.
Lewis the Pious, character of, 113; coronation, 113, 142; marriage, 114; donation of, 143, death, 116.
Lewis the Stammerer, 123, 176
Libelle of Englyshe Polysye, 483.
Licet Juris, imperial decree, 444.
Life of St. Alexis, 329.
Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, grant to Aidan, 66
Literature, influence of Crusades upon, 309; Saracen, 221; Byzantine, 240; contributions of monks, 329-330; of Chivalry, 315; of middle class, 338, 352. *See* Learning.
Lithuania, 454.
"Livery and Maintenance," 438, 439.
Llewlyn, family, 412, 413
Lollards, 423, 461.
Lombard League and Frederic Barbarossa, 289-291, and Frederic II, 297-298
Lombards, 37; invasions of Italy, 55-57, 62, 230; effect on papacy, 60; conversion, 62, 67; fusion with Roman, 90; conquest of Ravenna, 101; defeat by Franks, 101, 102, 138.
London, 417.
Longbow, the English, 419
Longsword, William, vassal of Rudolf, 178
Lords, *see* Feudalism.
Lorraine, 436.
Lothair II, ruler of the Franks, 74.
Lothair, King of Germany, 284-285.
Lothair, son of Clovis, 71.
Lothair, son of Fredegund, 72.
Lothair, son of Lewis the Pious, trouble with father, 114; with brothers, 115-117; coronation, 142
Lothair, son of Louis d'Outre Mer, and the Ottos, 179-180; desire for Lorraine, 191.
Lotharingia or Lorraine, gift to Lothair II, 121; plundered by Northmen, 123; under rule of Lewis the Child, 152; under Henry I, 154; under Conrad the Red, 155; choice of Charles the Simple, 178, opposition to Rudolf, 178; invasion of Lothair, 179, 191.
Louis VI, the Fat, 273.
Louis VII, of France, takes Cross, 253-254, 274; King, 273-276.
Louis VIII of France, with English barons against John, 268; claims on Toulouse, 280.
Louis IX, 281-283; attitude towards Pope's treatment of Frederic II, 298.
Louis X, King of France, 417
Louis XI, King of France, 434-438.
Louis d'Outre Mer, king of France, 178; enmity of Hugh the Great, 179.
Louis, duke of Orleans, 429
Louis, son of Charles the Simple, 178.
Luchaire, opinion of St. Bernard, 322-323.
Luxemburg, 436; house of, 444-446.
Luxeuil, monastery, 68.
Lyons, pillaged by Arabs, 100. *See* Councils.

Machiavelli, Niccolo, 497, 505, 507.
Magna Carta, 267-268
Magna Moralia of Gregory the Great, 61.
Magyars, Moravian Empire overthrown by, 392, establishment of state separating the Slavs, 393. *See* Hungarians.
Maine, under Henry II of England, 258.
Mainz, Diet of, 292; Archbishop of, 155, 156; coins found at, 218.
Major domus, 73, 74.
Mani, founder of Manicheanism, 20; Bible, n 20
Manichean belief, 20, 359-360.
Manor, description of, 332; inhabitants of, 332-333; self-sufficiency of, 334-335.
Mansus, definition of, 108.
Manufacturing, *see* Industry.
Marcel, Etienne, 427
Marches, in Germany, 153.
Marchfield, battle of, 443.
Marcian, Emperor, 45.
Marcus Aurelius, Emperor and philosopher, 13, 33.
Margaret of Anjou, 438.
Margarete Maultasch, 447.
Marius, Roman general, 32.
Market, 348. *See* Towns and Commerce.
"Marmosets," 427.
Marmoutier, Abbey, 120.
Marozia, 148.
Marriage, Feudal right, 136
Marriage of Mercury and Philosophy, by Martianus Capella, 84.
Marsiglio of Padua, 457, 462.
Martin, V, pope, 467-469
Mary of Burgundy, 437, 450
Mary, prominence in worship, 384-385.
Mathematics, among Saracens, 220; in medieval universities, 372. *See* Gerbert.
Matthew Paris, historian, 326.
Matilda, wife of William of Normandy, 186.
Matilda of Tuscany, adherent of Hildebrand, 171; marriage, 173; dispute about inheritance, 290
Matilda, wife of Henry V of Germany and of Godfrey, Count of Anjou, struggle with Stephen, King of England, 258.
Maurica (Châlons) battle, 46, 48.
Maurice, Byzantine Emperor, 231.

Maximilian I, emperor, 437, 450.
Maximus, Emperor, 49.
Mecca, 93, 96, 98; capture, 95.
Medici, family, 479, 496, 497, 499.
Medici, Cosimo de', 497.
Medici, Lorenzo de' (the Magnificent), 497, 501, 503.
Medici, Piero de', 497.
Medicine, among Mohammedans, 252; in Saracen Empire, 220, 226, in mediæval universities, 371-372.
Medina, *see* Yatrib, 94
Mediterranean Basin, description, 3.
Meier Helmbrecht, 338-339.
Mercantilism, 474, 475, 483-486
Merchants, class, rise of, 351-353. *See* Towns and Commerce.
Mercia, in VIIIth century, 196; and the Danes, 197; held by Morkere, 204
Merovingians, state of civilization, 73; political institutions, 73; last Merovingian king, 79; and Romans, 90; and Feudalism, 131.
Mersen, Treaty of, 121.
Methodius, missionary to Slavs, 392-393
Michael, Emperor at Constantinople, 144.
Michel Angelo, 507.
Middle class, and politics in England, 411, 412, 415; in France, 405, 408, 415, 433, 435, 437
Milan, leader of Lombard league, 288, 484
Militia of Jesus Christ, 364. *See* Dominicans
Minorites, Tertiary order of, 364. *See* Franciscans
Missi dominici, 108.
Missionaries, Franciscan, 364. *See* Church
Mithra, worship of, 15.
Mohammed, life, 92-95, as merchant, 218.
Mohammed I, Turkish ruler, 453
Mohammed-ibn-Mousa, author of *Treatise on Algebra*, 221
Mohammedans in Italy, 145-146; customs etc., 217 ff; siege of Constantinople, 232-233; and Christians in Kingdom of Jerusalem, 251-252, 254-255; as physicians, 252 *See* Moslems, Arabs.
Monachism, in East and West, 22-23; in Roman Empire, 58, growth, 62; in Ireland, 67, 138; in Byzantine Empire, 236.
Monastic Orders, 62-65, 149-150, 319-327, 361-364.
Military, *see* Warfare.
Money, effect of Crusades on circulation of, 308.
Money-lending, in hands of Jews, 308-309; interest rates, 309, 316-317, 349, 473, 478.
Mongols, 453, 454
Monica, mother of St. Augustine, 23.
Monte Cassino, monastery of, 63.
Montereau, 430.
Montesquieu, quoted, 227.
Montmartre, 124, 179.
Montpellier, university at, 371.
Moors and Vandals in Africa, 43.
Moors, in Spain, 450, 451.
Moravians, threaten Germans, 151; Empire of, 392.
Morgarten, battle of, 448.
Morkere of Northumbria, 204, 206, 207.
Mortimer, lover of Queen Isabella, 416.
Mortmain, definition of, 138.
Mortmain, Statute of, 404.
Moslems, followers of Mohammed, 96; and Christians, 241; union of, 253 254; in Spain, 186, 214.
Motassem, caliph, 145.
Mukadassi, Al-, of Jerusalem, Saracen traveller, 223.
Mussulman, *see* Moslem.
Mysticism, 511 ff.

Nafels, battle of, 448, 449.
Nantes, invasion of Northmen, 118.
Naples, 146, raided by Hungarians, 155; captured by Robert Guiscard, 187; university of, 299, 371.
Narbonne, 100, 102
Narses, general of Justinian, 54-55.
Nations, in universities, 369
Navarre, Kingdom of, 387, 388.
Neidhart, von Reuenthal, poet, 339.
Nestor, Chronicle of, 394.
Neustria, 71, 75.
New Forest, 211.
Nibelungs, songs of the (Niebelungenlied), 45, 315
Nicæa, Council of, 38; capture by Crusaders, 247, Empire of, 305
Nice, Council of, 189
Nicholas I, Pope, struggles to enforce authority, 144-145.
Nicholas II, Pope, decree of, 167; and Robert Guiscard, 187.
Nicholas V, Pope, 470, 502.
Nicholas, leader of Children's Crusade, 306.
Nicholas of Cusa, cardinal, 515.
Nicomachus, arithmetic of, 54.
Nicopolis, battle of, 453.
Nika riot, under Justinian, 235.
Nobles, in Roman Empire, 7-8; in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, Chapter XXVI, relation to peasants, 336-340; and towns, 350, 352-353; in Spain, 390. *See* Feudalism.
Nogaret, William of, 405, 406.
Nomenoë, noble of Britain, 119.
Norbert, St., founder of Praemonstratensians, 325-326, 358
Normans, in time of Capetians, 184, 185-186, 202, 209 ff.; and papacy, 187; 292-293; in Sicily, 186; in England, and Edward the Confessor, 202-203, debt to Saracens, 225. *See* Northmen.
Normandy, conquest of by Northmen, 177; opposition to Rudolf, 178; and the Capetians, 184, 185-186; Church in, 204-205; under Henry I of England, 257; under Henry II, 258, 417, 429, 430.
Northmen, attacks of, 118-119; defeat by Charles the Bald, 122; by Lewis III, 123; attack on Paris, 124; on German frontiers, 150; on west Frankish kingdom, 175, in Russia, 393-395 *See* Danes
Northumbria, 66, 196; held by Edwin and Morkere, 204, reclaimed by Tostig, 206.
Norway, invasions from, 118; conversion of, 400-401. *See also* Northmen and Normans.
Novgorod, republic of, 395; and Hanse, 480, 484
Nureddin, Moslem leader, 254.
Nurnberg, 482; diet of, 443

Oath of Strassburg, 116-117.

Odin, German god, 194.
Odovacer, mercenary leader, ruler of Italy, 49-50, 54, 59.
Offa, King of Mercia, 196.
Olaf, King of Norway, establishment of Christianity, 400.
Omar, follower and successor to Mohammed, 94, 98.
Omar, mosque of, at Jerusalem, 296.
Ommiads, revolt against Ali, 98, rule, 98-100, overthrow by Abbasids, 214; Ommiad Emirate in Spain, 214; decline in Spain, 387.
Opus Major, Minor, Tertium of Roger Bacon, 375.
Ordeals, German method of trial, 87-88; in trial of the Holy Lances, 249, in English law, 200, 261.
Ordonnance, Cabochienne, 429.
Orestes, 49.
Orkhan, Turkish ruler, 452.
Orleans, siege of, 46, sack of, 118; law school at, 371; siege of (1429), 431-433
Orosius, author of *History of the World*, 198
Orsini, Roman family, 287, 402
Ostrogoths, location of, 37; subdued by Huns, 37; at Constantinople, 50; in Italy, 50, 59, 230; and papacy, 60; war with Justinian, 231.
Othman, follower and successor of Mohammed, 94, 96, 98.
Othman, or Osman, Turkish ruler, 452.
Otric, teacher at Magdeburg in eleventh century, 191
Otto the Great, 88; coronation of, 146, 155-156; reign, 154-157; protection given to Louis d'Outre Mer, 179; connection with Byzantine Empire, 239.
Otto II, son of Otto the Great, 158; and Lothair of France, 179-180; and Gerbert, 191.
Otto III, grandson of Otto the Great, 158-159; and Gerbert, 191-192; death, 160.
Otto IV, Emperor at Bouvines, 267, 279; struggle with Philip of Swabia, 293-294.
Otto of Freising, historian, 285-286, 288; Cistercian, 323.
Ottokar, King of Bohemia, 443.
Oxford, university, 368, 370, 373.

Paganism, and Christian religion, 17, 19, 25.
Palestine, monasteries in, 23; trade with Byzantine Empire, 228, conquest by Arabs, 97. *See* Jerusalem.
Pannonia, 42, 55
Papacy, evolution of authority, 60-61, 138, 142-145; and Charles Martel, 78, and Frankish kings, 101, donation of Pippin, 101, 143; of Charles the Great, 103, 143, and Charles the Bald, 122, and the Emperors, 142; degradation of, 147-148, control by local nobles and women, 148; and Otto the Great, 157; change in elections to, 159; in time of Otto III, 160; in time of Henry III, 163-166; and Henry IV, 167-172; and Henry V, 173-174; and Normans, 187; and Capetians, 188-189; and William the Conqueror, 205; and heretics, Chapter XXX, *passim*, under Innocent III, Chapter XXXII; in later middle ages, 402-408, Chapter XXXVIII, *passim* *See* Church and Clergy
Papal states, genesis of, 57; under Innocent III, 378
Paris, sack of 118, 121, 124; Abelard at, 366; university of, 367, 369, 371, 372, 374, 375, 429, 461.
Parliament "Mad Parliament," 268; model, 269
Parsival, 315
Paschal I, Pope, 142
Paschal II, Pope, and Henry V, 173; and Philip, 189
Pastor, L., quoted, 457
Patriarch, of Jerusalem, 250, of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, 18.
Patrick, St., 65.
Patrimony of St. Peter, 142-143.
Patrocinium, 126, 127.
Paulinus, bishop, 66.
Paulinus of Aquitaine, teacher in academy of Charles the Great, 110.
Paul the Deacon, teacher in academy of Charles the Great, 110; author of *History of the Langobards*, 55.
Pavia, Synod of, 164.
Peace, King's, 314
Peasants, Chapter XXVIII; feeling about, 331; classes of, 331-333.
Peasant's Crusade, 244.
Peasants' Revolt, 422, 424, 425.
Pelagianism, 20.
"Pelayo, Old" against Moslems in Spain, 387.
Penance, method of Church discipline, 138. *See also* Attigny.
Penalties, in German law, 88; in Roman Church, 139-140. *See* Judicial procedure.
Percy, family, 428.
Persia, Manichæan faith in, 20; civilization in, 4, followers of Abbasids, 215, influence on Abbasids, 215; plants from, 217; metals in, 219; revolts against Caliphs, 224; trade with Byzantine Empire, 228; wars with Byzantine Empire, 230-231.
Peter III of Aragon, marriage, 391.
Peter Bartholomew, vision of lance, 248; death, 249.
Peter of Bruys, heretic, 358
Peter Damiani, Church reformer, 164.
Peter the Hermit, preaches Crusade, 244; on Crusade, 244-245; at Antioch, 248.
Peter Lombard, *Book of Sentences*, 256, 372.
Peter of Pisa, teacher of Charles the Great, 110
Peter the Venerable, description of Carthusians, 320; of monasticism, 325
Peter de Vineis, 299.
Petrarch, Francesco, 456, 490-492, 499, 505, 506, 508, 509.
Pevensey, landing place of William the Conqueror, 206.
Philip Augustus, aids rebellious sons of Henry II, 265; acquisition of Normandy and other English possessions, 265-266, 267, preparations for invasion of England, 266; reign, 276-280; ally of Frederic II, 295; on Third Crusade, 300, 302; and University of Paris, 367.
Philip I, 183-184; and William of Normandy, 186; and Pope, 189

Philip IV, King of France, 405-409.
Philip V, King of France, 417.
Philip VI, King of France, 418-420, 426.
Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, 430, 431, 433-435.
Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, 429
Philip of Hapsburg, 450, 452
Philip of Swabia, dispute with Otto for Empire, 293
Phocas, Byzantine Emperor, 231.
Photius, patriarch at Constantinople, 144; missionaries to Slavs, 393.
Piacenza, Council of, 241, 242
Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius, 509
Pico della Mirandola, 501, 505, 506.
Picts, invasion of Britain, 46-47.
Pierleoni, Roman family, 287
Pilgrimages, to Jerusalem, 242-243; to Mecca, 96.
Pipe rolls, 259-260.
Pippin the Younger, *major domus*, 74-75.
Pippin, son of Charles Martel, king of France, 79; anointed by Stephen, 101; victories, 102; donation of, 143.
Pisa, 477; Council of, 461, 462
Pisans, part in Crusade, 253
Pitres, 120-121.
Pius II, Pope, 470, 484, 509
Platonism, in Renaissance, 501, 502, 506, 507
Plebs, 10.
Pluralities, 382
Podestà, municipal official appointed by Frederic Barbarossa, 290, in Sicily, 296, chosen by Italian cities, 350.
Poggio, humanist, 499, 504, 508
Poitiers, battle of, 99, 214, 420, 421, 426.
Poitou, under Henry II of England, 258
Poland, early history, 396, vassal to Henry III, 163; war with Henry V, 173, 454.
Politian, 505.
Pollentia, battle of, 40.
Pomponius Mela, 27.
Ponthieu, 420
Poor Catholics, 361
"Poor Men of Lyons," 359.
Portugal, 450
Potestates, 128.
Praemunire, Statute of, 422.
Prague, University of, 455, 463
Precarium, 78, 126, 127; formula, 132-133.
Praemonstratensians, canons regular, 324-325, 327, 354, 358
Prévots, 280
Price, just, 349 *See* Money
Printing, invention of, 516; in Italy, 502, 516
Priscian, grammarian, 84
Provence, conquest by Franks, 71; by Burgundians, 121.
Provisions, papal, 456.
Provisions of Oxford, 268-269
Provision, Statute of, 422.
Prudentius, 15.
Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, 143.
Psellos, Michael, 239
Ptolemy, astronomy of, 53.
Purveyance, feudal right, 135.
Pythagoras, musical theory of, 53.

Quadrivium, 83, 372
Quo Warranto, Statute of, 410.

Radewyn, Florentius, 514.
Ragewin, historian, 291.
Ragner Lodbrog, Northman, 118.
Ravenna, the exarchate, 57, 103; archbishopric of, 159, 192; occupied by Germans, 34; capital of Honorius, 39, 40, siege of, 50; capital of Ostrogoths, 60; conquest by Lombards, 101; Roman law taught in, 366
Raymond Pelet, rescue of Peter Bartholomew, 249.
Raymond of Tripoli, regent of Jerusalem, 254, 255
Raymond of Toulouse, leader on First Crusade, 244-250, *passim*, and Holy Lance, 248-249; declines kingdom, 250
Raymond of Toulouse, 280-281; crusade against, 360
Regalia of Emperor, 290.
Relics, place in worship, 383, to enhance value of oath, 86
Reginald of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, career, 255
Regino, chronicler and contemporary of Charles the Fat, 124.
Relief, feudal due, 135
Renaissance, Italian, 486, Chapter XL *passim*.
Renan, E., quoted, 407
Reservations, papal, 456.
Rhaetia, home of Alamanni, 53; march of, 153.
Rheims, Archbishop of, 159, 176, 179, 180, 181, 188
Richard I, King of England, 218; ransom of, 277, 293, 302, Third Crusade, 300-303
Richard II King of England, 424-426.
Richard III, King of England, 440
Richard II, or Good, of Normandy, 185.
Richard, duke of York, 439
Richard of Cornwall, Emperor, 268
Richard the Fearless, Norman, 185.
Richemont, constable of France, 431, 433.
Ricimer, 49
Ricos hombres, wealthy nobles of Spain, 390
Robert II, son of Hugh Capet, marriages, 182; and the Church, 188, and Gerbert, 191, the Peace of God, 188
Robert, brother of King Eudes, 176-177; King of France, 178
Robert of Abrissel, founder of Fontevrault, 324.
Robert of Flanders, on Crusade, 246
Robert of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 243.
Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, on Crusade, 256, 245-246; rebellion against father 186; imprisoned, 257
Robert of Sorbon, founds Sorbonne, 373
Robert the Devil of Normandy, 185.
Robert the Strong, ancestor of the Capetians, 176, life, 120
Rodrigo, Diaz of Bivar, the "Cid," 389.
Roger III of Sicily, 292-293.
"Roi de Bourges," 431.
"Roi de Paris," 431.
Roland, Count, death, 104.
Roland, Song of, 315.
Rollo, chief of the Northmen, 177-178.
Roman, *see* Church, Empire, Law.
Romance languages, 82
Romanus, Greek Emperor, 158.

Rome, fed by Africa, 40; captured by Visigoths, 41; by Vandals, 43; saved from Huns, 46; threatened by Lombards, 56, 101; threatened by Saracens, 146; and Otto III, 159; visited by Canute, 202; in later middle ages, 402, 458; sack of, 504. *See* Papacy, Empire and Church.
Roncaglia, Diet of, 290.
Roncesvalles, battle of, 104.
Rosala of Flanders, wife of Hugh Capet, 182
Rosamund, wife of Alboin, 55
Roses, Wars of the, 438-441
Roswitha, nun, writer of Latin plays, 141.
Rudolf of Burgundy, King, 178.
Rudolf III, King of Burgundy, 162.
Rudolf of Hapsburg, Emperor, 442, 443, 445, 448.
Rudolf of Swabia, opposition to Henry IV, 171-172.
Rufinus, 39.
Russia, early history, 393-395; invasion of Swedes, 118; and French, 183; trade with Saracens, 218; trade with Constantinople, 228; and Avars, 231; influence of Byzantine Empire, 239, in XVth century, 454, 484.

Saffal, Al-, 214. *See* A'bul Abbas.
St. Albans, battle of, 439
Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, Treaty of, 177.
St. Edmondsbury, monastery, 328.
St. Gall, monastery, 68.
St. Martin, church of, 65; abbey of, 177.
St. Remi at Rheims, church, 165.
St. Remigius, Clovis baptized by, 70.
St. Sophia, sack of, 305; influence on Russian architecture, 395.
Saladin, Moslem leader, 254; war with Christians, 255; and the Third Crusade, 300-302; breakup of kingdom, 306.
Salerno, battle of, 146; attacked by Saracens, 186; medical school at, 371.
Salic Law, 418, 437.
Salutato, scholar, 499.
Salvian, Roman writer, 80
Samo, Frankish ruler of Slav state, 232, 392.
Samson, Abbot of St. Edmondsbury, 327-328.
Sancho the Great of Navarre, 388
Saphadin, brother of Saladin, 302.
Saracens, expelled by Narbonne, 102; in Italy, 121, 145, 146, 241, in Syracuse, 146; in Frankish kingdom, 175; attack on Salerno, 186, loss of Sicily, 187, 241; civilization of, Chapter XIX; division and decline, 223-224; and Constantinople, 227
Sassanids, destroyed by Arabs, 97.
Savonarola, Girolamo, 497, 503, 504.
Saxons, location of, 37; character of, 44, 46; invasion of Britain, 46, 193, 230; invasion of Italy, 55, 56; subdued by Pippin, 102; by Charles the Great, 103; peace with the Danes, 197.
Saxon kings, 153.
Saxony, duchy of, 152; march of, 153 *See* Empire, Roman of the Germans.
Scandinavia, in the XIth century, 400; conversion to Christianity, 400-401; weakness in XIIIth century, 401.
Schism, the Great, of Church, 461-468.
Schism of Church, 237.
Schleswig, march of, 153. *See* Dania.
Scheherazade, 216
Scholasticism, 507, 510, 511.
Science, among Saracens, 220; in mediæval universities, 372, 374-375.
Scone, Stone of, 413
Scotland, invasion of Northmen, 118; King's relation to Henry II, 259, 265, and Edward I, 413; and Edward II, 415, and Edward III, 417.
Scots, invasion of Britain, 46-47.
Scott, Sir Walter, *Quentin Durward*, cited, 435.
Seignobos, C., in Lavisse et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, 307.
Sempach, battle of, 448.
Sénéchal, official of Philip Augustus, 280; under Philip IV, 408.
Senlac, battle of, 206.
Senlis, assembly of, 181.
Senators, in Roman Empire, 6; in time of Justinian, 60-61.
Seven liberal arts, description, 83, 84-85.
Sforza, family, 484.
Sheriffs, judicial duties of, 261.
Sic et Non, by Abelard, 355.
Sicily, invasion by Mohammedans, 145; and the Normans, 186, 241; plants introduced into, 217; fief of papacy, 187; under Frederic II, 296; under Charles of Anjou, 283; and Aragon, 391.
Sidonius, Apollinaris, 7, 80.
Sigibert, ruler of eastern Austrasia, 71, 72.
Sigismund, Emperor, 445, 446, 453, 462-465, 467.
Simon de Montfort, claim to Toulouse, 280.
Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, career, 269-270
Simony, 382
Sixtus IV, Pope, 470.
"Slav," bodyguard of Ommiad rulers in Spain, 387.
Slavery, in Roman Empire, 7, 58; in Saracen Empire, 218; slave trade in Russia, 394.
Slavs, characteristics of, 391; early history, 391-392, bravery, 392; conversion, 392-393; separation of states, 393; incursions of, 153, 155, 160; wars with Otto the Great, 155; wars with the Byzantine Empire, 232, missions among, 237; in later middle ages, 453-454.
Sluys, naval battle of, 419.
Soissons, capital of Clovis, 69.
Sorbonne, founding of, 373.
Spain, Visigoths in, 41, 48, 230; and Vandals, 42; conquest by Mohammedans, 99, reconquered by Justinian, 54, 230, entry of Charles the Great, 103, and the Normans, 186; Ommiad Emirate in, 214, 224; Christians against Moslems, 241; universities in, 375; in later middle ages, 450-452.
Spires, Henry IV at, 170-171.
Spiritual Franciscans, 403, 423, 456.
Stamford Bridge, battle of 206.
Steelyard, the, 480.
Stephen II, Pope, 101.
Stephen IV, Pope, 142.

Stephen V, Pope, 147.
Stephen Harding, Cistercian, 321.
Stephen, King of England, struggle with Matilda, 257-258.
Stephen, King of Hungary, 397.
Stephen of Blois, on Crusade, 245, 247; at Antioch, 248, return home, 250.
Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, 205
Stilicho, 39-40, 49.
Stirling Bridge, battle of, 413.
Strassburg, oath of, 116.
Studium, 368, nations in, 369, 373.
Sturmi, founder of Fulda, 77.
Subiaco, monastery of, 62
Suger, abbot of St Denis, 274-275
Summa Theologiae of Thomas Aquinas, 374.
Sutri, Council of, 164.
Svatopluk, leader of Moravians, 151.
Swabia, invasion of Hungarians, 152; duchy of, 152; under Otto the Great, 155; and Conrad II, 162; and Henry III, 163 *See* Alamanni.
Swedes, invasions of, 118; trade with the Saracens, 218; in Russian history, 393-395 *See* Northmen
Sweyn, King of Denmark, invasion of England, 201.
Switzerland, 437, 447-449
Syagrius, "King of the Romans," 69.
Sylvester II, *see* Gerbert.
Sylvester III, Pope, 163; deposed, 165.
Symmachus, 53-54
Synod of Constantinople, 237.
Syracuse, taken by the Saracens, 146
Syria, attack of Arabs, 97, 234, invasion of Persians, 231, Christians in, 234.

Tacitus, 27, 28, 35, 85.
Taille, tax, 434.
Taine, 227
Tamerlaine, 453.
Tanchelm, 357 *See* Heretics.
Tancred, leader on First Crusade, 245
Tancred of Hauteville, leader of Normans, 187
Tancred, rival king of Sicily, 293.
Tarik, Arab general, 99
Tartars, origin, 398-399; spread, 399; invasion of Europe, 399-400.
Taxes, in Roman Empire, 4, 11, 12, 33, 59, in Byzantine Empire, 236
Tell, Wilhelm, 448
Templars, Knights of the Temple, 254, 255, 326; suppressed, 408, 409
Temporal power of Popes, 60, 143-145, 174, 379. *See also* Papacy, Donations, and Sicily.
Teutonic Knights, founding of, 301; 453, 454, 480
Theodora, Greek Empress, and Iconoclasm, 234.
Theodora, *Senatrix*, 148.
Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 67, work in Britain, 194.
Theodoric, Ostrogoth ruler of Italy, 35, 50-54; and papacy, 60; and Clovis, 70
Theodosius, Emperor, 3, 39.
Theodosius II, Emperor, 45.
Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, teacher in school of Charles the Great, 110.
Theology, in medieval universities, 372.
Theutberga, wife of Lothair, 144.
Thomas Aquinas, St, 374, 510, 511; and Dante, 488.
Thomas à Kempis, 512, 515.
Thousand and One Nights (Arabian Nights), 216, 218.
Thuringia, and Theodoric, 53; and Franks, 71; invasion of Hungarians, 152; missionary field of St. Boniface, 76, march of, 153.
Tithes, Church, 383; "tithed lands," *see Agri decumates*
Toledo, swords of, 219.
Tolerance, influence of Crusades on, 309, 317.
Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, in exile, 204; return, 206.
Toul, Bishop of, 165.
Toulouse, capital of Visigoths, 41; county of, 185.
Touraine, under Henry II of England, 258.
Tours, sack of, 118
Towns, in early middle ages, 85; leagues in Italy, 289, 291, 297; origin and growth, 341-342, description of, 342-345; life in, 345, place in government, 350-351; in north, 351, 395, in Spain, 390. *See* Commerce and Industry.
Trade, *see* Commerce.
Trajan, and the Germans, 33
Trevelyan, G. M., quoted, 440. 441.
Tribur, meeting of German princes, 170.
Trinitarians, order of, 327.
Tripoli, library at, 221; county of, 253.
Tristram and Isolde, 317-318.
Trivium, 83.
Troyes, Council of, 326; treaty of, 430.
Truce of God, 188-189, 272.
Turks, bodyguard of caliphs, 224; and Avars, 231; and Peter the Hermit's army, 244; and Christians, Chapter XXII, *passim*, and Conrad III's army, 254; Ottoman, 452, 453, 459, 484, 485.
Turpin, Pseudo-, 316.
Tyler, Wat, 424, 425.
"Tyrants," Italian, 351.
Tyrol, 447.

Ulfilas, missionary to the Goths, 38.
Unam Sanctam, 406, 407.
Universities, of Naples, founded 299; Paris consulted about Children's Crusade, 306; origin, 366; privileges, 367-368; organization, 368-370; curricula, 370-373; life of the students, 373-374; heresy in, 374; and Roman Church, 374, 376.
Urban II, Pope, motive for Crusade, 237, 241; speech at Clermont, 243-244; grant of privileges to rulers of Sicily, 293; and discipline of clergy, 355.
Urban V, pope, 458, 459.
Urban VI, pope, 459, 460.
Usury, 473, 478.

Valla, Lorenzo, 504, 505.
Valens, Emperor, 39.
Valentinian III, 42, 45, 48-49.
Vallombrosa, order of, 320.
Vandals, location of, 37, in Spain, 42; in Africa, 42, capture of Rome, 43; conquered, 44, and Aetius, 48; and Theodoric, 53.
Varangian Guard, and English, 241.
Varus, Roman general, defeat, 33.
Vehmic courts, 446.
Venetia, in donation of Charles the Great, 103.

Venetians, part in First Crusade, 253
Venice, origin, 46; in Fourth Crusade 303-305, and Lombard league, 291; politics and trade, 475, 476, 484, 485.
Verdun, Treaty of, 117, 150, boundary line of West Frankish kingdom, 175
Verona, battle of, 40.
Victor III, Pope, 163.
Villa, 6-8, in Gaul, fifth century, 80-81; and manor, 332
Villani, Giovanni, historian, 496.
Villani, Matteo, historian, 496.
Villehardouin, historian of Fourth Crusade, 304.
Villein, life of, 332-334.
Ville-neuve, 274, 275; description, 342
Villon, François, 509, 510
Vincent of Beauvais, 362
Vinland, colony of Northmen, 400.
Visconti, family, 484
Visigoths, location of, 37 migrations of, 39-41, in Gaul and Spain, 48, 230; and Aetius, 48; and Theodoric, 53; civil strife, 54; conversion of Spanish Visigoths, 62; and Clovis, 70.
Vittorino da Feltre, 507, 508, 516.
Vladimir, ruler at Kiev, 394-395.
Voltaire, 227.

Wager of battle, 88; of law, *see* Compurgation.
Waiblingen, 285.
Wailly, Natalis de, n. 303
Wakefield, battle of, 439.
Waldensian heresy, 358-359.
Waldo, Peter, 358
Wales, war with Offa, 196; with Henry III, 268, conquest of, by Edward I, 412, 413, Statute of, 412, rebellion in, 428
Walrada, mistress of Lothair, 144.
Walthari, songs of, 45
Wapentake, *see* Anglo-Saxon institutions.
Wardship, Feudal right, 136-137
Warfare, methods of, among early Germans, 28, 30, at time of Charles Martel, 85; of Northmen, 118, of Saxons, 103; feudal, 181; Byzantine, 228; of Crusaders, 248, 250, 301, defensive fortifications, (a) Teufelsmauer, 33; (b) fortified bridges, 121; (c) castles, 181, 311, 312, (d) town walls, 341-343, artillery, 430.
Warwick, earl of, 439, 440.
Wearmouth, monastery at, 195.
Welf of Bavaria, 173
Welsers, family, 482, 483, 486.
Welsh, *see* Wales
Wenceslaus, emperor, 445.
Wergeld, 89
Werner of Kyburg, vassal of Ernest of Swabia, 162.
Wessex, 196; defeat of Danes, 197; loyal to Harold, 204
Westminster Abbey, coronation of Harold, 204.
Westminster, First and Second Statutes of, 410
Wettin, family, 447
Whitby, Synod of, 67.
Widukind, Saxon chronicler, 153.
Wilfrith, bishop of York, in early Britain, 195.
William Bras-de-Fer, 187.
William, son of Robert of Normandy, early struggles with Capetians, 186 visit to Edward the Confessor, 204; conquest of England, 186, 205-207, 241; administration in England, 208-209, 210-211; and the Church, 209-210, 256, character, 212; death, 212.
William Rufus, King of England, 256-257.
William of Occam, philosopher, 456, 457.
Willibrod, St., English missionary, 75, 196.
Winfrith, *see* Boniface, St.
Wisby, Hanse center, 480.
Wittelsbach, family, 447.
Women, position among early Germans, 29-30; in monasteries, 364; peasant, 334; noble, 313, 317.
Worms, Concordat of, 173-174.
Wycliffe, John, 422, 457, 463.

Yaroslay, the Great, lawgiver of the Russians, 395
Yatrib or Medina, and Mohammed, 94, 98.
York, kingdom of, overrun by Danes, 197
Yusuf, "Emir of Andalous," 388.

Zangi Imad-ed-din, ruler of the Moslems, 253, succeeded by Saladin, 254.
Zara, capture of, 303-304.

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